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ELIZABETH
QUEEN OF BOHEMIA
A VERMONTION
REVISED BY J. C. LORAN

ELIZABETH

ELECTRESS PALATINE AND
QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

ELIZABETH

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ELIZABETH
ELECTRESS PALATINE AND
QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

BY
MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN

REVISED BY HER NIECE

S. C. LOMAS

WITH A PREFATORY NOTE

By A. W. WARD, Litt.D.

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PREFATORY NOTE

BY DR. WARD

WHAT is a heroine—a heroine in history? The conditions of her career must be heroic not less than the personal qualities which that career displays; the cause for which she strives and suffers must be one raised high in the sight of men, her efforts must be on a scale from which ordinary women would shrink, and her actions able to bear the full blaze of the sun at noontide. At the time when Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James the First, was, in a poem cherished by many to whom her biography is *terra incognita*, apostrophised as

“Th’ Eclipse and Glory of her kind”

she had conferred no special benefit upon those among whom her lot was cast, beyond the light which every bright, happy and hopeful nature, whether of princess or beggar-maid, sheds on its surroundings. Nor is it necessary to assert that there was anything very uncommon in the general character of the experiences which she afterwards had to undergo. The joyous period of youth and hope is succeeded by a brief season of achievement or fruition—and then comes the last act, so much longer in real life than on the stage, when we know that, in common phrase, “all is over” with dreams of brilliant success or of perfect happiness, but when there is still time for the mind to show itself strenuous and the soul to prove itself strong. With most men or women, however, fate happily draws no absolutely hard and fast line of demarcation between the period of aspiration and that of disenchantment, and the life of Elizabeth of Bohemia, the ancestress of so many of our sovereigns, is impressively tragic because it forms a signal exception to this rule. To few human beings can their days of hope have seemed brighter, or the moment of realisation briefer; and of few have

the finest elements in their personality been exposed to a severer and more protracted trial by disappointment, exile, solitude and thanklessness.

Whether the way in which Elizabeth met these tests is worthy to be called heroic, and whether she ought to be classed among those heroines of history who hold an unchallenged place in the golden book, it may be left to the readers of this "Life" to decide for themselves. At all events, they will find in Mrs. Everett Green's conscientious pages, in which no source of trustworthy information has been left unexplored and no problem presented by the narrative has been left unsifted, no fancy picture of the Queen of Hearts. It would be strange, indeed, if, on occasion, an error were not to be found in the conduct, and a failure in the insight, of the daughter of the most unkingly among our Kings and the most frivolous of our Queens. Neither was the younger Elizabeth cast in the mould—mighty notwithstanding all its flaws—of her Imperial godmother; nor is she to be remembered as a type of her ill-starred kinswoman, Arabella Stewart, who in her prison ordered herself a handsome robe for the wedding-day of the Princess, in her eyes no doubt one of the darlings of fortune. Moreover, the misfortunes of Elizabeth of Bohemia were tempered to her, and her tabernacle was from time to time at peace. When the catastrophe of her brief royal reign came upon her, it found her with a faithful husband by her side. Even those of her children with whose natures her own was in imperfect sympathy held her in honour; and to the unflinching affection for her of the most ardent in spirit among her sons her own towards him responded in full. In days when chivalry had gone very much out of fashion, she could command the wit and skill of more than one patriotic diplomatist, the fearless if not reproachless sword of a dashing partisan commander, and the lifelong devotion of an English nobleman who simply gave up to her service his wealth and what his wealth might have brought him. Lastly, though her calamities came home to the hearts of the English people, and of a large part at least of the Protestant world, the accounts which we possess of her later life, and more especially the letters from her hand which

are now before the world, leave it open to doubt whether her lot appeared to her unbearably cruel. Kingdoms and principalities changed hands in the seventeenth century almost as rapidly as they do in the twentieth; Elizabeth's own native England was the very theatre of mutability.

All this may be, and in a measure no doubt is, true; and yet, when all has been said, it would be difficult to recall many lives—certainly in the political and social sphere of Elizabeth's—in which a similar contrast between four and twenty years of prosperity and two and forty years of adversity has been met in a more truly royal spirit than in the life of the Queen of Bohemia. Truly royal, because of a courage which never quails, and because of a self-reliance in which, if it is based on the foundations of principle and belief, there lies the truest kind of human dignity. This moral greatness of character, which seems to speak to us out of the portraits that remain of the brave and unfortunate Queen, cannot fail to impress itself upon the readers of Mrs. Everett Green's biography—the gem, I make bold to say, of her “Lives of the Princesses of England”.

While in the earlier of these “Lives,” so far at least as native records were in question, Mrs. Green had frequently to construct her narrative out of scanty materials, the sources overflowed for the present biography; and though, as Mrs. Lomas's Introduction shows, some further documents have, especially in the shape of letters preserved at Hanover, been given to the world within the last half century, Mrs. Green had at the time gone near to exhausting the first-hand evidence at her command. A glance at Mrs. Lomas's list of authorities used by Mrs. Green and at the biographer's own footnotes, will show that her narrative was mainly based on the voluminous correspondence of the times, as found in the Foreign State Papers at the Record Office, and in the MSS. collections in the British Museum, in the Paris Archives and elsewhere. But Mrs. Green was also thoroughly mistress of the German accounts of Elizabeth's journey to Heidelberg, and of the published Palatine and other political correspondence on the complicated affairs of State in which Elizabeth's husband and his

family were concerned. She was a diligent student of the voluminous annalistic histories as well as of the news-letters and newspaper literature of the age; and it is not wonderful that, notwithstanding the progress of historical enquiry as well as the accumulation of further historical material since the publication of her "Life," it should have remained the standard biography of the Queen of Bohemia to the present day.

Its republication having, however, become desirable, it was rightly felt that this could not be undertaken without a careful revision of the text and notes, in order to supplement them where necessary and to correct statements which the discovery of additional material or the progress of research based upon it had proved to be inaccurate. This revision, which was in no instance designed to introduce any changes not made necessary from the above points of view, has been undertaken by Mrs. Everett Green's niece, Mrs. Lomas, to whom has descended with her kinswoman's responsibility as one of the calendarers of the national historic collections her love of historical research and learning, and who has proved before this that she has a perfectly clear and just conception of what the editor of a standard historical work ought to do—and to leave undone. She will have her reward in the acknowledgments due to her admirable presentation of an admirable book.

I do not know in what sense I can feel justified in taking it upon myself to "introduce" either author or editor to their readers. When Mrs. Lomas allowed me to read her "Introduction" and to glance at her edition of her aunt's work, I had just completed for the press a second edition of a biography, by myself, of one of the Queen of Bohemia's daughters. Mrs. Lomas and I are thus fellow-workers in contiguous fields—which may or may not unintentionally overlap—and it is in the spirit of a fellow-worker that I wish success to her arduous and pious labours.

A. W. WARD

PETERHOUSE LODGE, CAMBRIDGE

16th May 1909

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INTRODUCTION

THE life of Elizabeth, daughter of James I., is the longest, one of the most important, and perhaps the most generally interesting biography in Mrs. Everett Green's "Lives of the Princesses of England".¹ On it the author lavished unstinted time and indefatigable research, and in no other "Life" is her affection and sympathy for her subject so manifestly betrayed. But the work in which it appears has long been out of print, and it has been suggested to me by those whose opinion I much value, that it would be well to reprint the "Elizabeth" as a separate memoir.

In preparing the "Life of Elizabeth of Bohemia" for the press, I have tried to do just what I believe my aunt would have done if she had herself issued a new edition. That is, I have corrected any inaccuracies detected in the text, have added here and there short notes, where new light has been shed on the subject, and have (so far as possible) identified and modernized the very numerous references to the Foreign and Departmental State Papers, now all at the Public Record Office. These papers have been entirely re-arranged since the Life of Elizabeth was written, and identification has often been difficult. In some few cases, the most careful search has proved fruitless.

It is perhaps well to draw the reader's attention to Mrs. Everett Green's repeated statement that this book is not a history of the period but a life of the Princess, and that allusions to public events are confined to such points as are needful to elucidate that life. Drawing her material almost exclusively from contemporary sources, the author places herself, so to speak, by Elizabeth's side, and frankly views men and things with Elizabeth's eyes. She does not greatly trouble herself to consider whether it would not have been (as Dr. Gardiner says) madness on the part of James I. to "waste the energies of his

¹ "Lives of the Princesses of England," by Mary Anne Everett Green. London : Henry Colburn, 1849-1855.

country in an attempt to prop up the tottering throne which, in all Protestant Germany, could hardly number a single hearty supporter beyond the limits of the Court of Heidelberg"; with Elizabeth, she waits and watches for the help so often promised and so constantly deferred. She looks at things as Wotton and Roe, Conway and Carleton looked at them, and thus her picture of Elizabeth and Elizabeth's surroundings has much of the freshness and vividness of a contemporary narrative.

In two cases, she speaks confidently on points which have provoked considerable difference of opinion in modern historians, *viz.* :—(1) whether the Elector Palatine had plotted to obtain the Bohemian throne before his election in 1619; and (2) whether Elizabeth did or did not urge and influence his acceptance of that throne.

The first of these questions she answers in the negative. True, she draws attention to the fact that, so early as 1612, when the young Elector—then only sixteen years of age—came to England to woo his bride, the rumour ran that James boasted that his son-in-law elect would be, ere long, a king; but, as regards Frederic's personal attitude in the matter, she believes that the honour was unsolicited and unexpected; that not only his own steady disavowal (the disavowal of one "scrupulously honourable in adhering to the truth") but the testimony of eye-witnesses, show that he did not even guess at the event beforehand.

Now this, it must be frankly acknowledged, is a statement which it is impossible entirely to accept. As to the intrigues of the Pfalz emissaries at Prague (of which there can be no doubt at all) it may, indeed, fairly be presumed that they were set in motion, not by the Elector, then little more than a boy, but by the Pfalz statesmen, [Anhalt and Dohna,] dreaming of a Palatinate State which should stretch from the banks of the Moselle to the slopes of the Carpathians, and by the Pfalz reformers, Camerarius and Scultetus, longing to make Calvinism the dominant creed of Germany. It is not, however, possible to maintain the position that while his chancellor was plotting on his behalf, Frederic himself was ignorant of all that was going on; for when, after the "defenestration" at Prague, Albrecht von Solms was sent thither to negotiate with the directors, it was Frederic who lulled the suspicions of the Emperor Mathias, by writing to assure him that he had sent Solms only to urge upon the Bohemians obedience to their king.

Hurter and Gindely hold Frederic as more or less responsible, and Charvériat sums up their views when he says:—"Avant d'aller plus loin, constatons la duplicité de l'Electeur Palatin; ses négociations avec les ennemis de la maison d'Habsbourg et ses protestations de fidelité envers l'Empereur, nous le font suffisamment connaître".¹

Häusser, however, takes, in this, as in many other matters, a more lenient view of Frederic's conduct. Anhalt, Camerarius and Dohna, he says, were the leaders, the young Elector the figure-head which they placed in front of them. Yielding to their influence, he had allowed his agents to work diligently in Prague on his behalf, and yet, when the election was actually an accomplished fact, he was terrified at the results of his own daring, and his hesitation was overcome not so much by ambition as by a conviction, diligently fostered by Camerarius and Scultetus, that he was called to be the champion of Protestantism in Germany.²

And this brings us to the second question: How far did Elizabeth ^{†Q} influence her husband in his decision to accept the Bohemian crown? Mrs. Everett Green has no doubt in the matter; she quotes all the sayings afterwards attributed to Elizabeth, and represents her as exerting all her powers, as a wife and a mother, to persuade her husband to take the throne.

The saying, "Sie wollte lieber mit einem König Sauerkraut essen" (p. 130 *n*), is quoted as being in the Life of the Electress Louise Juliane, by Friedrich Spanheim. This would certainly be strong evidence, as Spanheim knew Elizabeth well, and dedicated this book to her. But the copy at the British Museum does not contain the remark, or anything at all like it. Moreover, the book (published at Leyden in 1645) is in French, and Mrs. Everett Green's quotation is in German.

So far as I have been able to trace it, the speech about marrying a king's daughter is first ascribed to Elizabeth in Pufendorf ("Comment. de rebus Suec.," liber i. ff. 27), but he gives no reference to the source whence he obtained it.³ About the same time, Senkenberg, in his continuation of Häberlin's "Neuere Teutsche Reichs Geschichte," quotes the speech, but considers that even if it was a true story, it was rather a thing

¹ "La Guerre de Trente Ans," i. 134.

² "Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz," ii. 298.

³ Miss Benger, in her "Life of Elizabeth," says it is in Larrey, but I have sought it there in vain.

spoken in jest than a serious argument, and, as will be shown later, he strongly combats the idea that the Electress brought any pressure to bear upon her husband. Sötl goes further, and plainly declares that these tales were invented by her enemies.

There is, however, an explanation of the "King's daughter" speech which is at once probable and satisfactory. Shortly after "the Palatinate went into Bohemia," John Howell, writing to Sir James Croft on the subject, told him that most of the Palsgrave's advisers opposed, but others incited him to it, and "amongst other hortatives" told him "that if he had the courage to venture upon the King of England's sole daughter, he might very well venture upon a sovereign crown".¹ This is so exactly the sort of thing that Anhalt, for instance, might be expected to say that we may well believe that we have here the true origin of the story.

But in support of Mrs. Everett Green's view, it must be said that, beyond all doubt, there was a very general belief at the time that Elizabeth did encourage her husband to take the fatal step. The Bohemian deputies believed it, and there was so much talk of it afterwards, at the Hague, that she adopted the curious expedient of leaving, where it would be seen and read, the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to her, advising acceptance of the crown—to show, not that she had not used her influence, but that she had not done it thoughtlessly and unadvisedly (see p. 185 below).

The earliest definite statement which I have found on the subject is that in Count Gualdo Priorato's so-called "Historia di Ferdinando III.," published in 1672. After speaking of the reasons put before Frederic, he continues: "All these considerations might perhaps have been rejected by him, if there had not been added to them the persuasions (*lusinghevoli suggestioni*) of his wife. Endowed equally with extraordinary beauty and with a mind lively, brilliant and extremely ambitious, she was inflamed with the desire to be a queen; worldly vanity made her oblivious to reason; her ardent wishes ever more and more led her to strive to obtain what she desired, and to content his wife, the Elector allowed himself to be convinced."

This cannot be accepted as weighty evidence, but it no doubt gives the view accepted at the Imperial Court.

¹ Howell's Letters, p. 83, ed. 1726.

From this aspect of the case, we pass to the view taken by Häusser and other eminent historians, that Elizabeth had little or nothing to do with the matter. This seems to be chiefly grounded upon the statement of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, that at that time, the Electress cared for nothing but plays, ballets and the reading of romances, and did not know a word about the affair. But the testimony of Elizabeth Charlotte, though unimpeachable as regards her own time, is not of the same value when she is writing of the youthful days of her grandmother. The question at once arises: Who told her this? And the answer is not far to seek. The lonely little daughter of Charles Louis spent much of her girlhood with the Duchess Sophie, and Sophie's views are well known. The same lively wit and sharp tongue which declared that her mother settled her little ones at Leyden because she much preferred the companionship of her dogs and monkeys (see p. 217 below), would be extremely likely to dismiss with a few scoffing words the idea that she had exercised any influence on her husband's decision.

But may not the truth lie between the two extremes? What is the evidence which we have at first hand? When the throne was offered to Frederic, Elizabeth was at Amberg, and he at once wrote to her, praying to know her wishes. Her answer is still extant: That as God directed all things, and had without doubt sent this also; if her husband felt it advisable to accept, she should be ready to follow the divine call, to suffer whatever God should ordain, and if needful, to pledge her jewels and whatever else she had in the world. Of this letter, Senkenberg says that he purposely quotes the words of the Electress, because from this declaration we can very clearly understand her sentiments in the matter. We hear, truly, the voice of a woman who rejoices that affairs have taken this turn, but find no trace of the importunity with which (according to the usual narrative) she is said to have urged, nay, almost compelled, her husband to take the crown.

When Frederic sent Christopher von Dohna with letters to King James, Elizabeth wrote to Buckingham, asking him to influence her father on their behalf, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, desiring his advice. She was with her husband when he received the Bohemian deputies at Heidelberg, and is said to have assured them that she had used her best efforts on their behalf. The Bohemians certainly thought that she had thrown her influence into their scale, and when they thanked

her for it at Wassenburg, she did not disclaim it, but only said that what she had done had been with hearty good-will, for the glory of God and the honour of their religion.

All these things point to the probability that she neither violently urged nor heedlessly ignored the question of the Bohemian Crown, but that she took a normal and womanly course, probably more in favour of acceptance than against it, but willing to do what her husband and her friends thought right. And this is surely what we might expect. Her letters at the time of her husband's nervous breakdown in 1614; her defence of her ladies, Dudley and Tyrrell, against King James's strictures in 1615; her insistence upon her right of precedence in the Elector's Court, and above all her brave, uncomplaining—nay, heroic—behaviour after the battle of the White Hill, all speak to us with no uncertain voice, defending her from the charge of being merely a frivolous, foolish girl, caring for nothing but gaiety and amusement.

That she did enjoy fun and frolic even in her darkest hours is evident enough from her letters, and this buoyant spirit served the poor Queen of Hearts in good stead during many a weary year. Her more serious daughters, even Sophie (the *Weltkind*, as Dr. Ward felicitously calls her), could not understand it, any more than they could sympathise with her love for dogs and monkeys, a fashion which was passing away in their day, although, earlier, it had been almost universal. Queen Anne had any number of them; Lord Harrington encouraged Elizabeth's predilection for them, Sir Dudley Carleton says his wife (daughter of the learned Sir Henry Saville) had as many as the Queen had; but it certainly did not follow that a love of animals unfitted these ladies for their duties in life, or prevented them from giving due attention to serious affairs.

One more point which must be mentioned is the relation between Elizabeth and her son, Charles Louis. After her husband's death, the main object of her life was to endeavour to bring about her son's restoration. "My son is more to me than all my daughters," she once wrote, and her deeds confirmed her words; yet after he was installed at Heidelberg, there was constant friction between them, as is shown by the Bromley Letters.

In 1903 the Litterarische Verein in Stuttgart published a selection from her letters to the Elector, edited by Miss Anna Wendland. A first casual glance through the volume rather

confirms the painful impression given by the Bromley Letters, but a more careful study of the contents modifies this view. Elizabeth was terribly in want of money; some days, as she told her son, she had no firing, and other days no candles. She had looked forward to his return to the Palatinate as an event which would put an end to her poverty and sufferings, and was deeply disappointed when she found how little help he was prepared to give her. "I am not so unreasonable," she wrote to him in the summer of 1650, "to think that you have the same revenues out of the Lower Palatinate as the King had, but . . . I hope you will not keep so manie officers and servants as your father did, for the beginning, till you have more meanes, for I have seene a huge list of your servants" (letter 4).¹

She often wrote very angrily to him, but with a quick impatience that did not in the least prevent her from going on, in the same letter, to discuss current events and family affairs in the most friendly fashion. As to censuring his actions, she replied to his complaints on one occasion, "being what I am to you, I think I may doe it, and tell you my opinion free" (letter 17).

A year later, she begged him to believe that "if I had meanes, I woulde give you more assurance of my care than by so smale an expression . . . and am sorie that my necessities forces me to press you still"; but "I know you love my honnour and your owne more then to wish me to goe from hence as if [I] were bankrot" (letter 22); and in 1655, in a touching letter concerning the "unkindness" between himself and Rupert, after praying her elder son to believe that his brother was "of a verie good nature" and that kindness would gain him more than harshness, she continued, "I pray lett no bodie make you beleve that I doe not love you, for it is most false; therefore I conjure you to be confident of me, in that which you shall ever find me realie your most affectionat mother" (letter 39).

At the beginning of the young Elector's married life, she

¹ I have not reproduced Miss Wendland's substitution of *v* or *u* for *w* in Elizabeth's letters, as it is simply due to a misapprehension arising from the very bad handwriting of Elizabeth's later years. Her writing and spelling of English was (as was natural) that of a well-educated Englishwoman of her day, with the certain amount of licence found in all letter-writers, and especially women writers, of the time. In her earlier years, her *w* was well and clearly formed, but as time went on it degenerated into a mere scrawl. While mentioning this point, I should like to bear testimony to Miss Wendland's (generally) admirably accurate reading of a very difficult script in a foreign tongue.

spoke kindly and affectionately of his wife. In a letter written in November, 1650, she says "I feare I shall not have time to write to your wife to thanke her for her fine token, but the next week I will assure her nobodie loves her more then I doe" (letter 6). When dissension arose in the Heidelberg household, the mother naturally took her son's part, though always urging him to patience, and hoping that things would soon improve. But as time went on, her attitude changed, and she began to defend the wife. All that knew Eurydice (her name for the young Electress) knew, she said, that she was of a good nature and not at all coquette, only a little hasty; she thought her son should try to gain her by kindness and not be too severe to mere faults of indiscretion (letters 43, 45). In the summer of 1657, when things had gone from bad to worse, she spoke out very plainly. "I ame most sorie," she wrote, "to finde so little hope of your reconciliation with your wife. I will not dispute with you the case, though I ame not of your mind, having too well read the scriptures to be of it, besides heard and read few examples of people of your condition have done as you doe, so openlie to avouche sinne. I pray take not this plaine dealing ill, for God is my witness, I have no other end in it but your good and honnour." If he determined to send his wife away, she continued, Sophie could not possibly remain with him, and had better accompany her sister-in-law (letter 54). From another letter it would appear that his sister Elizabeth had already remonstrated with him so strongly that he had declared she should not stay in his house (letter 51).

A year later, after very affectionate assurances of her prayers for his happiness, she wrote (evidently in answer to complaints on his part), that his domestic *brouilleries* troubled her very much, but that what had happened could not have been hid, even if his wife had entirely held her peace, and that, truly, she would have had to be "another patient Grizell" to do so; that his open keeping of his mistress did him great dishonour, and that if everybody could quit their husbands and wives merely for ill-humour the world would be in disorder, it being against the law both of man and of God. Again she ends by an apology, praying him not to take her plain dealing in ill part, and to believe that if he were indifferent to her, she would not do it (letter 60).

The allusions to current events and family affairs are so many and interesting that students of Elizabeth's life must be

referred to the volume itself; but a few points specially bearing on her history or opinions may be quoted. In October, 1650, she had heard from England that there was talk of sending her young nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, to Charles Louis "to be bred". "I conjure you," she wrote to her son, "as you love me and mine, to accept him upon anie conditions. . . . For God's sake, make no scruple in receaving him; so he be out those divell's hands it is no matter; you will oblige all our house by it, and none more than your affectionat Mother" (letter 5). A week or two later she warned him that what she wrote was only in case the Parliament should desire him to take the boy, "for if you shoulde seak to have him, I know it woulde make them jealous of some plott". In this same letter she wrote most sorrowfully of the death of the Prince of Orange, and the sad state of her poor young niece, "the most afflicted creature that ever I saw, and so changed as she is nothing as skin and bone," but she ends with a happy postscript written the next day, that she had been interrupted by being sent for to her niece, that a little son had been born "very happily," and that there was the greatest joy that could be among the people (letter 6).

Another interesting letter was written at the time of Princess Henrietta's marriage; the Elector having taken exception to his mother using the title of "Queen of Bohemia" in the marriage treaty. "I wonder you shoulde doe it," she wrote, "for leaving of it out, you doe me so much wrong as to the memorie of your dead father, as if you disapproved his actions, wherefore I have written to your aunt the Electrice, that I will not have it left out, for neither in that nor in anie publique instrument that I ame to signe I will never signe anie without it; I will never doe your father's memorie that wrong" (letter 9).

The poor mother was more than once excited by false rumours that her son Maurice, who was believed to have been lost in a storm in the West Indies, was still alive. In the summer of 1654 there was a report that he was in Hispaniola, a prisoner of the Spaniards. "I send all about," she wrote, "to know the certaintie of itt." A month later, he was said to be in slavery at Algier "and so alive". Her friends evidently feared her impetuosity, and warned her that she must act very secretly, "because if he be there and known, they may stretch his ransom so high as it will be hard to get at, or else they may for monie give him into Cromwell's hands" (letters 28, 29).

In October of this same year, Prince Adolphus John of Sweden came to woo her daughter Sophie. Elizabeth refused to say either aye or no until she heard what his brother the King of Sweden said on the matter, although she supposed the Prince had not moved in it without being sure of his consent (letter 32). As it turned out, this was exactly what the Prince had done, and the marriage fell through in consequence. In several of her letters, Elizabeth urged her son to redeem jewels which she had been obliged to pawn, so that they might not go out of the family; especially a chain of diamonds which had belonged to Queen Elizabeth, and a "great table diamond" which had been her brother Henry's. It was forty-six years since that brother had been taken from her, yet her love was still so warm that she could not bear to lose his gift, and begged her son, if he could not redeem both, to save this and let the other go (letter 63).

Not long after her son "Ned" had got into trouble by insulting the Commonwealth ambassadors (see p. 370 below), she related with evident glee that a poor boy had been caught breaking the windows of the "Hoghen Moguens"¹ ambassadors, but that they did not dare to punish him, as all the "fishwives and foormen" had threatened to go to his rescue (letter 10).

In February, 1654, in speaking of the rooms which were being got ready for her in the Otto Heinrich Bau at Heidelberg, she wrote: "forgett not a good chamber for Miss Lane . . . you will not repent anie kindness done to her, for besides the good action she has done, she is as discreet a woman as I have knowne, and of a verie good disposition". This is, no doubt, the Jane Lane to whose courage and resource Charles II. was so much indebted for his safety after the battle of Worcester. The Queen also begged for a chamber in the house for her chaplain, Dr. Morton (afterwards Bishop of Winchester), seeing that "he is an oulde man and cannot well indure going out in the night. He is a verie good man, I ame sure you will like him verie much and [he] preacheth extreme well." In this same letter, she sent her son the answer of the States of Holland to her application for assistance, "where the boobies were so dull as to call Cromwell (to her) his Highness the Protectour" (letter 25). At the end of 1654, she heard that John Durie was expected at Heidelberg. In the old days she had looked upon this *protégé* of Sir Thomas Roe's with kindly eyes, but since

¹ A favourite English phrase for their "High Mightinesses" the States-General.

then he had roused her hottest indignation, "for though he be a minister, he is the basest rascal that ever was of that coat," having written a book approving of the King's murder and translated into French "Milleton's booke against the King's booke". If she were at Heidelberg and he appeared there, she would certainly have him soundly basted, and she implored her son vehemently not to let him stay in the country. In a postscript, she narrates the incident of Cromwell's coach horses running away with him in Hyde Park. "His master the divell saved him from harme," but "the oulde rascall fell off the coache box," which she hoped was a good omen (letter 34).

Letter 42 sheds considerable light on the obscure incident of the meeting of Charles II. and Charles Louis at Frankfort (see p. 386 below). From this letter it appears that Charles II.'s reason for not receiving his cousin in state was that he was at Frankfort incognito (he was as short of money at this time as his aunt was, and probably could not have afforded to go *en prince*), which being the case, Elizabeth thought her son's demands "not very reasonable," though if he had been there as King they would have been justifiable enough.

The allusions to Princess Louise's escape from home and change of creed show that Elizabeth's displeasure with her daughter's behaviour was quickly outweighed by maternal indignation against the Princess of Zollern for impugning her child's honour. She encouraged her nephew Charles II. and his brothers and sisters to visit Louise, that all the world might see for themselves that the accusation was groundless; she urged Charles Louis to vindicate his sister's honour, and begged him, in writing to the Princess of Zollern, not to ask her to prove her words, for that would look as if he were not confident of Louise's innocence, but simply to demand that she should withdraw them (letters 56, 58). In October, 1659, she formally sent Louise her forgiveness, although telling her candidly that she did not deserve it; but, as she wrote to her son, "it was fitt by God and man's law to doe it one day or other," and as she had received letters from Charles II. and his mother interceding for the Princess, she "thought as good do it now as at another time" (letter 82).

When Princess Sophie's engagement to Duke Ernest Augustus was announced, Charles Louis wrote apologetically to his mother about it, asking her to remember that in the present state of their family, they must be content to take what

they could, since they could not have all they would. To this she replied, that she did not at all dislike the match, "as regards the person," for whom she had a great esteem, and that since neither her opinion nor consent had been asked, she had no more to say but that she hoped it would be for Sophie's content and happiness; that she would be very glad to see her at the Hague, and that she hoped the business (as the old English proverb says) would not be "long a-doing"¹ (letter 62).

In the summer of 1659, she paid an incognito visit to Brussels to see her nephews, and was very warmly welcomed by them. She spent her whole time rambling about with them and their good company, and either the King himself or one of his brothers came every day to fetch her to dinner.

She returned to the Hague only just in time to welcome her daughter Sophie, whose visit was a very great pleasure to them both (*cf.* the Princess's "Mémoires," p. 67). "I was very glad to see Sophie," she wrote, "I wish I might see you with the same freedom, but I will say no more, not to anger you." She was promised another visit from her daughter later in the year, and had begged her to bring with her the little Elizabeth Charlotte, Charles Louis's daughter. Once more she alludes to the conjugal disturbances. She did not, she said, altogether approve of what the wife had done, but she confessed she pitied her; "all people in misery should pity each other," though, she thanked God, hers was of another sort (letter 75).

One of the prettiest features of Elizabeth's later life was her delight in her grand-daughter. The promised visit was duly paid, and the grandmother's letters at that time are full of the charms of the little "Lisselotte"; she was so pretty, good-natured and witty that all the Hague was in love with her; she was apt and willing to learn anything; she was a very good child, and she danced the sarabande with castanets "as well as can be". One cause of the attraction was probably the fact that she reminded Elizabeth of "my poor Henriette".²

¹ "Happy the wooing, that's not long a-doing."

² *Cf.* what the Duchess Sophie says in a letter to her brother. "Pour la reyne, elle ne parle plus de chiens de chasse ny de guenons, mais seulement de Lisselotte, de laquelle elle prend un soin non pareil . . . Quand elle sort avec elle, sa Majesté attend une heure au degré, au sortir de la visite, pour luy faire mettre ses coiffes et mouchoirs. Enfin, je n'ay jamais vue une mere plus eprise d'un enfant; je crains seulement qu'elle me la gate, car elle ne scauroit faillir au jugement de la reyne" (Bodemann's "Briefe der Herzogin Sophie an Kurfürst Karl Ludwig, letter 19).

After the Restoration, the Elector Palatine sent letters to England, but his mother was satisfied neither with the letters nor the bearer, complaining that the messenger sent, though styled Captain of the Guard, was only a tailor's son and had served against the King, and remonstrating strongly with her son for having sent letters of congratulation, not only to the King but to the houses of Parliament, a thing, she said, never done by any foreign prince, "because they medle with nothing but the affairs of the kingdome" (letter 104). As regards this last point, Charles Louis believed that what the late King permitted, this one would not find fault with, but to this his mother replied that the late King was forced to permit such things, but that the present Parliament "keeps its bounds" (letters 105, 107). The question of the birth of the messenger resulted in a rather amusing war of words between Elizabeth and her son, in which the English-bred mother got distinctly the best of it. The Elector enumerated several persons not of noble birth who had been sent on missions, including Maxwell, who was a beggar-boy, and the Earl of Warwick, whose father was but a citizen. Elizabeth retorted that he had forgotten their pedigrees: that Maxwell "was of the Lord Maxwell's house, a very ancient Scots baron," and that "my lord of Warwick's father was never a citizen, but Lord Rich, and his grand-father made lord in King Henry the 8 time, as I take it, and in those days, citizens were not made lords" (letters 105, 107). In other letters, she discourses on the marriage of John of Gaunt to Katherine Swynford; on the superiority of the claims of Elizabeth of York to those of her husband Henry VII., "who kept the crown more by conquest than right," and on the position of the King her nephew, whose inheritance is so clear that "no bodie has anie claime to it but himselfe, for there is not a male Plantagenet alive, nor a Stewart of the royal line" (letter 112).

Elizabeth's notices of public events are very numerous and often very entertaining. She sketches the position of affairs in Scotland at the end of 1650, when "Argyle and the godlie kirke" were arrayed against the Montrose and Hamilton party under Middleton, and Lord Ogilvie was sent to St. Johnstone's (Perth) to treat with the King. In January, 1654, she relates that the Holland Commissioners are great admirers of Cromwell, especially Beverninck, "for he is in love with one of his daughters"; and that "Ned Sidnam is verie busie making readie Whitehall

for his new master Cromwell, to whom he is knight marshall, as he was to my brother the King, my father and he having made that ungrateful wretches fortune" (letter 23).

Her bitterest words were reserved for Cromwell, whom she always looked upon as the author of her brother's death. On Oliver's death, she wrote that "he lived with the curse of all good people, and is dead to their great joye, so as, though he have gained three kingdomes by undoubted wrong and wickedness, he wants the honnour to leave a good name behinde him, in this worlde, and I feare he is not now much at his ease where he now is" (letter 64).

From the time when the Royalist hopes began to rise high, in the autumn of 1659, Elizabeth sent her son frequent reports of proceedings in England, and especially of Monck's movements, which she watched, like the rest of the King's party, with much doubt and perplexity, until, at last, she was able triumphantly to declare that he had "shown himself a very honest man," and to describe the return of the secluded members, the reception of Sir John Grenville, and the despatch of Commissioners to the King. Her story ends with the account of his departure from the Hague, and his joyful reception in his native land.

Her letters at the time of the Restoration are written in excellent spirits. As Englishmen crowded to the Hague, she had so many visitors that she had scarce time to write, and she looked forward in confident hope to the future, the King having undertaken to settle her business, and "all in general" begging her to go to England. Her nephew, she wrote, had made her promise to go when he sent for her, "which I confess I am very willing to doe; it is not strange that I shoulde be glad to see my owne countrie, having bene so long out of it, and to be amongst those of my bloud to whom I have had so much obligation for my subsistence from their father, and their great kindnesse and respect to me, as much as if I were their mother" (letter 115). After her arrival in England, it is evident that Charles Louis severely criticised his cousin's conduct, especially in not providing a house for her; but Elizabeth allows no word of complaint to escape her, defends her nephew's behaviour, and writes, in the summer of 1661, that she goes everywhere with the King, "everie week to one place or other" (letter 137). The last of her letters in the collection is dated 23rd August, 1661. The last to her from Charles Louis, which she can hardly have

received, was written on 1-12th February, 1662, only twelve days before her death. It is a pleasant, affectionate note, thanking her for her last, wishing that she had made use of no physic but her own, "which is none," and praying that God may preserve her for many years.

It was impossible to send out into the world a new edition of the Life of Elizabeth of Bohemia without gleaning from the harvest of Miss Wendland's most interesting collection, but the quotations here given do little more than indicate the contents of a volume which throws a flood of fresh light upon the later years of the unfortunate Queen.

It only remains to say that my revision of Mrs. Everett Green's work has been done with the cordial consent of her daughters; and to express—or rather to say that I cannot adequately express—my gratitude to Dr. Ward. I have gone to him continually for help and counsel, and have never failed to receive both in most generous measure.

S. C. LOMAS

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BY MRS. EVERETT GREEN FOR THIS WORK

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¹ Häusser's admirable work, as also those of Hurter, Klopp and Charvériat (this last largely grounded on the two preceding ones) are mentioned as containing much in relation to the Palatinate House, but many others on the subject of the Thirty Years' War might be added. For a comprehensive list of these, see the invaluable Bibliography at the end of vol. iv. of the Cambridge Modern History.

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ELIZABETH

ELECTRESS PALATINE AND QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

CHAPTER I

Elizabeth's birth—Baptism—Early training—Journey from Scotland to England—Falls in love with the Dauphin's portrait—Lord Harrington made her tutor—Combe Abbey her residence—Her household—Visit to Coventry—Early letters—Gunpowder Plot—Elizabeth at Court—Attachment to her brother—Correspondence with him—Her early promise—French match spoken of—Her daily rides with the Prince—Court ballets—Visit to the Tower—Elizabeth's love of animals—Gives the prizes at a tourney—Court *fêtes*—Her love of literature—Sonnets upon her—Wooed in vain by Gustavus Adolphus, the Prince of Savoy, and the King of Spain—Frederic Prince Palatine—His early training—Makes overtures for Elizabeth—Treaty is negotiated—Queen's opposition—Wither's address to Elizabeth—Frederic sets out for England—His arrival and reception—Familiar intercourse with the Princess—Their mutual attachment—Illness and death of Prince Henry—Stanzas by Elizabeth—Frederic's attentions to her—The union opposed—James I. persists in it—Expenditure of the Princess—Frederic made Knight of the Garter—Betrothals—New Year's gifts—Frederic's pastimes—His letter to the King—Anxious to return to Germany—Chapter of the Garter—Pageant on the Thames—Marriage ceremony—Rejoicings, masques, and epithalamia—Poverty at Court—Frederic's present to his bride—His University honours—Tilting—Preparations for their departure—They go to Greenwich and Rochester—Elizabeth's parting with her parents and brother—Her letters—Storm-bound in Kent—Sets sail for Germany.

OF all the royal daughters of England who, by the weight of personal character, or the influence of adventitious circumstances, have exercised a permanent bearing on its destiny, few have occupied so prominent a place as Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, the high-minded, but ill-fated daughter of James I. Her own character, and her position as progenitress of the line of sovereigns which has for so long occupied the throne of England, invest the story of her life with interest and importance; and the wild scenes amidst which that life was passed lend an added fascination to the picture. For its setting is the Thirty Years' War, with its long train of calamities, its terrors and its cruelties, its terrible sieges, its stirring battle-fields, and its displays of romantic valour and enduring fortitude; with its Tilly as the impersonation of military tactics; its Mansfeldt, the thunderbolt of lawless warfare; its Christian of Brunswick,

the accepted type of chivalric daring, and its Gustavus Adolphus, of lofty statesmanship. In these surroundings, the young English bride, devoted to sport and pastime; the loyal wife and disinherited queen, bravely daring and patiently suffering at her husband's side; the sad widow, wearily struggling to uphold the rights of a son who gave her neither love nor gratitude, stands before us as a figure of almost incomparable pathos.

✓ The Princess Elizabeth was born at Falkland Palace, on the 16th of August, 1596, nearly seven years before the accession of her father to the English throne.¹ She was the second child of her parents, Prince Henry being her senior. A regular establishment of nurses, rockers, and other attendants, was provided for the little lady, her wet-nurse being a Scotchwoman of humble birth named Bessie MacDowall.² A convention was held at Dunfermline on the 29th of September, to take into consideration the arrangements for her baptism:—

“The which day the king's majesty, with advice of his nobility, council, and estates presently convened, has concluded and ruled that the baptism of the princess, his dearest daughter, shall be made and done within the abbey of Holyrood House, upon the 28th day of November next to come; and that his majesty and the queen his dearest bedfellow, shall make special choice of such persons to be gossips and witnesses thereof as they shall think most meet and convenient, like as her education and upbringing shall be with such a nobleman or others whom they shall nominate and appoint for that errand. And his said nobility, council, and estates aforesaid promise to honour, advance, and protect the said baptism, with their own persons and otherways, according to their ability and power.”³

On account of the lateness of the season, the ceremony was not performed in great state. Few strangers were invited, but all the pages, lackeys, trumpeters, and other attendants of the royal household appeared in new liveries, and the King in gilded spurs and new socks of crimson velvet, laced with gold.⁴ The virgin Queen of England, the far-famed Elizabeth, was god-mother to the royal child, and Bowes, her ambassador at the Scottish Court, took the Princess in his arms at the font, and on behalf of her English Majesty, named her “Elizabeth,” upon which Lyon King-at-Arms proclaimed her style and title, as “Lady Elizabeth, first daughter of Scotland”. “Little or no triumph was made,” writes a Scottish annalist, “but in good fare and cheer, because that it was winter season and ill weather.”⁵ The child was committed to the charge of Alexander, seventh Lord Livingston, and his wife, Lady Eleanor Hay: the Princess Margaret, born two years later, became the companion of her

¹ Harl. MS. 1368, f. 1.

² Treas. Accts. Feb. 1597, Register House, Edinburgh.

³ Regist. Secret. Concilii, Acta, etc. 1594, 1596, f. 490, Register House, Edinburgh.

⁴ Treas. Accts. Feb. 1597, Register House, Edinburgh.

⁵ Moysie's “Memoirs of Scotland,” Bannatyne edit. f. 127.

sister, and their guardians discharged the office so much to the satisfaction of King James that in March, 1600, lands were granted to Lord Livingston in recompense for his care, and that of his lady, in the education of the royal children, and to meet the expenses incurred in maintaining them and their servants. A few months later, on the baptism of Prince Charles, Lord Livingston was created Earl of Linlithgow.¹ An assistant to Lady Livingston was appointed in Mary, Lady Ochiltree,² who also received the royal approbation for the fulfilment of her duties.³

Alison Hay, Lady Dunkerrant, was the "mistress-nurse" to Elizabeth, and Elizabeth Hay "keeper of the coffers,"⁴ by which important title the manager of the wardrobe of the Princess was designated. To the companions and guardians of her childhood Elizabeth was strongly attached; a daughter of her wet nurse, who afterwards became the wife of the Bishop of Cashel, and the mother of a numerous family, took a long and perilous journey to visit her at the Hague, and was received, after the lapse of more than thirty years, with the utmost cordiality;⁵ and Lord Livingston's son, the second Earl of Linlithgow, was ever regarded by her with favour, because she had her "first breeding in his father's house". Payments for her dresses of crimson satin, yellow satin, brown Spanish frieze, figured velvet, Spanish taffeta, plush, etc., frequently occur in the treasurer's accounts, from which also are taken the following extracts—the money being of course the coinage of Scotland, about one-third the value of the English coinage:—

	£	s.	d.
1600, March. Item, for the price of two pair of silk shanks ⁶	20	0	0
1601, December. Item, 16 oz. and 15 drops weight of gold and silver pasments, ⁷ 5 to her two gowns, at 5 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> the ounce	93	3	2
Item, 8 ells coloured ribband for sleeves for her night gown	26	8	0
Item, for an ell and a quarter orange crape, and an ell and a quarter papingo ⁸ crape, with two ells of gold and silver fringe thereto, to be put about her craig ⁹	11	6	0

We also find entries of 8*s.* for a *birse* or brush to stroke her hair, a fair case of combs covered with velvet, and also for two pairs of double gloves laced, and two "babies" or dolls "to play her with". Another entry records the purchase of two more babies, which cost 13*s.* 4*d.*

¹ Douglas's "Peerage of Scotland," ed. Wood, vol. ii. p. 127.

² She was the daughter of Sir John Kennedy, of Blairquahan.

³ Treas. Accts. Dec. 1603.

⁴ *Ibid.* July, 1601.

⁵ Elizabeth to Archb. Canterbury, *S. P. Dom.*, under date 25th Nov. 1637.

⁶ Stockings.

⁷ Laces.

⁸ Parrot-coloured.

⁹ Neck.

The royal children were chiefly brought up at the Palace of Linlithgow, where they received frequent visits from their parents, and tokens of love, in the shape of New Year's gifts.¹ In March, 1603, before the Princess had completed her seventh year, the death of her royal god-mother of England raised her father to the joint throne of the sister realms, and the King hastened to London to take possession of his newly acquired dignity. The Scotch nation manifesting some jealousy at the departure of their monarch to the rival country, James gave them hopes that the Queen and royal children would remain in Scotland as pledges of his speedy return;² but he soon changed his intention, and summoned them to join him in England. Meanwhile, several English ladies of rank had flocked to Edinburgh to pay their devoirs to their new mistress, Anne of Denmark; among these were Anne Lady Harrington and her daughter Lucy, Countess of Bedford, both of whom subsequently filled a prominent place in the history of the Princess Elizabeth.³

On the 1st of June, 1603, Queen Anne, accompanied by Prince Henry and the Princess, and attended not only by the English peeresses then in Scotland, but by a bevy of Scottish ladies, eager to share in the gaieties of the southern capital, set out for England. They reached Berwick on the 3rd, and were joined by several English noblemen and knights, and by the Countess of Kildare, with four other noble ladies, deputed by the King to form their escort to London. A contemporaneous record roll gives, in minute detail, every station at which the Queen stopped in her progress; but Elizabeth was not the constant companion of her mother. The Queen frequently took long journeys in a day, and then tarried awhile at the house of some nobleman in her route, who was anxious to testify his loyalty by giving her a handsome entertainment; whereas it accorded better with the tender age of the Lady Elizabeth to travel daily a moderate distance, and thus keep pace with her royal mother. The roll records a payment of 196*l.* 5*s.* to Henry Meyners and Francis Harris, "for the charges and expenses of the Lady Elizabeth's grace, and such honourable persons and others as were appointed to attend upon her,"⁴ in regard she was not able to undertake so great journies as her majesty did, and so travelled apart from the rest, although often joining her mother at her stopping-places, all the way between Berwick and Windsor."⁵ On the 5th of June, the Queen appointed the Countess

¹Treas. Accts. Dec. 1602, Jan. 1603.

²Beaumont's Despatches, 26th April, 1603, vol. ii. f. 47 b, Brienne MS. 39.

³Stowe's "Annals," p. 823, Nichols's "Progresses of James I.," vol. i. p. 167.

⁴The expenses of her grooms, carriages, and horses are not included, they were blended with those of her brother, which amounted to £495 5*s.* 11*d.*

⁵Account of Sir Marmaduke Darrell, sent to fetch the Queen, Prince, and Lady Elizabeth to England, Audit Office, Declared Accounts. To the courtesy of the

of Kildare to the office of governess to the Princess.¹ An appointment made so hastily, when she had only known the Lady two days, argues unfavourably for the maternal prudence of Queen Anne; but she wished to escape the necessity of shackling her own movements by the tardiness of those of her little daughter, and therefore engaged the first lady of rank whom she met with to undertake the charge. "My Lady of Kildare comes after with the young princess," writes a newsmonger of the time, who details the progress of the Queen, "and as I think, will not be at York before Monday, being the 13th of June, and whether she doth come along with the queen I do not certainly know, but rather come after, as now she doth, because of riding easy journies."² Elizabeth, however, did join her mother at this ancient city, if not early enough to share in the entertainments prepared by the loyal citizens for the Queen, yet in time to receive a parting present of twenty golden angels.³

As the Queen proceeded southwards, the crowds of admiring subjects who joined themselves to her train created such tumult, and became so inconvenient, that an order was issued to forbid all persons, excepting those in attendance on the Queen and her children, to follow the Court.⁴ Arriving at Nottingham, the royal party separated, the Queen and Prince turning aside to Ashby to visit the Earl of Huntingdon, whilst Elizabeth went direct to Leicester, which city she reached on the 22nd of June. The Mayor gave her a formal reception, conducted her to her abode in the house of a Mr. Pilkington, and presented her with wine and sweetmeats.⁵ The following evening the Queen and Prince arrived; but they were lodged apart from the Lady Elizabeth, the house of Mr. Pilkington sufficing only for her train. The next remove was to Dingley, the residence of Sir Thomas Griffin, and thence, on Saturday the 25th, Elizabeth went to Combe Abbey, near Coventry, the residence of Lord and

Commissioners of the Audit Office the author is much indebted for permission to consult the valuable records under their custody, and still more so to Peter Cuninghame, Esq., for the friendly assistance which has rendered the permission doubly valuable.

¹ Darrell's Account Roll, *ut supra*. [There is little doubt that Lady Kildare was sent by the King to attend upon his daughter, which would explain the Queen's readiness to put Elizabeth under her care.]

² Shrewsbury Papers, vol. x. Y. f. 3, Lambeth MS. 703.

³ Nichols's "Progresses of James I.," vol. i. p. 170; Shrewsbury Papers, vol. xvi. f. 103, Lambeth MS. 709. Many unpublished and curious particulars of the Queen's journey may be found in this correspondence.

⁴ *S. P. Dom.*, James I., under date 19th June, 1603.

⁵ Nichols's "Progresses," vol. i. p. 170. [See also an entry in the Hall Books of the Borough of Leicester. "Item, the 23rd day of June (1603) given to the Ladye Elizabeth's grace (daughter of the Kinges majestie) at her then beinge att Leycester, att Mr. Pilkington's howsse, ii gallons of Clarett wyne, ii gallons of white wyne, i gallon and i quart of Renshe wyne, and one sugar lofe of ix *li* and ten ounces, xxxiijs ix*d*." Report viii. Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 428 b.]

Lady Harrington. On the morrow, the Countess of Warwick and Lady Anne Clifford arrived to pay their respects to the royal child. She was not permitted to tarry in this lovely seclusion; but was hurried on to Windsor, arriving there on the 30th of June.¹ "The queen kept her day to be here on Thursday last," writes Sir Dudley Carleton, in a letter dated 4th July. "The young princess came before, accompanied with her governess, the Lady Kildare, in a litter with her, and attended with thirty horse. She had her trumpets and other formalities as well as the best."²

On the 2nd of July, King James held a chapter of the Order of the Garter, at which his son, Prince Henry, was installed knight, and afterwards presented in his robes to the Queen, amidst an assembly so brilliant that even those accustomed to the splendours of the Elizabethan Court declared they had never seen the like before.³ The Princess Elizabeth, attended by the Lady Anne Clifford, had a place in the great hall, where she could indulge her childish curiosity by watching the knights at their state dinner.⁴ Among the guests were the foreign ambassadors; and M. de Beaumont, the French resident, gives a lively description of the scene. To render it fully intelligible, it should be premised that a double marriage had for some time been talked of, between Prince Henry and a daughter of Henry IV. of France; and between the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIII., and Princess Elizabeth.⁵ To M. de Beaumont, therefore, the King introduced his children. "Look at this little knight, your master's son-in-law," he said on presenting the Prince, "what do you think of him, is he not very lively?" A courteous reply was given; and then the King pointed out his daughter, informing Beaumont that he had shown her the portrait of the Dauphin, and that she was already enamoured of it;⁶ an early predilection, it must be owned, for a child of six years! Later in the day, when the Princess was in her mother's drawing-room, the ambassador was formally presented to her and was permitted to salute her. He describes her as "very well bred and handsome enough, rather tall for her age, and her disposition very gentle," but, in his opinion, "rather melancholy than gay."⁷ His estimation of her early developments, formed on so cursory an acquaintance, was, as might be

¹ Nichols's "Progresses," vol. i. p. 197.

² *S. P. Dom.* James I., vol. ii. no. 33.

³ Lady Anne Clifford's Diary, Nichols's "Progresses," vol. i. p. 193.

⁴ Nichols's "Progresses," vol. i. p. 193.

⁵ Marquis de Rosny's Letters to French King, Harl. MS. 3951, f. 188 b.

⁶ [One writer (but of doubtful authenticity) mentions this incident as happening when the King came to meet his wife and daughter on their journey, and that the little Princess said that the Dauphin's picture was the prettiest face she had ever seen.]

⁷ Beaumont's Despatches, Brienne MS. 32, f. 158, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

anticipated, fallacious ; but his appreciation of her good training seems to have been correct, since the Earl and Countess of Linlithgow, on the resignation of their office, obtained an act of approbation from King James and his council for the care with which they had brought her up.¹

Elizabeth remained at Court about three weeks, and was then sent to Oatlands, with her brother, Prince Henry, where an establishment was formed for them, consisting at first of seventy servants, twenty-two above-stairs and forty-eight below ; a few weeks later the number was increased to a hundred and four, and afterwards to a hundred and forty-one.² Early in September the royal children received a visit from Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, who had recently created much amusement by marrying, in his sixty-eighth year, the Lady Margaret Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Moray, a descendant of the celebrated Regent Murray.³ He was father of Elizabeth's governess, the Countess Kildare. The imprisonment of Henry Brook, Lord Cobham, the second husband of Lady Kildare, on an accusation of conspiring with Lord Grey de Wilton and Sir Walter Raleigh to subvert the government, caused her such depression of spirits that it was considered advisable to remove her royal charge to other hands.⁴ A privy seal order was therefore issued, dated 19th October, 1603, which declares, on the King's behalf, that "we have thought fit to commit the keeping and education of the Lady Elizabeth our daughter to the Lord Harrington and the lady his wife," etc., with the stipulation that 1,500*l.* a year should be allowed for her diet alone.

"And further, where by the said agreement, it appeareth that there be other charges requisite for our said daughter, namely her remove now to his house, and hereafter, if there shall be occasion, to remove her to any other house other than his houses—for her apparel, for wages of teachers and servants, rewards, alms, and for a coach and horses for her use," etc.—

for all these extras Harrington was to bring in an account, which should be discharged when its reasonableness had been certified by the signatures of six lords of the council.⁵ Lord Harrington, lately raised to the peerage by King James,⁶ was a man eminently fitted for the important task confided to

¹ Douglas's "Peerage of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 127.

² Nichols's "Progresses," vol. i. p. 204.

³ *Ibid.* i. 258 ; Lodge's "Illustrations," vol. iii. p. 33.

⁴ Lodge, *ut supra* ; Nichols's "Progresses," vol. i. p. 265. Amongst the State Papers, 1603, there is a beautiful holograph letter from this lady to her lord, promising him eternal fidelity, were he even guilty as well as unfortunate. *S. P. Dom.* James I., vol. iv. no. 36 (12).

⁵ Privy Seal Book, 1-4, James I.

⁶ [Created Baron Harrington of Exton at the King's coronation in July, 1603.]

him¹—a zealous Protestant, of firm and independent character, thoughtful and devout, and showing his appreciation of the claims of education by the extreme care bestowed upon that of his only son, whose highly moral and religious feeling, extensive knowledge and courtly accomplishments, rendered him a favourite companion of Prince Henry. Lady Harrington was the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Kelway, surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries to Queen Elizabeth, and though not of noble blood, was distinguished by her gentleness and ladylike refinement. Her daughter, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, also of refined and elegant tastes, was high in favour with Queen Anne, and one of her privy chamber.²

The Princess was removed first to Exton, long the family seat of the Harringtons in Rutlandshire,³ and thence to the seclusion of Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire, the inheritance of Lady Harrington. This ancient dwelling was formerly a house for Cistercian monks, founded in the time of King Stephen.⁴ It forms three sides of a quadrangle, the centre being more elevated than the sides, and surmounted by a belfry; the old cloisters occupy the lower portion. The park, beautifully rural, boasts some fine old trees of great antiquity, whilst a noble sheet of water spreads its calm expanse, unruffled save by the snowy wings of the swans, or by the numerous deer that flock from the wooded glades of the park to quench their thirst. Combe Abbey, as it now stands, has been little changed since the time when it formed the abode of the Princess Elizabeth, and to this day is singularly associated with her, not merely as the home of her girlhood but as the subsequent residence of her long-trying and faithful friend, Lord Craven, who gathered within its walls all the family portraits bequeathed to him by herself or her son, Prince Rupert. The good taste of the subsequent noble possessors has forborne to disturb the pictures and statues which fill every niche of what may almost be termed the temple of the Queen of Bohemia.⁵

“The arrival of the king’s daughter at this Abbey,” writes a German historian, who has composed an able sketch of the history of Elizabeth, “was truly an epoch in her life. The castle retained the outward appearance of a cloister, but in the interior, the rooms were light, spacious, and habitable; yet a certain conventual simplicity and strictness of rule pervaded the whole household, which gave dignity and earnestness to existence. Adjoining the castle was a beautiful garden, and a park for the pleasure of the

¹ See character of Lord Harrington in Fuller’s “Worthies,” vol. ii. p. 243.

² Ellis’s “Letters,” 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 82.

³ Wright’s “Rutland,” p. 47.

⁴ Dugdale’s “Warwickshire,” vol. i. p. 222.

⁵ To the courtesy of the Earl of Craven the author has been indebted for permission to inspect the pictures and apartments, private as well as public, of Combe Abbey.

chase, and the princess was allowed to enjoy the pleasant variety which conduces to the development of childhood. Here she became a lover of nature and the chase; here her lively spirit could unfold itself without constraint, and develop the masculine sense which inspired her and was conspicuous on so many occasions; here she was far from the flatteries of the court, which often, like a deadly dew, poison the bloom of youth."¹

An additional tinge of earnestness was thrown over the character of the Princess, by the care with which not only the principles and precepts of our holy faith, but even some of its leading controversial points, were instilled into her mind; these being considered most necessary, at a period when the faith of so many was fluctuating and unsettled; yet the liveliness of disposition, which was one of her striking characteristics, was in no degree impaired.

Lord Harrington entered upon his charge in a spirit of conscientious fidelity. He relinquished public life, and even excused himself from attending the meetings of Parliament, in order that he might devote his whole energy to his duties.²

The most intimate companion of Elizabeth from this time was Anne Dudley, daughter of Sutton, Lord Dudley, and niece of the Earl of Harrington, with whom she formed a life-long friendship.³ Her establishment at Combe consisted of her nurse, Mistress Alison Hay, Lady Dunkerrant, who had been with her from her birth,⁴ a physician, instructors in writing, dancing, French and Italian, and a music-master, who was no other than Dr. John Bull, supposed to be the composer of the National Anthem.⁵ Two footmen, clad in the royal liveries, were in constant attendance upon the Princess: she had three bed-chamber women and a French lady's-maid,⁶ a sempstress, a laundress, grooms of the bed-chamber and presence-chamber, and grooms of the stable, yeomen of the horse and the cellar, a sumpterman, etc. Her stable usually consisted of nineteen or twenty horses.⁷ In course of time Lord Harrington discovered that pecuniarily he was a serious loser by his engagement to

¹ Sötl, "Elizabeth Stuart, Religionskrieg in Deutschland," vol. i. p. 67.

² *S. P. Dom.*, under date 2nd and 3rd Feb. 1604, licence excusing his presence at the Parliament on this account.

³ Until her death in 1615. See p. 107, below.

⁴ Privy Seal Book, 1-4, James I., f. 50 b. She had a pension of 200*l.* a year by a warrant dated 14th May, 1604.—*S. P. Dom.* (*docquets*) under date.

⁵ Dr. Bull was also in the service of the Prince, from whom he received 40*l.* a year; his attendance upon Elizabeth could therefore be only occasional. He had been a great favourite with Queen Elizabeth, and was appointed by her Professor of Music at Gresham College. His published musical lessons are distinguished by their science, and are extremely difficult of performance.—Sir John Hawkins' "History of Music," vol. iii. p. 319.

⁶ Probably the person named as a "tirewoman" in a letter from Frances, Countess of Hertford, to Sir Julius Cæsar, Addit. MS. 12506, Art. 183.

⁷ Lord Harrington's Account of the Expenses of the Lady Elizabeth, 1612-13. Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellanea, 343 (2).

defray the expenses of such a host of attendants, at 1,500*l.* a year. 1,000*l.* a year additional was, therefore, granted him by the King¹ in addition to what was required for servants' wages.²

Combe Abbey being within two miles of Coventry, it was natural that the Princess should wish to visit that town; the citizens were equally desirous to entertain her; but, as they were little accustomed to do honours to royal guests they were rather tardy in their invitation, and the delay subjected them to the inconvenience of a practical joke. A certain composer of pageants, named Massy, who professed to be of a knightly family, but was evidently reduced to live by his wits, and was both irritable and roguish, had had several quarrels with the corporation of Coventry, in regard to payments awarded to him for his devices for city shows. On one occasion, having offered to prepare a show for a certain sum, and the offer being refused, he adopted an ingenious plan of compelling acquiescence. Presenting himself one day before the council, he announced that he had been with Lord Harrington, and spoken to him of his projected show, that his lordship being wishful to see it, had entreated the Lady Elizabeth to visit the city within two days, and that she had consented to come, with the full expectation of seeing the show. A clamorous discussion ensued among the disconcerted citizens, who were totally unprepared to give fitting entertainment to such guests; when one, a little less disturbed than his fellows, wisely proposed to send off a messenger to Combe Abbey, to ascertain the truth of the story; on which it proved to be altogether a fabrication. If Massy is to be believed, the enraged Mayor bestowed on him a liberal shower of cuffs for his malicious trick.³ The Mayor, however, was aroused to the propriety of preparing a suitable reception for the Princess, and her visit is thus recorded:—

“On Tuesday, April 3, 1603 [1604], the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to James I. came to this city, from Combe Abbey, with Lord and Lady Harrington, and many other ladies of distinction. To show that due deference which the respectability of the party demanded, the mayor and aldermen, with the rest of the livery, rode out of the town, in their scarlet gowns, as far as Jabet's Ash, on Stoke Green, where they met the princess. The mayor alighted from his horse, kissed her hand, and then rode before her into the city, with the aldermen, &c. Lord Harrington went bare-headed before the coach along the streets (which were lined with the different companies of the city, standing in their gowns and hoods) from Gosford-gate to the Drapery-door, near St. Michael's Church, where having arrived, and heard a sermon, the princess went from thence to St. Mary's Hall, attended by her train; a chair of state was placed at the upper end of the room, in which her highness dined; from whence, having finished her repast, she adjourned to the mayoress's parlour, which was fitted up in a most sumptuous manner for her reception:

¹ Privy Seal Bills, 1-4, James I., date 14th August, 1606.

² *Ibid.* 5-6, James I., 28th May, 1608. The original warrant is amongst the State Papers, Warrant Book ii., p. 23.

³ Sharp's "Coventry Pageants," 4to, Coventry, 1825, p. 75.

Lord Harrington, the mayor, with the rest of the ladies and gentlemen, then dined. The mayor afterwards presented to the princess a silver cup, double gilt, which cost the city 29*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* She then left the Hall, and rode down Cross Cheaping, attended by the mayor, &c. to Bishop-gate, Spon-end, Spon-street, Gosford-gate, and Jabet's Ash, where the mayor left her with Lord Harrington and his train, who reconveyed her to Combe.

"Five pounds were given to the servants of the princess."¹

The following year the citizens sent her a present more substantial than elegant, *viz.*, two fat oxen!²

It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to find a more charming collection of little notes, penned by the hand of any royal child, than those of the Princess Elizabeth in her early life. They are written in English, French, and Italian, and some of them in characters so exquisite as to render it difficult to believe that such a handwriting could ever be so spoiled as was hers in later years. Her earliest preserved epistle was written apparently about the year 1603, when she was only seven years of age, and the letters are formed between lines ruled in red ink. It was addressed to her eldest and dearly beloved brother, Prince Henry:—

"My dear and worthy brother, I most kindly salute you, desiring to hear of your health, from whom though I am now removed far away, none shall ever be nearer in affection than

"Your most loving sister, ELIZABETH."³

The following, written in 1604,⁴ are specimens of the graceful and tender affection with which she was in the habit of addressing her father and brother:—

"Most gracious sovereign and dear father,

"This gentleman, Mr. Harrington's, return to the court gave me a well pleasing opportunity to present your majesty with this paper, the messenger of my most humble duty to your highness, thinking it, I confess, infinitely long since I was so happy as to enjoy your presence, which, though I dare not presume to desire, I know nothing I would so gladly obtain. And so, humbly craving your majesty's blessing, I will ever continue

"Your majesty's most obedient daughter, ELIZABETH.

"To the king's most excellent majesty."⁵

"Worthy prince and my dearest brother,

"I received your most welcome letter and kind token by Mr. Hopkins, highly esteeming them as delightful memorials of your brotherly love, in which assuredly (whatever else may fail) I will ever endeavour to equal you; esteeming that time happiest when I enjoyed your company, and desiring nothing more than the fruition of it again; that as nature hath made us

¹ "History of Coventry," 12mo, Coventry, p. 51. Also Nichols's "Progresses," vol. i. p. 429.

² *Ibid.* p. 53.

³ Harleian MS. 6986, f. 84.

⁴ Though none of Elizabeth's childish letters, with one exception, are dated, yet it is not difficult to identify their date with something like precision, from the internal evidence of a few, and from careful observation of the different and gradually developing styles of handwriting, especially in the signatures.

⁵ Letters to King James I., Maitland Club, facsimile.

nearest in one love together, so accident might not separate us from living together. Neither do I account it the least part of my present comfort, that although I am deprived of your happy presence, yet I can make these lines deliver this true message, that I will ever be, during my life

“ Your most kind and loving sister,
 “ To my most dear brother, the prince.”¹

ELIZABETH.

The reciprocation which these kindly expressions met with on the part of Prince Henry is testified by the cordiality of his replies.

The close of the year 1605 was signalled by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, which, had its fearful purposes been accomplished, would have placed our Elizabeth on a compulsory throne, based on the blood-stained wreck of all that was dearest to her. The design of the conspirators was to destroy the King, Prince Henry, and the Duke of York, and then to compose the minds of the people by proclaiming the Princess as a second Queen Elizabeth, and in her name to carry out their purposes in reference to the suppression of Protestantism.² The proclamation was all prepared; but no mention was made in it of the change of religion—that was to be disclosed only when matters were more advanced. For the seizure of the person of Elizabeth the following scheme was devised. Sir Everard Digby appointed a grand hunting-match at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, for the gentry of the neighbourhood, “not with hounds for the hare (which was only the colour),” writes a quaint chronicler, “but with Nimrod, for blood, and surprise of the most virtuous young princess, Lady Elizabeth”. He hoped by this means to allure Lord Harrington, and all the knights and esquires of his household, to leave Combe Abbey protected only by menials. On pretence of the hunt a number of Roman Catholic knights and gentlemen assembled, wearing concealed armour, who, quietly withdrawing from the chase as soon as the scattering of the party permitted them to do so unobserved, advanced towards Combe Abbey. Unaware of the failure of the plot in London, and believing that at that moment the royalty and nobility of England were buried beneath the smoking ruins of the Parliament House, they marched on in eagerness to seize the Princess and convey her to Ashby St. Legers, the house of Lady Catesby, mother of one of the principal conspirators. But the circumstance of their having forcibly taken some horses the preceding day aroused suspicion that some sinister design was on foot, and several of the neighbouring gentry were armed and on the alert. Meanwhile a messenger, who had ridden post all

¹ Harl. MS. 6986, f. 89.

² Fawkes, in his confession, said they would have taken the Duke of York for King, but being uncertain whether they had forces enough to seize him, as he was near London, they “resolved to serve their turn with the Lady Elizabeth”.—Gunpowder Plot Book, no. 49. See *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1603-10, p. 246.

night from London to Combe, conveyed a timely warning, and Elizabeth, attended by Lord Harrington and all his loyal household,¹ withdrew to Coventry, where the citizens rallied manfully around her, and formed themselves into a small but resolute body-guard in her defence.²

The failure of the plot was made known to the country conspirators by comrades escaped from London. Confused and alarmed, uncertain of what had transpired and ignorant of how much was known, some surrendered and others slunk into retirement. The bravest of them gathered at Holbeach House, without hope but determined to resist to the end. On the evening of the 8th of November, the house was attacked and carried by the sheriff's men, the chief plotters were slain or made prisoners, and the conspiracy was at an end. The feelings of Elizabeth were strongly excited by these events.

"I doubt not," she writes to her brother Prince Henry, "but you have rendered thanks to our good God for the deliverance he has given us; as I have done and still do, for my part. But I wish to join my vows with yours, and to say with you—'If the Lord be for us, who can be against us? In his keeping I will not fear what man can do.'"³

The following is an extract from a letter of Lord Harrington dated Combe Abbey, 6th January, 1606.⁴

"I am not yet recovered from the fever occasioned by these disturbances—I went with Sir Fulk Grevile to alarm the neighbourhood, and surprize the villains, who came to Holbeck—was out five days in peril of death and in fear for the great charge I left at home. Winter hath confessed their design to surprize the princess at my house, if their wickedness had taken place at London. Some of them say she would have been proclaimed queen. Her highness doth often say—'What a queen should I have been by this means? I had rather have been with my royal father in the Parliament House, than wear his crown on such condition.' This poor lady hath not yet recovered the surprize, and is very ill and troubled."

Lord Harrington, in the same letter, speaks of his royal charge with much affection. "With God's assistance," he writes, "we hope to do our lady Elizabeth such service as is due to her princely endowments and natural abilities; both which appear the sweet dawning of future comfort to her royal father." His cousin, the witty Sir John Harrington, declares that "Lord Harrington of Exton doth much fatigue himself with the royal charge of the Princess Elizabeth, and midst all

¹ Speed's "History," fol. Lond. 1623, pp. 891-93; Wilson's "Life and Reign of James I.," p. 29; Nichols, vol. i. p. 587; "Works of King James," fol. Frankfurt, 1689, pp. 104-7; Stow, p. 876.

² A minute of the city council records the delivery from the armoury of 14 pikes, 18 bills, 2 partizans, 5 corselets, 2 horseman's staves, 2 bows, and one glaive, in her defence.—Nichols, vol. iv. p. 1068.

³ Harl. MS. 6986, f. 131.

⁴ Harrington's "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 371.

the foolery of these times, hath much labour to preserve his own wisdom and sobriety".¹

In July, 1606, Elizabeth was summoned to Court, in anticipation of a visit from her maternal uncle, Christian IV., King of Denmark. The Queen kept her room on account of the recent death of an infant daughter, but James I. and Prince Henry went to Gravesend to welcome their royal relative: Elizabeth and her younger brother, Prince Charles, remained at Greenwich, and waited his approach on the landing-place of the palace-steps. The Princess received him with courteous gravity: he kissed her and her brother, and then the two sovereigns, accompanied only by the children, went to see the Queen in her chamber of mourning.² This royal visit proved more pleasant in the anticipation than the reality. The Kings, having run through a round of dissipations, became wearied of each other's society, and though Christian had proposed to remain until September, he found a pretext for taking leave early in August.³ Elizabeth by no means partook of the *ennui* of her uncle; to her girlish imagination her life at Court shone out in glowing contrast to the monotonous quiet of her seclusion in the country, and after she was sent back to Combe, her correspondence with her favourite brother, Henry, bears testimony to her impatience to return, while it places in a strong light the ardent affection subsisting between these royal children. The Prince complains to his sister of a void in the pastimes they were wont to share together, since she has no longer a part in them, but comforts her with the prospect of a speedy visit from the Queen her mother, and declares his resolution to follow as soon as he could, and his hope of finding her in good health.⁴ His promise was fulfilled, but the close of the brief interview left them longing for more frequent communion. Contemporary writers thus allude to the strong fraternal feeling of the Prince:—

“As for the Lady Elizabeth his sister, he loved her always so dearly that he desired to see her always by him. And (at least) they did visit each other once in two days, if time and occasion had served, and that they had been anything near together. Otherwise he did send often to inquire of her health, with divers infallible signs and tokens of his great love and affection.”⁵

¹ Harrington's "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 353.

² Carte's "England," vol. iii. p. 262; Boderie, "Ambassades," vol. i. p. 227; "Mercure François," 1606, p. 113. A full account of his Danish Majesty's visit may be found in a rare tract in the British Museum—"Relatio oder Erzählung wie der grossmächtigste Herr Christianus Quartus, &c., in Königreich Engellandt angelanget," etc., 4to, Hamburg, 1607.

³ Boderie, "Ambassades," vol. i. p. 259.

⁴ Harl. MS. 7007, f. 215.

⁵ W. H., "True Picture and Relation of Prince Henry," 4to, Leyden, 1634, p. 4. This work was dedicated to Elizabeth.

and Cornelia. She also diligently cultivates music, and is a great proficient in the art: for this tranquil, liberal science most fittingly accords with the temper of the most placid and illustrious maiden. Added to this, her manners are most gentle; and she shows no common skill in those liberal exercises of mind and body which become a royal maiden. In fine, whatever was excellent or lofty in Queen Elizabeth, is all compressed in the tender age of this virgin princess, and if God spare her to us, will be found there accumulated."¹

The following stanzas, written by a courtly poet, also present a pleasing description of her early attractiveness:—

- “ Her countenance was cheerly amiable,
 Bearing sure marks of a more graceful spirit;
 Her eyes were comely, lovely, admirable:
 No sooner did her feet the ground inherit,
 But she trod under pride and ignorance,
 And did herself to better things advance.
- “ How often did she clip her parents' neck
 To witness her dear joy, which they, perceiving,
 A thousand kisses gave, a thousand take,
 Of her soft rosy lip fit words conceiving;
 Such was her face both parents might be known,
 So gently, yet so royally it shone.
- “ Her cheer was pleasing, yet with majesty,
 Which drew the graces nearer to direct
 How she might speak and move her pretty body,
 With grave decorum yet with mild aspect;
 To temper all her thoughts, looks, gestures, motions,
 With honest seemliness, holy devotions.
- “ Her smooth large forehead kept fair shamefacedness,
 Her tongue was guided with sweet eloquence,
 Laughter sat smiling in her cheeks with gladness,
 Eyes, lids, ears, hairs, each had their excellence;
 To dress herself she took light care, short leisure,
 Grace, like a die, cast any way, gave pleasure.
- “ Her goings were guided with a modest measure
 Of all her moving parts; yet oft she sat
 And read her duties in the Sacred Scripture,
 Or heard while her blest mother wisdom taught:
 Her wisdom oft abstain'd from childish toys,
 Virtue to learn, and think on heavenly joys.”²

On the 1st of January, 1608, the French Ambassador was permitted to pay his compliments to the Prince and Princess. He thus records the impression of his interview:—

“ For my lady princess, I assure you it will not be her fault if she is not dauphiness;—not one of the worst fancies she could have;—for she is not at all troubled when it is mentioned to her. She is handsome, graceful, well nourished, and speaks French very well, much better than her brother.”³

¹ Rosa T. Idæa Jacobi, etc., 12mo, Lond. 1608.

² Joannes Maria, “Marriage Hymn,” pt. i. p. 16.

³ Boderie, “Ambassades,” vol. iii. p. 6.

He speaks of her as "full of virtue and merit," and declares that, in his opinion, the French could find no alliance more suitable for their future monarch, as no Princess in Christendom could give more promising hopes of excellence. He adds, that it would be useless to attempt to negotiate a match between Prince Henry and the daughter of the French King, if they were not in earnest in marrying Elizabeth to the Dauphin; as the Prince had promised his sister not to consent to the alliance for himself, unless that for her were also concluded.¹ Her ambition was evidently fired with the idea of wearing the crown matrimonial of France; we shall have occasion hereafter to notice that the charms of regality possessed a fascination only too potent in the eyes of the Lady Elizabeth: but it was not the crown of France which was destined to rest upon her brow.

From this time we find Elizabeth a frequent resident at Court. She had one suite of apartments fitted up at Hampton Court, on the side next the river, and opening into the gardens;² and another at Whitehall, in the part of the palace then known as the Cock-pit.³ Lord Harrington also formed an establishment for her at Kew, where she could at once enjoy proximity to the Court and leisure to prosecute her studies. She had set her heart on paying a visit to her brother, but it was put aside by their guardians, to the bitter disappointment of both. Elizabeth wrote to assure her brother that she sympathised in the affliction which he expressed touching the wished-for visit, but consoled herself on the ground of the proportionate improvement he would be likely to make in his studies.⁴ Lord Harrington viewed the matter in a more prudent light, as appears by the following letter from him to Mr. Newton, the Prince's tutor:—

"Sir—I have just cause to acknowledge my thankfulness for your friendly letter, sent by my servant, and I must confess I received much contentment thereby, to perceive that your opinion so rightly concurred with mine, about her grace's late intended journey; which, had it proceeded, as it was proposed, might have procured much trouble to many; but being now so ordered as the prince's highness and her grace may meet in the day, and part at night, will, I hope, give them both good content, and save them much toil that might depend on the other course. For my part, I wish with all my heart his highness might see her grace every day, to increase the comfort they receive in each other's company. I will be ready to further all occasions that may draw them together."⁵

That Lord Harrington acted up to his professions is proved by the following communication to the Earl of Salisbury:—

"My honourable good lord,

"I must crave pardon that I wait not on your lordship myself, with the

¹Boderie, "Ambassades," vol. iii. p. 43.

²Account of Hampton Court in Lysons' "Middlesex".

³Accounts of the Master of the King's Works, 1642, Audit Office, Declared Accounts.

⁴Harl. MS. 6986.

⁵Lansdowne MS. 90, Art. 77.

book of accounts for her grace, for this last half year, at Michaelmas, 1609 : my wife being not yet thoroughly recovered of her sickness, and the prince calling often for her grace, to ride abroad with him, causeth my more necessary attendance. I have sent the accounts by this bearer, my servant, who can satisfy your lordship of any particular contained in them : it may please your lordship to peruse them and to give allowance as you have been formerly pleased."¹

In equestrian exercise, the Prince and his sister took great delight. Two of their early letters mention presents to each other of horses ; and it was their frequent custom to exchange gifts.² The presents which Elizabeth received from other persons, among both the nobility and the lower orders, were numerous, and as various in their character as the parties who offered them. Costly jewellery, ornamental attire, animals and birds, of which she was extremely fond, venison, sweetmeats, fruits, etc., are frequently named.³

One of the constant companions of the Princess was the daughter of Sir Robert Carey, guardian of her brother Charles. This lady was educated with her, and was one of her maids-of-honour.⁴ When at Court, Elizabeth had two or three footmen extraordinary in attendance upon her person ; and in addition to the provision made for her by Lord Harrington, the royal wardrobe accounts frequently record payments for jewels, dresses, horses, riding equipments, barges, and other gifts, bestowed upon her by her father.⁵

On the 14th of January, 1609, the Princess, apparently for the first time, was permitted to be present at one of the Court ballets, of which her mother was extremely fond ; and afterwards, in company with her governess, entertained the wife of the Flemish ambassador at supper. A few days later, the Queen gave a promise to the ambassador of Spain, that her eldest son and daughter should honour him with a visit at his own house, to witness a ballet, and she even engaged to come herself ; this was a private arrangement, since the King frowned upon the strong predilection which she entertained for Spain, and her growing intimacy with the Spanish ambassador. The Privy Council, having detected her intentions, issued their orders to the lady governess to detain the royal children ; and they not only entreated the Queen to stay away, but employed the Countess of Salisbury to remain with her, and engage her attention all the afternoon so as to secure the point.⁶ Elizabeth was again

¹ *S. P. Dom.* James I., xlvi. 126.

² Privy Purse Expenses of Prince Henry, 1610-12, Audit Office, Declared Accounts, 1610, Michaelmas ; *S. P. Dom.* James I., lvii. 87.

³ Lord Harrington's Accounts, *passim*.

⁴ Nichols, vol. i. p. 460. [See Appendix A.]

⁵ Wardrobe Accounts, James I., 1604-9, Audit Office, Declared Accounts ; Warrants, *S. P. Dom.*

⁶ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 99.

present at a ballet, given early in February, in honour of the nuptials of Viscount Haddington and the Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe. The masque was composed by Ben Jonson, and the bride had the honour of dining with Prince Henry, the Duke of York, and their sister.¹ The following March, we find the sum of 1617*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* paid to Lord Harrington for the expenses of the Princess's journey to Court, and also for her servants' lodging, her teachers' fees, apparel, and other necessaries.²

In April, 1609, the royal family, including the Princess, honoured with their presence the opening of a set of shops in the Strand, north of Durham House, which belonged to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury. "Sundry devices" were got up for their entertainment, and the King gave the name of "Britain's burse" to the buildings which first introduced commerce into the western part of London.³ A few weeks after, the royal party were spectators of a very different scene. In the Tower of London there was at that time a menagerie for wild beasts, and fights among these savage creatures formed occasional pastimes for the higher classes of civilised Britons of the seventeenth century. A bear, exceedingly fierce, having accidentally seized a child and killed it, was doomed to die; and on the 23rd of June, in presence of the King and his family and a large concourse of spectators, the monster was led out, to be torn in pieces by lions. One lion after another was brought forward; but not one evinced the least inclination to fight the bear. Two younger beasts were a little more irritably disposed, but as soon as they perceived their grim enemy ready to defend himself, they also made the best of their way to their dens. Sentence, however, had gone forth against poor Bruin for his child-slaughter, and on the 5th of July he was publicly worried to death by dogs: 20*l.* of the money gathered from those who thronged to witness the spectacle was given to the mother of the murdered infant.⁴

James I. and all his family had a passion for animals. Queen Anne's love of dogs is well known, and Elizabeth fully shared the predilection. Among the entries in her private expenses we find the following:—

"Paid for strewing herbs, and cotton to make beds for her grace's monkeys, 3*s.* 3*d.*

"Paid to a joiner for mending her grace's parrot cages, and other works done in her grace's service, 3*s.* 10*d.*

"Paid for shearing her grace's rough dog, 12*d.*

¹ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 189.

² Pell Records, ed. F. Devon, James I., p. 6.

³ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 248.

⁴ Stow's "Chronicle," continued by E. Howes, p. 194.

“Paid to one of her grace’s footmen, for the charges of a great Irish dog that he kept by her highness’s appointment, 14s.

“To Mrs. Sidney’s men that brought home a little bitch of her grace, which was lost, 5s.”¹

A dog of Sir John Harrington’s was such a favourite with the Princess, that Sir John declared he would match him against the horse of Alexander, for if the dog did not carry a great prince on his back, “he was bold to say he did often bear the sweet words of a greater princess on his neck”.² Elizabeth’s love of the chase is indicated by the following notices in her account book:—

“To the keeper of Nonsuch Great Park, for his fee, her grace killing a doe there, 20s.

“To his man that brought the doe to Kew, 5s.

“Given by her grace’s command to a huntsman that made her grace sport in hunting, 10s.”³

On the 6th of January, 1610, Prince Henry, now rising up to vigorous youth, gave a sumptuous banquet to his father, at St. James’s Palace, where he then kept his separate Court; and he gratified his tender love for his sister, by making her the sharer, and indeed the heroine, of his feast. In the afternoon of the 5th, fifty defenders appeared to answer the challenge for a tourney previously issued by the Prince and six young nobles. They tilted bravely, and the distribution of the prizes was appointed to take place on the succeeding day. The assembly was numerous and brilliant, and King James stood chatting, in high good humour, till the Prince and his sister came to conduct him to the banquet. The tables, 120 feet in length, were spread in the gallery, at one end of which, under a canopy of state, was a separate board for the King. Thence, seated on a throne, he could survey the company; the end of the table nearest him being left unoccupied, so as not to intercept his view. The Prince sat the first at one side of the table, the Lady Elizabeth opposite to him, and below them a long array of lords and ladies. At the close of the repast came the distribution of the prizes, which consisted of trinkets, garnished with diamonds, and were to be given by the fair hands of the Princess. Elizabeth stood at her father’s right hand, with her brother by her side, and listened whilst the judges pronounced their verdicts on the combatants. Earl Montgomery was first led up; the King gave the jewel into the hands of his daughter, and she gracefully presented it to the young nobleman. Sir Thomas

¹“An Account of money disbursed by the Lord Harrington for my Lady Elizabeth, her grace’s service, for apparel, necessaries, and other extraordinaries, begun in Michaelmas, 1612, and ending at the Lady Day, 1613.”—Public Record Office, Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellanea, 343 (2).

²Nichols, vol. ii. p. 197.

³Lord Harrington’s Accounts, *ut supra*.

Darcy and Sir Robert Gordon received the other prizes. The King, feeling weary, then retired; but the joyous spirits of his children knew no fatigue: though it was past midnight, they went to see a comedy, which lasted two hours, and thence returned to the gallery, where every vestige of the preceding repast had been removed, and in its place was spread a supper of the most ingenious and costly description. The crystal dishes were filled with sweetmeats of all shapes and forms; imitations of fountains flowing with rose-water, of windmills, dryads, soldiers on horseback, pleasure gardens, the planetary system, etc. Henry led his sister twice round the table, to indulge her curiosity with a sight of these wonders of confectionery art; and then, bowing a graceful adieu, they took their leave of the company. Their departure was the signal for a general scramble, and the high-born guests so far allowed their acquisitiveness to get the better of their sense of decorum, that in their struggles for the plunder, the table itself was broken down, and every atom, not only of the supper, but of the costly ware in which it was served, even to the very water-bottles, was taken away.¹

The next public appearance of the Princess was at the state ceremonials when her favourite brother was created Prince of Wales. The princely procession came down the river from Richmond, and was met by the lord mayor and the civic authorities in their barges; and the King, Queen, the Duke of York, and Lady Elizabeth stood in the private gallery at Whitehall to watch its progress.² The Queen celebrated the event by a *fête* entitled "Tethys' Festival, or the Queen's Wake," written by Samuel Daniel, and performed by herself, her children, two gentlemen, and the ladies of honour. The representation took place in the banqueting-room at Whitehall on the evening of the 5th of June, 1610.³ As this was the first of these elegant performances in which the Princess took a part, it was to her an important affair, and she studied her part with great care.⁴ The Queen personated the goddess of the sea; Elizabeth was "the lovely nymph of the stately Thames, the darling of the ocean"; Lady Arabella Stuart, the nymph of the Trent; and other English rivers were represented by the ladies of the Court. The most interesting actor in the show was the little Prince Charles, who,

¹ Despatch of Noel de Caron, the Dutch Ambassador, from the Transcripts of the Hague Records, presented by Lord Palmerston to the British Museum, Addit. MS. 17677, G. ff. 747, 767; Nichols, vol. ii. p. 282. The cost of this banquet was 673l. 3s. 9d.—*S. P. Dom.* James I., lii. 57.

² "Solemnity of Creating the Prince of Wales," 4to, Lond. 1610; a rare tract in the Grenville Library. [The Princess and the Duke of York watched the ceremony itself from an upper room at one end of the Court of Requests. See an interesting letter printed in "Report on MSS. in Various Collections," vol. iii. p. 259, Hist. MSS. Comm.]

³ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 348.

⁴ Elizabeth to Prince Henry, Harl. MS. 6986.

attired as a zephyr, and attended by twelve little girls, as naiads, opened the ballet with a dance. The performance went off brilliantly, but as its picturesque details are already before the public,¹ they will not be repeated here. A tilting followed on the next day, for which Ben Jonson wrote a poem, containing, after eulogies of the Prince, the following stanza, addressed to the King and Queen :—

“ Nor shall less joy your regal hopes pursue
 In that most princely maid, whose form might call
 The world to war, and make it hazard all
 Its valour for her beauty ; she shall be
 Mother of nations, and her princes see
 Rivals almost to these.”²

At this time the King was building at Woolwich a large man-of-war, 114 feet in length ; and Elizabeth, whose association with her martial brother Henry led her to take interest in all that gratified him, went down to Woolwich with her train, to see the ship when in progress. She was received at the house of its builder, Phineas Pett. He was absent in London, the visit of the Princess being unexpected, but his wife entertained her to the best of her power.³ When the vessel was completed the royal family went down to Woolwich, intending to be on board at the launch. The King and Prince arrived in the morning of the day ; the Queen, with the Princess and the Duke of York followed in the afternoon, when they went on board amidst a flourish of trumpets and drums, and attended by a long train of lords and ladies. Unfortunately, owing to some mismanagement, the vessel stuck fast in the dock-gates, and the party were disappointed of the spectacle. They withdrew to Greenwich Palace for the night ; and the next day the Prince alone returned, and was fortunate enough to witness the launch.⁴

The Princess soon afterwards went to Kew, whence her careful guardian addressed the following letter to the treasurer, the Earl of Salisbury :—

“ I am bound to acquaint your lordship with what is happened. My son, coming the last week from the prince, by the way took a cold, which has held him these four or five days ; this morning somewhat appeareth which gives us cause to suspect he may have the measles. Albeit none of her grace’s servants or those that attend her come near him, yet in respect that this house is little, I have held it my duty to make this known to your lordship, and to crave your opinion whether it be fit her grace be removed or not. We have no house near, whither to bring her on this sudden, except to White Hall, where her lodging is always furnished.”⁵

¹ In Somers’ “ Tracts,” vol. ii. p. 191 ; Nichols’ “ Progresses,” vol. ii. p. 348, and more recently in Miss Strickland’s *Life of Anne of Denmark*, “ Queens of England,” vol. vii. p. 442. See also Stow, p. 990.

² Gifford’s “ Ben Jonson,” vol. vii. p. 177.

³ “ Archæologia,” vol. xii. p. 258.

⁴ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 365.

⁵ *S. P. Dom.*, under date 5th March, 1610-11.

The Princess does not seem to have been removed, for her brother, then absent on a hunting excursion, addresses her in the following sprightly letter :—

“That you are displeased to be left in solitude, I can well believe; for you damsels and women are sociable creatures; but you know that those who love each other best cannot always be glued together; and if I have gone from you to make war on hares, as you suppose, I would you should know that it is not less honourable to combat against hares than conies, and yet it is well authenticated, by the experience of our age, that this latter is a royal game. But this north wind, preventing us from our ordinary exercises, will blow us straight to London, in so short a time that it is probable we may celebrate together the feast of St. Mangiart and St. Pensard;¹ to whom recommending you this next Shrove Tuesday, I am, &c.”²

In the summer of 1612, Prince Henry received from his father the gift of the manor of Woodstock, and got up a splendid entertainment to celebrate his possession. He built a large summer-house of green boughs in the park; and, after feasting the Court for several days in this rural dining-room, on the last day of the festivities his parents and sister were his guests. Having himself sedulously inspected the preparations, to see that all was in becoming order, the Prince led the King and Queen to a table at the upper end of the room, whilst he and his sister headed another table, at which the nobility sat; and mirth and merriment were kept up till a late hour.³

Amidst all the pomp and pageantry to which she was occasionally introduced, the mental culture of the Princess was by no means neglected. The education of his children was one of the points which King James had most at heart: the little notes in Latin, French, or Italian, which they were required frequently to address to him, gave him fair opportunity of judging of their progress in those languages; he also insisted on their attention to their music and dancing, and bade them dance to each other's whistling or singing, when they could get no better music.⁴ The progress of his daughter in all these respects fulfilled his warmest hopes; she was not only accomplished but literary. Several mementoes of her early love of books exist. Amongst the Arundel papers is a beautiful MS., splendidly illuminated, a poem of Philip Alberic, addressed to Henry VII., seemingly the presentation copy which the Princess gave to George, Lord Carew. On the last page is her name, in her early hand, and below is written :—

“This book was given me, George Lord Carew, of Clopton, by the Lady Elizabeth, daughter unto the most high and puissant monarch, James, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. king, and with her own fair hand she superscribed her name.—Mens. October 1608.”

¹ The first, probably a pun upon *Manger* [*Panshard-day*, an old name for Shrove Tuesday].

² Harleian MS. 7007, f. 38.

³ Cornwallis's "Life of Prince Henry," p. 27.

⁴ Harl. MS. 6987, f. 24.

Among the Sloane MSS. is an album, containing mottoes and signatures of the children of James I., written in 1609, all of which are strikingly characteristic. Prince Henry's, in Latin, "Glory is the torch of an honest mind". Prince Charles's, "If you would conquer all things, submit yourself to reason". Elizabeth's, written in Italian is, "Honesty united to cheerfulness, contents me, Elizabeth P."¹

The following entries from her account book have reference to her studies :—

"Paid to Hazard, that keepeth her grace's virginals in tune, for his stipend for the quarter ending at Christmas 1612, 10s.

"Paid to Mr. Beauchamp that teacheth her grace to write, for gilt paper, ink, vellum, skins, and paper books for her grace's service, 29s. 8d.

"Paid to Mr. Lownes for the Book of Martyrs, a great Bible, and divers other volumes of histories, by her highness specially appointed to be provided, 28l. 10s.

"To Mr. Tache that presented her grace with anagrams and verses, 40s."²

Amelia Sawyer, one of the first of English poetesses, in point of date, in the dedication of her poems to the Queen and Princess, thus alludes to the latter :—

"And she that is the pattern of all beauty,
The very model of your majesty,
Whose rarest parts enforceth love and duty,
The perfect pattern of all piety :
O let my book by her fair eyes be blest,
In whose pure thoughts all innocency rests."

Henry Peacham, dedicating to her his "Minerva Britannica ; or, Garden of Heroical Devices," addresses her as—

"Fair princess, great, religious, modest, wise,
By birth, by zeal, behaviour, judgment, sound,
By whose fair arm, my muse did first arise,
That crept before, full lowly on the ground,
And durst not yet from her dark shade aspire,
Till thou, sweet sun, didst help to raise her higher.

"Thus since by thee she hath her life and sap,
And finds her growth by thy dear cherishment,
In thy fair eye consists her future hap,
Here write her fate, her date, her banishment,
Or may she that day-lasting lily be
Or soli-sequium,³ e'er to follow thee."⁴

¹ Nichol's "Royal Autographs".

² Lord Harrington's Accounts.

³ The sun-flower, continually turning to the sun.

⁴ See also the Dedicatory Stanzas to Heywood's "Epithalamium," published by the Percy Society.

Elizabeth was now springing up to womanhood, and her fame spread far and wide, as the most "deserving young lady of the age".¹ As might be expected, she had suitors in abundance; and of these, some were closely involved in her future destiny. Among the earliest was Gustavus Adolphus, then Prince, afterwards King of Sweden. His father (as we learn from instructions given to the English envoy to Denmark) directed the ambassadors whom he sent to England

"To make offer of the prince his son to the Lady Elizabeth's grace, as to a lady of whose inward and outward virtues, besides her eminent birth, he had heard so great report, as he did much affect such an alliance; towards which he would so enable his son every way, as it should appear to his majesty, that he was not only willing to offer that which was to him of greatest price,—which was his first-born son,—but to part with such a portion of his fortune, as his majesty and all her grace's friends should find he held nothing too dear to compass such a marriage."²

The proposal, so courteously worded, was negatived on the ground of the enmity subsisting between the powers of Sweden and Denmark. The latter sovereign, Christian IV., being the brother-in-law of King James, and in close alliance with him, he was unwilling to marry his daughter to a Prince at war with her uncle; and also he expressed reluctance to have her removed so far away from him. Thus was thwarted an alliance which would have placed Elizabeth on one of the chief Protestant thrones in Europe, and would have given her a husband whose genius and character would have secured her a destiny different indeed from that which fate held in store for her.

Next on the list of suitors came Elizabeth's cousin, Frederic Ulric, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who visited England in the spring of 1610, to seek her hand, but though hopes of the alliance were cherished for some time by his family,³ his suit was without success.⁴ Prince Maurice of Nassau next proposed for her, but his position was considered too uncertain and too inferior to her own.⁵ The offers of two of the Howard family, Henry, Earl of Northampton, and Theophilus, Lord Howard of Walden, were dismissed summarily; Prince Henry regarding with disdain the idea of a connexion between his sister and a mere

¹ Carte's "England," vol. iv. p. 814.

² *S. P. Denmark*, 4th Sept. 1610.

³ On 25th July, 1611, Lake thus wrote to Salisbury:—"I have, since his majesty being here, received new direction for the letter to the Duchess of Brunswick, which is to answer to a question moved by her, whether his majesty were free concerning the Lady Elizabeth; and to say that his highness cannot deny but that some overtures have been made to him, and his highness hath thereto given such answer as, if the fault be not in them more than in himself, he is to proceed, and so intendeth; for the other point of consanguinity, not to touch it, but only to say that his majesty hath given order to the prince to say some other matter to her concerning the same motion."—*S. P. Dom.* James I., lxx. 53.

⁴ Winwood's "Memorials," vol. iii. p. 144.

⁵ Boderie, "Ambassades," vol. iv. p. 283, 7th Oct. 1610.

subject.¹ The spring of 1611 brought over on the same errand Otho, Hereditary Prince of Hesse.² But at that time proposals, more formal than had yet been made, arrived from the Duke of Savoy, on behalf of his son and heir, Victor Amadeus: they included a further marriage, to be inseparably associated with the first, *viz.*, that of the Princess of Savoy with the Prince of Wales. On behalf of Elizabeth, the question of the free exercise of her religion was first mooted; and the ambassador, objecting to it, was plainly told that the King would never abandon the point—no, not even to make his daughter a Queen.³ King James took the opinion of his counsellors on the match; among the rest, that of Sir Walter Raleigh, who expressed his views in writing.

“But let us now,” he says, after some preliminary remarks, “somewhat amongst these other respects, enter into the due consideration of the person of this excellent young princess, the only daughter of our sovereign, the dear beloved sister of our prince, and one of the precious jewels of this kingdom. Let us, I say, but indifferently examine what increase of honour and dignity, or what great comfort and contentment, she can expect or hope for by the benefit of this match.

“For the first, to wit, honour and dignity, as she is born the eldest, and now only daughter of one of the mightiest kings of Christendom, so is she thereby of higher place and state than the wife of a duke of Savoy, besides, in her birth and blood, both of father and mother descended of such royal races as Savoy cannot add any greater grace or glory unto, and by nature and education endowed with such princely perfections, both of body and mind as may well deserve to be reputed a worthy spouse for the greatest monarch of Christendom; especially considering the possibilities of the daughters of England; whereof we have had many precedents, and at this time is happily manifested in the king’s majesty, our sovereign, being descended of a daughter of England.” “Now to confer the possibilities of such a fortune upon a poor popish duke of Savoy, that can return no recompense of benefit to this state, were greatly for his glory, though little for the advancement of this noble princess.” “For the second, namely, the comfort and contentment of this worthy young lady by this match, as there is little in appearance presently, so is there less to be hoped for in the future, for, at first she must be removed from her native soil, far from her nearest blood both by father and mother, into a country as far estranged from our nation as any part of Christendom, and as far differing from us in religion as in climate, and what true correspondency or matrimonial affection there can be maintained between those persons whose minds are different and opposite in the religious points of their Christian faith, is greatly to be doubted.”⁴

Raleigh’s sentiments in reference to the Princess were echoed in other quarters, and it is interesting to see how the royal counsellors kindle into enthusiasm, when mentioning the gracious daughter of their sovereign. It is not often that state diplomatists speak of a young girl of fourteen in such terms of

¹ Sir Simonds d’Ewes’ Journal, Harl. MS. 375, f. 16.

² Nichols, vol. ii. p. 424.

³ Salisbury to Winwood, Winwood’s “Memorials,” vol. ii. p. 271.

⁴ Raleigh’s Works (Oxford Edition), viii. 234. [Sir Henry Wotton, on the other hand, strongly advocated the match. See *Cal. S. P. Venice*, 1610-13, pp. 408, 412.]

spontaneous eulogy. Lord Northampton, writing to the Earl of Rochester, alludes to her as "the best and most virtuous young lady that since the conquest hath been sent from hence"; and again, "a lady for her virtues worthy of more than the world can assign to her".¹

The Savoyard Prince was so sanguine of the success of his wooing, that he offered to come over to England and fetch home his bride. But the sudden death of the Queen of Spain changed the current of affairs; the Spanish Monarch had hitherto forwarded the suit of the Prince of Savoy, who was his nephew; but being now left a widower, he began himself to entertain inclinations for the fair daughter of England.² Three weeks after the Queen's death, Sir John Digby, the resident ambassador in Spain writes:—"The bruit of the inclination here for this King's demanding my Lady Elizabeth increaseth, but I write it to your lordship for no other than a rumour".³ Don Alonzo de Velasco, the Spanish ambassador in England, was ordered to throw out a feeler on the subject. He found a warm advocate of the match in the royal family. Anne of Denmark, the mother of Elizabeth, was a lady of domineering mind, a Roman Catholic at heart, and therefore greatly devoted to the interests of Spain.⁴ The resident ambassador of that country possessed much of her confidence: she had even ventured privately to attend worship at his house, and to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Romish Church; a proceeding which brought on her a storm of reproof from her husband, who declared that such a step, were it known, might cost her her crown.⁵ Queen Anne was so anxious to see her daughter Queen of Spain, that she even threw out hints of the possibility of Elizabeth's changing her religion. Encouraged by the royal mother, Don Alonzo went beyond his instructions in the business; and the reports which, by means of his despatches, were spread abroad in Spain, greatly

¹ *S. P. Dom.*, 8th and 27th August, 1612. Lord Conway, writing from Holland to Mr. Adam Newton, Prince Henry's tutor, says, referring to some details of news—"The most quick and important point of all is the overture of a marriage for the blessed Lady Elizabeth, with the Prince of Savoy; the very treaty of that would shake France, these Low Countries, and the Protestants of Germany. I do long very much to hear how it is propounded, recommended, or harkened unto. There will not want plausible arguments, and such as may sound admirably to the honour of our nation, and the particular honour and noble humour of our master; but there must be more than private affection; faith and duty to our master makes me say to you, in confidence, that nothing of greater consequence can be propounded than about the match of that blessed and gracious lady; nor can there rise from any place more doubtful and considerable points than from such an alliance with Spain."—Harl. MS. 7002, f. 74, 7th April, 1611.

² Chamberlain to Carleton, 20th Nov. 1611, *S. P. Dom.*

³ *S. P. Spain*, 13th Dec. 1611.

⁴ Muncke to Winwood, 29th Oct. 1605, Winwood's "Memorials," vol. ii. p. 155.

⁵ These details are contained in a curious Latin letter from the Queen's spiritual attendant, preserved in Colbert MS. 6051, Paris.

moved the indignation of Digby, who thus details the remarks of some of the Spanish grandees:—¹

“They have proceeded so far with me, as to tell me they here had already received assurance that, to match with the King of Spain, the princess of England would become a Catholic; which opinion is here so spread, and every man seemeth to speak it so knowingly, that I have been forced,—for the king’s honour,—to use so plain and direct speech as I should otherwise have thought more fit to be omitted. For I have told most of the ambassadors here, and likewise divers principal men that have urged me herein, that the speech of the Lady Elizabeth’s altering her religion for to be queen of Spain, was a false and injurious report, raised by themselves; and that, though the King of Spain were a great monarch, yet were he much greater than what he is, the King and Princess of England would much scorn to have a match made with them on those conditions; and that if the King of Spain should have a mind that way, the King of England would think his daughter well worth the seeking; for that I durst confidently say, there should never be offer made to him of her, nor the king obtain her, (if he should seek her,) but upon very worthy and honourable conditions. As for the speech of my Lady Elizabeth’s being a Catholic, I know that hath chiefly risen from letters sent by Don Alonso, who hath almost in plain terms written as much.”

“From Spain, and all other parts but Great Britain,” writes Lord Conway, then in Holland, “opinion is moved that the King of Spain will pursue strongly the marriage of our blessed princess. From hence they discourse that although the King of Spain cannot, in the world, find so great a blessing in a woman, and that it would serve him to do his affairs admirably, yet it is hardly to be believed that the most Catholic king,—the fair child of the pope, and the dear sovereign and humble subject of the Jesuits,—will ever marry with one by their church counted an heretic.”²

Objections were discussed as to his Spanish Majesty’s religion, age, and position. The favourers of the match argued that a man who had given proof of conjugal love and fidelity towards an unattractive wife, would not fail in devotion to one so young and charming.³ Though the decorum of widowhood did not as yet allow of public overtures, an ambassador extraordinary, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, was sent to England, avowedly to communicate to the English King the tidings of other matrimonial alliances between Spain and France, but with a private commission to ascertain, first, whether the Princess was still disengaged, and then, whether there was any chance of her changing her religion.

¹ Digby’s Despatch, *S. P. Spain*, 4th Jan. 1612. These movements completed the discomfiture of the Duke of Savoy. Chamberlain writes to Carleton, 31st Dec. 1611.—“The ambassador of Savoy dined with the king on Sunday, and, I think, took his leave. I hear he had but a complimentary answer, that the king would advise of the matter, and send one hereafter to the duke, with his resolution. The ambassador, they say, hath been much out of taste, and given out that if he thought the Palatine of the Rhine should be put in balance with his master, he would depart without taking leave.”—*S. P. Dom.*

² Harl. MS. 7002, f. 178, 14th Feb. 1612. Digby says the rumours were so current, that the Lisbon merchants had sent to offer him a bribe of 40,000 ducats, if he would procure the landing of the princess in their city.—*S. P. Portugal*, 24th Feb. 1612.

³ Dalrymple Letters, temp. James I., Svo, Glasgow, pp. 32, 34.

If satisfied on both these points, he was to make the proposal of marriage.

King James was not indifferent to the brilliant advantages held out by the Spanish connexion, and therefore the arrival of the ambassador, whose errand had already got wind, was expected with some eagerness. On Sunday, July 19th, Don Pedro dined with the royal family at Theobalds.¹ At his public audience, which took place the latter end of July, 1612, the ambassador presented his credentials, and discharged his formal commission; when the King, instead of dismissing him, retired with him into the gallery, and asked if he had any further message to deliver. The ambassador—not having yet been able to ascertain the truth in reference to the points upon which his advances were to be grounded—said he had none. The King, rather surprised, reiterated the inquiry, and received a second negative; the ambassador, however, requested permission to remain in England a little longer, giving as a reason the excessive heat, which rendered travelling inconvenient. The King, after dismissing him, flew into a violent passion, and declared the fellow must have had orders to broach the subject, otherwise he would not have wished to stay in England; some of his Council hinted the probability of a hope, on the part of the Spaniard, to convert the Princess, but he swore that his daughter should never go out of his Kingdom a Papist. The Archbishop of Canterbury at length succeeded in soothing the angry monarch, promising to keep a strict watch over the Spaniard's movements. Don Pedro intimated, in his home despatches, that the Princess herself favoured his cause, but the surmise is unfounded: and is strongly contradicted by less suspicious authorities. "The prince," wrote the ambassador, "hath publicly said that whosoever should counsel his father to marry his sister to a Catholic prince, were a traitor, and that it cannot be but to kill him and his brother, and make the succession theirs; he is a great heretic!"² Be this as it may, the King from this time abandoned all thoughts of the Spanish alliance and resolved to carry to a conclusion the arrangements already in progress for marrying his daughter to a Prince who had long been a suitor for her hand, and who from his position was regarded as the future head of the Protestant interest in Germany—Frederic V., Count Palatine of the Rhine.

This young Prince was of the same age as the Lady Elizabeth, and, like her, well versed in general literature and knowledge of languages, but his education had been rather that of

¹ *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxx. 13, 23rd July, 1612.

² Zuñiga to the King of Spain, 2nd August, 1612. Digby to James I., *S. P. Spain*, 30th October, 1613. [Zuñiga also said, he was told that in consequence of his silence, the Palatine match was to be concluded.]

the gentleman than of the Prince, and had not sufficiently prepared him for the prominent position which, as a ruler, he was in future to hold.¹ His mother, Louise Juliane, a daughter of William the Silent, was a woman whose personal character comes down to us as that of a judicious and true-hearted wife and mother,² almost untinged by the faults and follies of frail humanity. Much of Frederic's early life was spent at Sedan with the celebrated Duke of Bouillon,³ who had married Elizabeth of Nassau, sister of the Electress. The excellent discipline to which he was subjected by this eminent man was equally valuable for his physical, mental, and moral training.⁴

In 1610 the Prince had the misfortune to lose his father, Frederic IV., and a long dispute arose as to the regency between the Dukes of Neuburg and Deuxponts. The former, according to custom and precedent, would have had the right of administration during the minority of young Frederic, but being a Lutheran, he had refused to pledge himself to maintain the Calvinist religion in the Palatinate; the Elector had, therefore, appointed Deuxponts governor, and, after long contentions, his nomination was assented to.⁵ Soon after the decease of his father, Frederic returned from Sedan to Heidelberg, the capital of his dominions,⁶ and was almost immediately seized with small-pox, from which he narrowly escaped with his life.⁷ Upon his recovery, the Duke of Bouillon, who showed the warmest interest in the welfare of his nephew, conceived the idea of uniting him in marriage to Elizabeth of England. In February, 1611, after some preliminary steps, he sent over, for the information of James I., a memorial detailing with precision the present situation and future prospects of his ward. The description of his personal appearance specifies that the form of his body is perfect, his countenance agreeable, and complexion dark; that he is skilful in bodily exercises, particularly in riding on horse-

¹ Söltl, "Religionskrieg in Deutschland," 12mo, Hamburg, 1840, vol. i. p. 50.

² The life of this lady was subsequently written by Spanheim, at the request of Elizabeth, and dedicated to her. It is a curious fact, that the Emperor Rudolf II. made love to her, sent her a splendid jewel, and professed a strong desire to marry her, but he died a few months afterwards.—Winwood to Salisbury, *S. P. Holland*, 21st Dec. 1611.

³ [Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne, the staunch upholder of the cause of Henry of Navarre, and the chief of the Calvinists of France, had married for his first wife the heiress of the Duchy of Bouillon and the principality of Sedan. By his second marriage he became not only uncle to the young Prince Frederic, but brother-in-law to the Duchess of La Tremouille, mother of the future Countess of Derby. He was father of the great Turenne.]

⁴ "Life of Louise, Electress Palatine," p. 12.

⁵ *S. P. Germ. States*, Sept. 1610. *S. P. France*, 20 Sept. 1610. Schannat, "Hist. Maison Pal.," p. 113.

⁶ Instructions to M. de Bouillon to take the new Elector Palatine to Heidelberg, Oct. 1610, Addit. MS. 5458. Winwood's "Memorials," p. 225. He was present at the funeral of his father, 17th Oct. "Mercure Français," 1610, p. 34.

⁷ See a touching letter from the Electress Dowager to Du Plessis, 13th Nov. 1610, Du Plessis, "Lettres," vol. ii. p. 265.

back: well trained in piety and morality, forward in the Latin language, and speaks French very well; that he has several houses, and, for the pleasures of the chase, possesses "some of the prettiest places that can be seen; that at the age of eighteen, he will be free from tutelage, and first Elector of the holy empire; that as to his relatives, he has a brother and three sisters; and the brother, by his father's will, holds a domain in the low Palatinate worth about 100,000 florins".¹

The overtures of the Duke were made with caution. His sagacity foresaw that discrepancy of rank might be an obstacle to the domestic comfort of the youthful couple, if united, and that much must depend upon the gentleness and accommodating temper of the Princess. Accordingly, when on a visit to Paris, in September, 1611, he sought information on the subject from Sir Thomas Edmondes, the English ambassador, who was on terms of familiarity with the Princess.² Edmondes thus relates their interview:—

"But withal he was very curious to know of me whether I did think that my Lady Elizabeth would be content to reduce herself to live according to the fashions of that country; for that, as that state did very much desire the advancement of that match, so they did also much apprehend how she would conform herself in the aforesaid point; doubting that, by reason of her great birth, she would introduce the customs of her own education, which would be of too high a flight for their usance to permit."³

Edmondes inquired in what particular it was feared she would be too high-flown in her notions, and the Duke mentioned particularly the number of her train, which they hoped would

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*. Endorsed "Feb. 1610 [-11] a memorial delivered by the Duke of Bouillon of the state of the Elector Palatine".

² Lord Harrington's accounts mention a payment of 15*l.* for two pairs of gloves, sent by Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Edmondes and his lady, in compliance with their request.

³ Edmondes to Salisbury, 20th Sept. 1611, French Corresp. [This letter is not in *S. P. France* (nor has its whereabouts been discovered) but there is a letter there dated the 19th, containing the following statements:—

The Duke told Edmondes that the Electress had propounded three difficulties to him: 1. Whether, in regard of the young years of the Prince, they might hope for some delay before the consummation of the marriage; 2. Whether they might be sure of "good acceptance," seeing that there was a bruit of the renewing of the treaty with Savoy; 3. "Whether the princess would not expect a more chargeable entertainment, in respect of the eminence of her birth, than would stand with the constitution of their state to bear," to which the Duke added that he had told the Electress that he thought it reasonable she should be allowed "a more honourable treatment than had been made to any former princess". Edmondes told the Duke that he believed the answers to all the points would be satisfactory, but promised to lay them before the King.—Edmondes to Salisbury, 19th Sept., *S. P. France*.

In his letter of 5th Oct. Edmondes alludes to this former letter, and says that the Duke asked what dowry would be demanded, "because, as the custom of Germany is not to stand upon the receiving of great portions, so their manner is not to make the allowance of great jointures". To this the Ambassador replied that he thought there would be an easy means to reconcile this difficulty, as if the King had not to give any great portion with his daughter, he might be pleased "to better the condition of her dowry by the allowance of a pension".—*Ibid.*]

not exceed the proportion allowed to Duchesses in former times, as in Germany they were "strict and formal in their customs". The Duke also expressed his hope that, should the marriage be agreed upon, the Princess might at once come to Germany, "the sooner to fashion her to the use and customs of that place: in the discreet framing her whereunto, she should be very happily assisted by a mother-in-law whom he commended to be one of the most wise and virtuous women of Christendom". Assurances were given, in reply, that the King would be no less solicitous to create in the mind of his daughter impressions suitable to her future position, than he would be to provide her with a becoming outfit; and that "the duke may assume thus much, both in his majesty's own behalf and the princess's, that since the first speech and overture from that side, his majesty hath kept her from so much as once hearing the style of love".¹

Thus reassured, Bouillon enlisted the services of the King of Denmark, uncle to Elizabeth, in favour of the match; and it was forwarded with as much despatch as could be expected in a Government whose tardiness was enhanced by the fact that the three tutors of the young Prince—Count Maurice, Prince John of Nassau and Christian, Prince of Anhalt-Bernburg—had to be consulted in every step. The Electress Mother was much in earnest. "To speak freely," she writes to the Duke of Bouillon, "all that I fear is, that our delays will make us lose this lovely princess, and that, while we trifle and hesitate to come to a decision, Savoy will carry her off."² These fears were not groundless. The excessive caution of Bouillon to ascertain, before asking the princess's hand, that his pupil would not be mortified by a refusal, was annoying to King James, who intimated that in another quarter his daughter had been sought in nobler sort, and that he should not feel obliged to keep her disengaged, unless she were formally wooed.³

In the beginning of April, 1612, the affair was discussed at an assembly of the Protestant Princes of Germany, in presence of Sir Ralph Winwood, Ambassador from England; and Philip, Count of Anhalt, was deputed to proceed to England, and settle the matter at once.⁴ At this juncture the Duke of Bouillon, who, on the death of Henry IV., had been restored to favour at the French Court, accepted a mission from the queen-regent of France, to visit England on state business,⁵ and he availed

¹ Edmondès to Salisbury, *ut supra*.

² With Edmondès' letter of 25th June, *S. P. France*.

³ Salisbury to Edmondès, 20th Nov., 26th Dec. 1611, *S. P. France*.

⁴ "Mercuré Français," 1612, p. 581 b, Harl. MS. 7002, f. 196, "Life of Louise Juliane," p. 13.

⁵ His credentials were dated $\frac{1}{8}$ April, *S. P. France*. [M. du Plessis, who came to London in Bouillon's train, wrote to the Elector's aunt, Madame de La Tremouille, warmly praising the piety, courtesy and beauty of the young English Princess. All the world agreed, he assured her, that he who won her would be a happy man. — "Archæologia," xxxix. p. 146.]

himself of the opportunity to press earnestly the Palatine alliance. On the 16th of May, 1612, in the presence of Bouillon, the marriage articles were drawn up. They stipulated that 40,000*l.* should be assigned as a portion with the Princess, to be paid within two years of her marriage, whilst the Elector settled on her a dowry of 10,000*l.* a year, in case of her surviving him, and for the present 1,500*l.* a year for her minor expenses; he engaging to provide for her household expenses, and to pay and clothe her retinue of servants, consisting of thirty-six men and thirteen women, all to be brought from England, and of her own appointment. She was to be conducted at her father's expense to the town of Bacharach on the Rhine, and then to travel to her new home at the cost of the Elector.¹ There was also a private arrangement, that as the Princess was to receive but a small marriage-portion, no more being usually asked with an Electress Palatine, the King should allow her an annual pension, to enable her to live in a style more consistent with her rank.²

The several points connected with the treaty, which still required to be more definitely settled, gave ample employment for six months to nine English counsellors, at the head of whom was Henry, Earl of Northampton, and to six German diplomats, of whom the principal was John, Count Solms, Prefect of the Palatinate. They agreed, first, that the portion of the Princess should be paid within two years, at the rate of 10,000*l.* each half year; that for security of her dower, her procurators should be put in possession of Neustadt, Germersheim, Oppenheim and other towns of the Palatinate; that suitable residences, fitted up in a princely manner, should be assigned to her at Frankenthal and Fridelsheim; that she should have her own chaplain, and be allowed to worship according to the rites and liturgies of the Church of England; that in case of surviving her husband, she should have free enjoyment of her dower, and be permitted to reside where she pleased; and that none of the issue of the union should be disposed of in marriage without consent of the King of England.³ On one point only did Elizabeth interfere with the arrangements. Her lawyers remonstrated against the custom, usual in Germany, of paying part of her revenues in produce, and requested that all should be paid in money, but Elizabeth declared that she preferred not to

¹ Bethune MS. 9688, f. 104. Lansdowne MS. 160, f. 129. "Fœdera," vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 183.

² *S. P. France*, April, 1612.

³ Cotton MS. Vitellius, C. xi. f. 368. Harl. MS. 5112, f. 119. Ashmole MS. 8424, f. 109. Lansdowne MS. 160, f. 124. "Ceremonie," ii. f. 143, College of Arms MSS., "Fœdera," vol. vii. pp. 184-86, date 17th Nov. 1612; confirmed by John, Administrator, and Louise Juliane, Electress, 8th Dec., and by Frederic himself, 20th Dec.

alter the ancient usages of the country, as she should thus be more likely to win for herself the attachment of her future subjects.¹

A friendly correspondence now began between the Prince Palatine and his future relatives.² He made his first *entrée* into public life in June, 1612, when he went to Frankfort to attend the election of an Emperor; ³ although, not having attained his majority, he was unable to vote, and the Duke of Deuxponts took his place. He wrote to Prince Henry, informing him that the plurality of votes had raised Matthias, King of Hungary, to the imperial dignity.⁴ In July he sent Colonel Meinhard von Schomberg,⁵ his *maître d'hôtel* and factotum man of business, to request permission from the King for him to visit England at once. The envoy was well received, and ordered to assure his master that he should be welcome.⁶ Frederic had ventured to address a letter to his lady-love; but Schomberg by mistake gave to Prince Henry the letter designed for the Princess, and favoured her only with that addressed to her brother. Schomberg was much disappointed in not gaining an interview with the Queen, who delayed his audience so long, that he was obliged to return in discontent, without having seen her.⁷ In fact, Queen Anne was greatly mortified to see her daughter engaged to any other than the King of Spain; and vented her spleen by nick-naming her "goody Palsgrave," and by constantly throwing out aspersions against her future son-in-law. The Princess, however, would retort upon her mother with much spirit, assuring her that she had rather be the wife of the Palsgrave than the greatest Papist Queen in Christendom.⁸ A contemporary poet writes:—

¹ Lansdowne MS. 160, f. 147.

² The Harl. MS. 7007 contains several letters from him to Prince Henry, between March and October, 1612, and two from his mother to the King, all complimentary; there are also drafts of several letters from the Prince to the young Elector, ff. 140, 145, 147, 166, 171, 176, 199.

³ "Life of Louise Juliane," p. 12.

⁴ Harl. MS. 7008, f. 100. John Donne, the poet, was present at this election, as a secretary, and mentioning his purpose to return by way of Heidelberg, he writes—"I go there with a great deal of devotion, for methinks it is a new kind of piety that, as pilgrims went heretofore to places which had been holy and happy, so I go to a place now which shall be so, by the presence of the worthiest princess in the world, if that marriage proceed. I have no greater errand to the place than that, at my return into England, I may be the fitter to stand in her presence; and that, after I have seen such a rich and abundant country in its best seasons, I may see that sun which shall always keep it in that height."—Donne's Works, by Alford, vol. vi. p. 335.

⁵ [His true name was Schönberg, but in England it was always spelt as in the text.]

⁶ "Court and Times of James I.," 8vo, Lond. 1848, vol. i. p. 189.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 192 (Chamberlain to Carleton, 11th Aug. 1612).

⁸ Roger Coke's "Detection of Court and State," vol. i. p. 68.

“ How oft would she unto her mother queen,
 Sweetly commend this prince's pedigree :
 How oft would she have blushing ready been
 To tell the titles of his emperie,
 His manners now, then his godly youth relating,
 And then his hopes of age prognosticating.”¹

It is a curious fact, and hitherto unnoticed, that even at this period, according to the testimony of Alonzo de Velasco, the Spanish ambassador in England, King James rebutted any reflection upon the inferior rank of the Palatine Prince, with the assertion, “ that he doubted not but that his son-in-law should have the title of a King within a few years ”. The ambassador

“ procured to learn, whereupon this his speech might be grounded, and findeth it to be in respect of the crown of Bohemia, because they pretend it to be elective, and that the Palatine hath great intelligence there, (by reason of the emperor's absence and abode in Vienna,) and he heareth that France secretly furthereth and helpeth that negotiation, the which the said Don Alonzo holdeth as a thing almost impossible, considering in what case matters now stand, though the very private and often conference of the French ambassador with those that have the government of the Count Palatine may justly give cause of suspicion.”²

This remark is singular, when taken in connexion with the future destinies of Frederic and Elizabeth.

At this juncture of the negotiation Elizabeth was addressed in the following charming stanzas by the poet, George Withers, on his presenting to her a copy of his satires :—³

“ Sweet Princess, though my muse sing not the glories
 Of fair adventurous knights' or ladies' loves ;
 Though here be no encomiastic stories,
 That tender hearts to gentle pity moves ;
 Yet in an honest, homely, rustic strain
 She limns such creatures as may you ne'er know.
 Forgive her, though she be severe or plain :
 Truth, that may warrant it, commanded so.
 Yea, view it over with belief ; but then
 I am afraid you will abhor a man.

“ And yet you need not ; *all* deserve not blame,
 For that great prince, that woeth to be yours,
 (If that his worth but equalize his fame)
 Is free from any satire here of ours.
 Nay, they shall praise him, for though they have whips,
 To make the wicked their offences rue,
 And dare to scourge the greatest, when he trips,
Virtue shall still be certain of her due.
 But for your sake (if that you entertain him),
 Oh ! would he were a man as I could feign him !

¹ Johannes Maria, nuptial hymn, *ut supra*.

² Advertisements sent to Spain by Velasco, *S. P. Spain*, 29th April, 1613. [Gindely, in his “Geschichte des böhmischen Aufstandes,” quotes this, and says that the young Elector's hope of mounting the throne of Bohemia was openly boasted of in London.—Vol. i. p. 186.]

³ 12mo, Lond. 1612.

“ Yet, sweet Elizabeth, that happy name,
 If we lost nothing else by losing thee—
 So dear to England is, we are to blame,
 If without tears and sighs we parted be ;
 But if thou must make blest another clime,
 Remember *ours*, and for that though I use
 A crabbed subject and a churlish rhyme,
 Deign but to be the mistress of my muse,
 And I'll change themes, and in a lofty style
 Keep thee alive for ever in this isle.”

In the summer of 1612, Prince Frederic began in good earnest to prepare for his visit to England. His tutor wrote an amusing letter to the Duke of Würtemberg, begging the loan, for a month, of the dancing-master of Tübingen, then at his Court; in order that the Prince, before he set out, might rub up what he had learned of this courtly accomplishment.¹ On the 17th of September he quitted Heidelberg, was received at Cologne by the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Neuburg, and splendidly welcomed at the Hague by the States-General, who presented him with a purse of 16,000 guilders. He then visited Leyden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam, and after being detained some time by contrary winds,² set sail,³ attended by his uncle, Prince Henry of Nassau, Count Solms his great chamberlain, Schomberg his *maître d'hôtel*, seven privy councillors, six counts, and a train of about 150 followers; having much reduced the suite originally proposed, because of the probable length of his stay in England. Their liveries and equipments were new, and more rich than was customary with the Princes of Germany.⁴ The Prince's fleet consisted of eight vessels; but they encountered such severe storms, and were so much injured in the passage, that they were compelled to put back; and three English ships, with several of the nobility on board, were sent out to conduct the Prince to England. He landed at Gravesend, on Friday, the 16th of October, at eleven P.M., and was welcomed by Sir Lewis Lewknor, master of the ceremonies.⁵

The following day, Lord Hay came to greet him on the part of the King, and on Sunday, the 18th, the Duke of Lenox, attended by several of the nobility, arrived to congratulate him and accompany him to Court. The Prince had not expected to reach London till the Monday, and he merrily replied that, but

¹ Cooper's Appendix, MSS. Churpfalz, Fascikel II. No. 8, in the royal library at Stuttgart. In the same receptacle are numerous letters to the Duke of Würtemberg from John, Duke of Deuxponts, and Frederic himself, about the time of his marriage.

²The Spaniards professed to think that King James detained the Prince in Holland, with an expiring hope that at the last moment the King of Spain might make definite proposals!—Digby to James I., 30th Oct., 1613 (recounting events of the previous year), *S. P. Spain*.

³Hildbrandt von Wouw, "Nederlandsche Chronik," fol. Hague, 1636, vol. ii. p. 329.

⁴"Finetti Philoxenis," p. 2.

⁵Baker's "Chronicle," fol. Lond. 1730.

to show his obedience, he would have excused himself from appearing publicly before that day, because his wardrobe had not yet arrived, and he was loath to be first introduced to his lady-love, whom he ought only to see in gallant attire, whilst still wearing his travelling dress.¹ His scruples were met by assurances that he would be received by the royal family, not as a stranger-guest, but as one of themselves.² The party set out at once by water, in twenty-four barks; when they reached the Tower, between four and five in the evening, the report of eighty pieces of ordnance gave notice of the Prince's arrival, and the river was speedily covered with boats and barges of every description, crowded with citizens eager to catch a glimpse of him, whilst the loud acclamations of the people who thronged the banks testified their welcome of the suitor of their beloved Princess. Though the wind blew cold and raw, Frederic opened the windows of his bark and showed himself to the gratified multitudes. The Prince passed swiftly on to Whitehall, where, in the banqueting-room, the whole of the royal family awaited him. Prince Charles, attended by numerous lords and officers, met him at the water-gate, and conducted him, through avenues thronged with cordial well-wishers, into the royal presence. The King advanced three steps from his chair of state to meet him, and embraced him.

"His approach, gesture, and countenance," writes an eye-witness, "were seasoned with a well-becoming confidence; and bending himself, with a due reverence, before the King, he told him, among other compliments, that in his sight and presence, he enjoyed a great part (reserving, it should seem, the greatest for his mistress,) of the end and happiness of his journey."

The Prince spoke in French, and so low that the rest of his "compliments" were heard only by the King, who answered:—"Say no more about it; suffice it that I am anxious to testify to you by deeds that you are welcome".³ Frederic then turned to the Queen.

"She entertained him with a fixed countenance, and though her posture might have seemed (as was judged) to promise him the honour of a kiss for his welcome, his humility carried him no higher than her hand. From which, after some few words of compliment made to the prince, and exchanging with

¹ Nichols's "Progresses," vol. ii. p. 463.

² "Beschreibung der Reiss, Empfangung des Ritterlichen Ordens, Volbringung des Heyraths und glückliche Heimführung . . . des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgeborenen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Friedrichen des Fünften . . . mit der auch Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgeborenen Fürstin und Königlichen Princessin Elisabethen, etc." 4to, Heidelb. 1613, p. 12. This German tract, evidently by an eye-witness, contains a full and ample detail of the journey to England, residence there, and return home of Prince Frederic. It is a rare book, but there are two copies in the British Museum, in one of which the plates, which are numerous, are coloured.—B.M. reference, 811 d. 46.

³ News Letter from London, 25th Nov. 1612, Du Puy MS. 648, f. 213, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

him, after a more familiar strain, certain passages of courtesy, he ended (where his desires could not but begin) with the princess, who was noted till then not to turn so much as a corner of an eye towards him, and stooping to take up the lowest part of her garment to kiss it, she most gracefully courtesying lower than accustomed, and with her hand staying him from that humblest reverence, gave him, at his rising, a fair advantage (which he took) of kissing her.”¹

Thus encouraged, the Prince ventured to whisper in his lady's ear a few words of loving compliment.² His graceful deportment towards her in particular was much noted and commended; though his first introduction, in the midst of an assemblage so imposing, to the fair creature who was to be the associate of his future career, might well have excited awkward embarrassment. A Court gossip gives the following description of his appearance:—

“To give you now a touch of his outward character, which may tell you his inward,—he hath most happily deceived good men's doubts and ill men's expectations, report of envy, malice, or weak judgment having painted him in so ill colours, as the most here (especially our ladies and gentlewomen, who held themselves not a little interested in the handsome choice of her grace's husband,) prepared themselves to see that with sorrow, which they now apprehend with much gladness.

“He is straight and well-shaped for his growing years. His complexion is brown, with a countenance pleasing, and promising both wit, courage, and judgment. He becomes himself well, and is very well liked of all, unless of those that are now sorry they did so honour him as to discommend him. His picture I have sent you here enclosed; not so short of the life as of the sweetness of his countenance; yet such as (the largeness of his limbs excepted) may pass for no ill representation.”³

King James was highly pleased with his chosen son-in-law. He took him aside into his bed-chamber, and presented him with a ring valued at 1,800*l*.⁴ Frederic then handed to the King a letter from his mother, in which she said:—

“As for me, I can assure your majesty that I shall die happy, when I have had the honour of seeing so worthy a princess as your daughter in this house, where she will receive all sorts of humble service, with affection so sincere, that I feel assured your majesty will not repent of having given her to us; and thus, by her virtues, loaded this State with the greatest honour and happiness which can ever accrue to it.”⁵

At the close of the interview Prince Frederic was conducted in *stâte* to Essex House, appointed for his residence;⁶ he had also apartments fitted up at Whitehall, and at the Prince's palace

¹ News Letter from London, 25 Nov. 1612, Du Puy MS. 648, f. 213, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

² Du Puy MS. *ut supra*.

³ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 462.

⁴ Chamberlain to Carleton, 22nd Oct. 1612, *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxi. 24.

⁵ *S. P. Germ. States*, 17th Sept. 1612.

⁶ It had been repaired at an expense of 374*l*. and fresh carpets were provided.—Account of Master of Works, 1612-13, Audit Office.

of St. James.¹ The day following his state introduction, Frederic paid his first visit to the Princess, and was, of course, received by her with due ceremony. She had removed, in October, from Kew to Whitehall,² where her apartments had been remodelled in honour of his coming, and hung with fresh tapestries of the history of Abel.³ In the evening he called upon her more familiarly, and thenceforward sought her society whenever it was practicable, seeming "to take delight in nothing but her company and conversation".⁴ On Wednesday, the 21st, he attended divine service in company with the King, and the next day received friendly visits in his own apartments from the Prince of Wales and Prince Charles,⁵ and also accompanied Elizabeth to Somerset House. On the evening of Tuesday, at her invitation, he attended a play, performed by her servants in the Cockpit. He had, moreover, a general invitation to the royal table, and of this privilege he frequently availed himself.

Very rarely does it occur that those engaged to each other by state policy are so happy as to find that their affections coincide with their appointed destiny, and that loving hearts and plighted hands can go together; yet such was the good fortune of Frederic and Elizabeth. With many sympathies of intellectual taste and religious feeling, they at once and naturally fell into the position allotted to them, and their intercourse soon became free and unshackled, as is usual among lovers of less exalted rank.

On the 29th of October, Frederic accepted an invitation, given by the City of London, to a feast at Guildhall.⁶ Prince Henry, also, would have been present, but was prevented by a severe attack of illness. His sister visited him almost daily; after the first week the symptoms became more favourable, and on the 1st of November he was able to receive not only Elizabeth and her *fiancé*, but the King and Queen, and they all left him with cheerful hopes of his recovery.⁷ The improvement, however,

¹ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 463, "Finetti Philoxenis," p. 2.

² Lord Harrington's Accounts.

³ Act. Master of Works, 1612-13.

⁴ Nichols, *ut supra*. [See also Chamberlain's letter of 22nd Oct.: "He cares not for ring nor tennis, but is always with his mistress".]

⁵ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. *ut supra*.

⁶ After an exhibition in Cheapside of numerous pageants, the Prince and his company went to Guildhall, and "were there feasted and welcomed by Sir John Swinnerton, the new-made Lord Mayor, and were presented, towards the end of the dinner, in the name of the City, with a fair standing cup, a curious basin and ewer, with two large silver pots, weighing together 1,200 ounces, to the value of almost 500l. The merchant adventurers had sent him a present of wine, the Saturday before, to the value of 100 marks. He behaved himself very courteously and in a very good fashion at the feast, and would needs go to see and salute the Lady Mayoress and her train where she sat. The show was somewhat extraordinary, with four or five pageants, and other devices."—Nichols, vol. ii. p. 520. [See also Chamberlain to Carleton, *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxi. 28.]

⁷ Cornwallis's "Life of Prince Henry," p. 53.

was very transitory, and the fever became so virulent that it was considered unsafe for any to be with him, excepting his own attendants. Elizabeth was in despair when forbidden to approach the dying bed of her brother; and her distress was heightened by knowing that he perpetually inquired for her, and seemed to pine for the solace of her presence. More than once, she stole away in the evening, in disguise, and flew to St. James's, but found it impossible to gain admittance through the ranks of attendants, who were more anxious for her safety than her own agitation permitted her to be. "Where is my dear sister?" were the last words of Prince Henry, uttered just before he expired; and one of his last actions was to bequeath to her a chain set with diamonds, and to her lover a chain and tablet of diamonds.¹

Prince Henry died on the 6th of November, 1612. The whole nation mourned the loss of him who was justly England's hope, but none more truly than his sister. Their juvenile attachment had gathered strength with their years; and not only had the Prince entered, with the utmost zeal, into all the arrangements for doing honour to his sister's approaching nuptials,² but he had even secretly planned with her to accompany her on her way into Germany, as far as the limits of the States' dominions.³ His love for her led him to receive her future husband with cordial regard, and to form at once a friendly intimacy with him.

Almost all the effusions of sorrow poured forth on this occasion, whether in prose or verse, contain allusions or addresses to the Princess and her future lord.⁴

The following beautiful and well-known lines, composed by Elizabeth, and presented to her tutor, Lord Harrington, seem to have been written whilst her heart was under the chastening influence of this first great sorrow; there is a pathos about them which could hardly belong to the light-heartedness of girlhood:—⁵

¹ "Archæologia," vol. xv. p. 19. The King afterwards gave Elizabeth a jewel of gold, garnished with twenty-seven diamonds, "whereof five in the middle are very fair," and a chain of gold of Spanish work, which had belonged to her brother; also a crescent of diamonds to the Prince Palatine.—Addit. MS. 11406, f. 257.

² Maitland Club Letters, Introduction, p. 39.

³ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 488. A contemporary letter intimates that one of his designs in this journey was to look out a bride for himself among the German Princesses.—Wake to Carleton, *S. P. Venice*, 9-19th Dec. 1612.

⁴ See, amongst others, Sharp's "Funeral Oration on the Prince of Wales"; Chapman's "Episode on Prince Henry," 4to, London, 1612. Withers's "Prince Henry's Obsequies," 18mo, Lond. 1633; and J. Davies's "Muse's tears for the loss of the Prince of Wales," 4to, Lond. 1613.

⁵ [The author of the sketch of Elizabeth in "Five Stuart Princesses" thinks that this suggestion "seems scarcely to be confirmed by the actual words of the poem, and is altogether at variance with the endorsement, which runs as follows: 'This was written by Elizabeth, daughter of King James, 1609, and given to Lord Harrington of Exton, her tutor' ". On the other hand, the year date (which is not on the

"This is joy, this is true pleasure, And enjoy them at full leisure	If we best things make our treasure, Evermore in richest measure.
"God is only excellent, Whose desires are set or bent	Let up to him our love be sent ; On aught else shall much repent.
"Theirs is a most wretched case That they their affections place	Who themselves so far disgrace, Upon things named vile and base.
"Let us love of heaven receive, Higher than we can conceive,	These are joys our hearts will heave And shall us not fail nor leave.
"Earthly things do fade, decay, Suddenly they pass away,	Constant to us not one day, And we cannot make them stay.
"All the vast world doth contain That still justly will complain,	To content man's heart, are vain, And unsatisfied remain.
"God most holy, high, and great, When in us he takes his seat,	Our delight doth make complete, Only then we are replete.
"Why should vain joys us trans- port ? And are mingled in such sort,	Earthly pleasures are but short— Griefs are greater than the sport.
"And regard of this yet have, Then we must into our grave,	Nothing can from death us save, When we most are pleasure's slave.
"By long use our souls will cleave Then will cruel death bereave * * * *	To the earth, then it we leave ; All the joys that we receive. * * * *
"What care I for lofty place, Shewing me his pleasant face,	If the Lord grant me his grace, And with joy I end my race.
"This is only my desire, That I might receive my lyre,	This doth set my heart on fire With the saints' and angels' quire.
"O my soul of heavenly birth, Place not here thy joy and mirth,	Do thou scorn this basest earth ; Where of bliss is greatest dearth.
"From below thy mind remove, Set thy heart and fix thy love,	And affect the things above ; Where thou truest joys shall prove.
"If I do love things on high, Earthly pleasures if I try * * * *	Doubtless them enjoy shall I, They pursued faster fly. * * * *
"To me grace, O Father, send, That all may to thy glory tend ;	On thee wholly to depend, So let me live, so let me end.
"Now to the true Eternal King, The 'immortal, only wise,' true God,	Not seen with human eye, Be praise perpetually." ¹

The doleful tidings of the death of the Prince of Wales, when officially announced to Frederic, were accompanied by an assurance that, in the midst of his sorrow, the King looked to his future son-in-law to fill the place in his heart, left desolate by

British Museum copy) may be wrong, and the poem would be a strange performance for a child of thirteen. Also the thought of death is very strongly present in the young writer's mind.]

¹Harrington's "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. ii. p. 411.

the death of Henry.¹ In eager response to a message thus lovingly conveyed, Frederic hastened to the stricken monarch, and poured into his ear words of consolation, chosen with propriety from the Holy Book, inspired by Him who is emphatically the Comforter; and with so much tenderness and skill endeavoured to soothe his wounded spirit, that the King was surprised and affected.² He then hastened to the side of his beloved Elizabeth, to sustain and comfort her. He found her plunged in the bitterest grief; yet she welcomed him, and allowed him the most sacred privilege of love—that of sharing and soothing her sorrow. On the 9th of November, the King was at Kensington, and Prince Charles, with Elizabeth and Frederic, spent some time with him there.³

The affectionate assiduities of the Palatine Prince drew still closer the ties that united him to the mourning family of which he was to become a member. The King bade him now consider himself as one of his children, and lodge, eat and sleep at the Palace, and remain constantly with them.⁴

This cordiality was the more welcome as the Prince had had cause to apprehend a different treatment. The death of her brother placed Elizabeth nearer in the succession to the crown; and the extremely delicate health of Prince Charles rendered it more than probable that she might ascend the British throne, as a second Queen Elizabeth. There were not wanting those who whispered in the King's ear, that this difference in the position of the Princess would fully justify him in breaking off the connexion with the Palatine, and seeking for her a loftier alliance. Even before he came to England, Frederic had been warned that he ran the risk of making a fool of himself, for that he would probably fail in accomplishing his object. His Protestant associations caused him to be regarded with great disfavour by all who inclined to Rome, and already several persons had been summoned before the Privy Council for uttering scandalous speeches against the match. On the other hand, the Puritan party in England, and the Huguenots in France, extolled him to the skies, comparing him to the best Princes in Italy, for descent and dignity, and asserting that his revenues were little if at all inferior to theirs.⁵ After the death of Prince Henry, the Scots were anxious for a marriage between the Princess Elizabeth and the Marquis of Hamilton, who, after the

¹ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. p. 16.

² Hildbrandt von Wouw's "Nederlandsche Chronik," vol. ii. p. 330.

³ They entered into a long conversation on the symptoms of the Prince's illness, which commenced with violent bleedings at the nose; and the King told Frederic candidly that his daughter had often been subject to similar bleedings, but had never been the worse for them.—Caron's Despatches, Hague Transcripts, Addit. MS. 17677, H. f. 1182.

⁴ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. *ut supra*.

⁵ "Court of James I.," vol. i. p. 199.

family of King James, was next heir to the Scottish throne.¹ But neither the one party nor the other prevailed to move the King; he resolutely persisted in his intention of making the Palatine Prince his son-in-law, and by his firmness quelled all murmurs.² It was determined, however, both as a matter of feeling and propriety, that the marriage should be delayed awhile, lest the ambassadors of the foreign Powers, coming over with condolences on the death of the Prince, should find the court immersed in nuptial merriment; the King therefore urged Frederic to send away his train, and to remain some time in England. But the counsellors of the Prince, as well as he himself, were so anxious about the marriage, that it was at length decided for a betrothal ceremony to take place in December, which would at once put a stop to all surmisings, and convince the world of the reality of the King's intentions. This expedient was accepted by Frederic with the warmest expressions of gratitude.³ In the interval he accompanied the King on a short tour to Royston and Theobalds.

Of the Princess's movements and occupations about this period, a few notices appear in Lord Harrington's accounts before referred to.

	£	s.	d.
"Given by her grace's command to Mr. Joshua Sylvester that presented verses to her grace upon the death of the late prince	5	0	0
"Given by her grace to Mr. Hart that brought a night gown to her grace that was Prince Henry's	5	0	0
"Paid for the hire of a barge that did carry the Palatine and her highness by water, when they went to see the monuments at Westminster	0	20	0
"Given by her highness's command to the keeper of the monuments at Westminster	0	20	0
"To the Prince Palatine's man that brought her grace Rhenish wine from his highness, two several times	0	20	0
"To one of the Prince Palatine's footmen that brought her highness letters from his master	0	20	0
"To one of the Palatine's cooks that brought her grace a pike, dressed after the German fashion	0	10	0
"Given by her grace's command to Clarke, the jester of the Star-chamber	0	10	0
"To a northern boy that whistled to her grace	0	5	0
"To a Scotchwoman that offered to sing to her grace at Kew	0	10	0
"Paid for her grace's offering at her receiving the communion at Christmas in the chapel	0	6	8"

The following extracts pleasingly illustrate the active benevolence of her character:—

¹ [See Chamberlain to Carleton, *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, lxxi. 70.]

² Carte's "England," vol. iv. p. 262. Du Puy MS. 648, f. 213.

³ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. p. 29.

	£	s.	d.
“Given to the poor at sundry times, by her grace’s command, as she travelled abroad	3	10	0
“Given by her grace’s command to the nurse that brought a little child to her grace to see, which her grace had christened ¹	0	20	0
“To one of the pages of the king’s privy chamber, that found a ring her grace had lost	0	40	0
“To the prisoners of the Fleet that sent her grace a petition	0	40	0
“Given to a poor widow whose husband dying left her indebted, with a great number of young children	0	40	0
“To a poor gentleman whose estate was decayed, and he in great want	0	10	0” ²

On the 12th of December, a correspondent thus writes:—

“The palatine is returned from the king, to visit his mistress here ; and doth daily grow upon the good opinion of all men, to the great confusion of the Spaniards, whose prejudicing him with an undervalue, before his arrival, hath turned greatly to his advantage, by his surmounting so far the expectations of all men.”³

The most influential attendant of the Prince was Colonel Meinhard von Schomberg, his *maître d’hôtel*, who had served him from childhood and possessed great power over him. Now Schomberg happened to fall in love with Mrs. Anne Dudley, lady of honour to the Princess ; so that when his master came to visit the mistress he had the opportunity of paying attentions to the servant, and by degrees rose to a considerable share of influence with the Princess herself.

The King returned to Whitehall on the 18th of December ; and every night, until the very eve of her marriage, he and his daughter beguiled themselves with games at cards, in which Elizabeth was generally unfortunate, perhaps because she played with a pre-occupied mind.⁴ On the 21st, the King privately invested Prince Frederic with the insignia of the Order of the Garter ; his public election was postponed, on account of the mourning. He was conducted by Prince Charles and several knights of the order, wearing their robes, into the royal bed-room, the King being indisposed. James placed on his neck the ribbon and diamond star, the identical one which had been worn by the late Prince of Wales ; whilst Prince Charles and the Lord Admiral fastened on the garter. The party then adjourned to the ante-room, where the knights wished joy to their newly-elected companion, and all passed on into the gallery. There they found the Princess Elizabeth and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who offered their congratulations

¹[*I.e.* to whom she had been sponsor.]

²Lord Harrington’s Accounts, *ut supra*.

³Wake to Carleton, *S. P. Venice*, 2nd-12th Dec. 1612.

⁴Lord Harrington’s Accounts. She lost 19l. 5s. between 18th Dec. and 11th Jan.

to the Prince. Frederic conversed some time with the Archbishop, and then, as the dinner-hour was approaching, he attended Elizabeth to her apartments.¹

On Christmas Day the royal family attended church at Whitehall, and heard a sermon from Dr. Andrewes, the Bishop of Ely.²

December 27th was the day appointed for the betrothal, and the place was the banqueting-house at Whitehall Palace, which was hung with splendid tapestries and handsomely decorated.

About ten o'clock in the morning, when the gallery was already crowded with spectators, Prince Frederic arrived, accompanied by Prince Charles, the Earls of Northampton, Exeter, and Salisbury, and many other English peers, and took his place at the head of his own suite, who came an hour previously. King James waited in an ante-room, to see his daughter pass: she was attended by her ladies, and having kissed her royal father's hand, proceeded to the room, whither he immediately followed, and sat down upon the chair of state.³

"There was little ceremony used," says an eye-witness; "and the late cause of mourning took away the pomp that otherwise should have accompanied this occasion. At their first entrance they stood both under the cloth of gold of estate, in an eminent place erected some few steps; there the king kissed them both, and, after having given his blessing to them, directed them to go down, hand in hand, some twenty paces or more, into the middle of that great room; where was a carpet spread on the floor for them to stand on. There Sir Thomas Lake, executing for that time the office of principal secretary, came out with a paper in his hand, and first kneeled down betwixt them, then rose up and read in French the words of the contract, first to the palatine, and after to the lady. Neither of them did, as our fashion is, *sequi verba dicentis*, [*i.e.*, respond after him,] but at the end, they did severally affirm to what he had read in their names." "The palatine that day was apparelled in purple velvet, richly laced with gold lace, and his cloak lined with cloth of gold, very fair and suitable. The lady, to make an even mixture of joy and mourning, wore black satin with a little silver lace, and a plume of white feathers in her head, which fashion was taken up the next day of all the young gallants of the court and city, which hath made white feathers dear on the sudden."⁴

The words used were those occurring in the marriage service, "I, Frederic, take thee, Elizabeth, to my wedded wife, to have and to hold," etc.; to which the Princess responded in similar terms, but unfortunately the Secretary's translation into French was so inelegant that it raised a smile, not only in the

¹"Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. p. 26.

²[Printed in the collection of his sermons published in 1628.]

³"Relationes oder Ordentliche Beschreibung wie Pfalzgraff Friderich mit der Princessin Frawlin Elizabeth . . . verlobt worden," etc. 4to, 1613.

⁴Wake to Carleton, *S. P. Venice*, 31st Dec. 1612. The dress is named in the princess's accounts as containing twenty yards of satin at 85s. the yard. The same accounts note mourning attire for the princess and her servants on her brother's death.

by-standers, but in the bride and bridegroom themselves, till all tendency to merriment was checked by the solemn voice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, pronouncing the nuptial benediction: "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, bless these espoused, and thy servants," etc.¹ The young betrothed then sealed their promise publicly with a kiss, after which the bridegroom, throwing his arm round the bride, led her back to her father, who wished them both happiness. The King, who was indisposed, then retired to his ante-room, whilst the young couple, with Prince Charles, and the nobility who attended them, went in state to the chapel, where, after a burst of triumphant music, a sermon was preached to them by Dr. James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells. His discourse mainly consisted of a string of passages from history, ancient and modern, detailing all the fortunate events that had ever happened, and all the noble deeds that had ever been done, on a 27th of December, the day of the betrothal; and concluded with an earnest hope that the solemn transaction of that day might be so blessed and honoured, as to render it memorable in the eyes of all posterity.² At the conclusion of the service, the bridal party returned to the royal presence-chamber, and sat down to table. The King took the middle seat, Prince Charles was at his left hand, the bride at his right, and Frederic next to her. It was noted that during the repast the King was unusually cheerful, and conversed familiarly and lovingly with Prince Frederic. The Queen was not present on this occasion, being confined to her bed by an attack of the gout.

The betrothal ceremony did not alter the mutual position of the parties, except in making them feel more impressively set apart for each other. From this time the Prince was prayed for publicly in the churches, among the children of the King. On New Year's Day, 1613, Frederic waited on his bride with early greetings and good wishes, and presented her with a magnificent set of diamond ornaments, consisting of a chain, coronal, and earrings, with two pearls as pendants, which for size and beauty were deemed the rarest in Christendom. Their total value was 3,500*l.* To Lord and Lady Harrington he gave plate to the value of 2,000*l.*, and to their servants 400*l.*; to all the female attendants of the Princess 100*l.* each, and also a medal with his portrait; 150*l.* to her gentleman-usher, and a chain of diamonds and pearls to Mrs. Anne Dudley. He intended to treat the servants of the King and Queen with the same profuse liberality, but the King absolutely forbade it. To their Majesties he presented a large bottle and a cup, each of

¹ "Ceremonie," vol. ii. p. 743; College of Arms MSS.; Nichols's "Progresses," vol. ii. p. 513. Raumer's "History of the 16th and 17th Centuries," transl. vol. ii. p. 227. [See also Chamberlain to Carlisle, *S. P. Dom.* James. I., lxxi. 70.]

² "Relationes oder Beschreibung," *ut supra*.

one entire agate.¹ His courtesies were returned, on the part of the King and Queen, by costly gifts; and Elizabeth presented him with a splendid George, an ornament belonging to his new dignity of Knight of the Garter. The royal family then dined together, and the King "hanselled" his agate cup by drinking from it to the health and happiness of his son-in-law.

On the 9th of January the King left town for Royston, and on the 11th the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Abbott, feasted the followers of Prince Frederic, which mark of attention he took so kindly that he himself came and joined the guests, though he was neither invited nor expected. The entertainment was very handsome, such as became the giver and receiver. On the 24th the Prince feasted all the King's council at Essex House, where, "in regard of the good entertainment he found with the Archbishop, he shewed more kindness and caresses to him and his followers than to all the rest put together".² The Archbishop being warmly attached to the Princess, was quite prepared to admit the Palatine to share in his good graces, and a cordial intimacy was now formed between them, which made the prelate their zealous friend in after years.

Frederic, who had transferred to Prince Charles the friendship previously entertained towards the Prince of Wales, divided his time between him and Elizabeth. Pleasure trips, by water, to Putney, Greenwich, and Hampton Court, were often formed, in which the Princess generally shared.³ On the 10th of January, Frederic wrote to inform the King that he was employing his time in reading, dancing, etc., and was going to Hampton Court with his "dearest prince".⁴ On the 20th he sent another letter (in French) of which the following is a translation:—⁵

"Sire, I imagine your majesty greatly enjoys these beautiful days; but it is impossible that you have had any sport so fine as that which my dear prince and myself have had yesterday and to-day, both with harriers and with running dogs. To-morrow, after dinner, we shall hunt again, and in the evening return to Whitehall, and relate our adventures and pleasures to my very dear lady, who will much regret that she has not been a sharer in them. I have had no further news from Germany, and have, therefore, no

¹ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 513. Sir J. Harrington to —, 13th January, Harl. MS. 7002, p. 244. [Biondi to Carleton, *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxii. 7.] "The Palsgrave, during his abode in England," writes a Court chronicler, "so nobly and discreetly demeaned himself in all respects, that he worthily gained the general applause and love of all men, and plainly expressed the virtue of his princely mind, by the bounty of his free gifts, presents, and rewards, unto all sorts whatsoever that did him any manner of service or courtesy; for he gave away to the full value of 120,000 French crowns." To his Grace of Canterbury alone he gave plate valued at 1000*l.*—Howe's "Chronicle," p. 1007. Of these jewels 40,000 crowns worth were purchased in England.—Lansd. MS. 168, f. 325: the remainder brought from Germany. See letter of Frederic to Sir J. Cæsar, dated Canterbury, 15th April, Addit. MS. 12504, Art. 255.

² Nichols, vol. ii. p. 13.

³ Lord Harrington's Accounts.

⁴ Letters of James I. and his family, lithographed for the Maitland Club.

⁵ *Ibid.*

subject with which to trouble your majesty any more at this time. I shall hope shortly for the happy return of your majesty, that I may not lose nor neglect any occasion of fulfilling my only design, that of showing myself without reserve, all my life,

“Your majesty’s very humble, very obedient, son and servant,
“From Hampton Court, this 20th Jan. 1613. FREDERIC.”

But tidings from Heidelberg, of the conduct of the Duke of Neuburg, rendered it exceedingly desirable that he should return home as speedily as possible, and anxiety on this account led him to renew his urgency for the speedy performance of his marriage. The Duke of Bouillon had written directly after Prince Henry’s death, earnestly pressing its advisability, on the ground of reports circulated by the Prince’s enemies, that the marriage would not even yet proceed, or at least that Elizabeth, as second in succession to the throne of England, would not be allowed to leave the Kingdom.¹ The King was willing to accede, provided Frederic would consent, after the nuptials, to leave his bride in England till Whitsuntide. To this he demurred, and the King then proposed that the wedding should take place on May Day, unless some imperative reason should necessitate Frederic’s immediate return; in which case he pledged himself to allow the marriage to be celebrated within three days, and then to give the Prince permission to return at once, leaving his bride to follow at her leisure. Frederic still pleaded for an earlier consummation of his hopes, and, to his great gratification, it was at length agreed that the marriage should take place on the 14th of February, and that, after a few weeks devoted to rejoicings and festivities, the young couple should leave England together.² The Electress-mother wrote a letter to the King, full of gratitude for the “fresh proofs of his royal benevolence daily lavished on her son, but especially for the honour done him in fixing the marriage day”; and professing the profoundest devotion to the service of her future daughter-in-law.³

It was supposed that there would be a creation of nobility on occasion of the marriage; but, to the disappointment of his daughter, the King decided to the contrary. At length he consented to gratify her by knighting six gentlemen, whose names, as the Prince Palatine refused to interfere at all in their election, were chosen by herself; she requested the honour for two more, but was refused.⁴

On the 7th of February, a Chapter of the Order of the Garter was held at Windsor, in which the Prince Palatine was publicly installed. The King and Prince Charles having taken their

¹ Bouillon to Rochester, *S. P. France*, 28th Nov. 1612.

² Caron’s Despatches, Addit. MS. 17677, H. f. 1193.

³ Royal Letters, Balfour’s Collection, Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh.

⁴ Schomberg to Rochester, *S. P. Germ. Ståtes*, 24 Feb. 1613.

places under the canopy of state in St. George's Chapel, the Elector was led in by officers of the order, bearing his mantle, garter, etc.; and the King presented him with the splendid diamond-studded collar and George.¹ After the investiture, the Prince was proclaimed, "The high and mighty Prince Frederic, by the grace of God, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Arch-Sewer of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Bavaria, and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter". The Dean of Windsor administered the oath, which he took with a *salvo* of the rights of the Holy Roman Empire.² The same day the whole party returned to town, and the Princess took up her abode at St. James's Palace, in the suite of apartments lately occupied by the Prince of Wales, which were fitted up for her use.³ A series of *fêtes* was to herald in and follow the nuptials of the Princess, the like of which had never been witnessed, since the pageant-loving days of bluff King Hal. The first of these was a mock naval fight upon the river Thames, for which thirty-six vessels, 500 watermen, and 1,000 musketeers were put in requisition, besides four floating castles with fireworks. The scene to be represented was the siege of Algiers. On the bank of the Thames opposite Whitehall a mock town was erected, the bombardment of which was to form the amusement of the evening of the 11th of February. The King, Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Elector, with their suites, and many of the nobility, stationed themselves at the Palace windows; and at a signal given by the discharge of cannon the performance commenced. Thirty-six balls of fire arose from the castles on the river, and descended, some in fiery rain, some in thousands of smaller globes. Then, mounted on cords attached to one of the vessels, an armed figure appeared, representing St. George with his lance, and also a young maiden, and an immense dragon. St. George and the dragon had a long contest, hurling fires at each other, which served as torches to display the beauty of the maiden; till at the end of half an hour the dragon exploded with a terrific report, and then St. George and the maiden sported with fires till both were consumed. When the smoke cleared away a mountain appeared in the water, and from a cave in its side issued a comet, which discharged an infinite number of fuses, whilst a fiery stag, pursued by hunters and dogs of fire, made a tumultuous rush into the water, where, after a brief chase, all exploded together.

¹ Note of Prince Henry's jewels, Addit. MS. 11406, f. 257.

² "Mercuré Français," 1613, p. 65; Nichols, vol. ii. p. 522.

³ "Paid for the sweeping and cleansing of the rooms at the prince's lodgings, upon her highness's remove thither the 7th February, for bedsteads, locks for doors, rewards given to sundry of his majesty's servants that hanged and furnished the lodgings, and for other services and necessaries, 8*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*"—Lord Harrington's Accounts.

The next day was allowed for needful repose, both for the performers and the spectators. In the afternoon of the 13th the show was renewed; numberless cannon saluted the royal party on their appearance, and immediately a fleet of seventeen mock Turkish galleys sailed up the river to defend the temporary Algiers built on its banks. A Venetian and a Spanish vessel were in turn surrounded and taken by the Paynim fleet; but at length came a fleet of fifteen English ships, bearing the red cross of St. George on their flags; a battle long and obstinate ensued, ending, of course, to the advantage of the English, who pursued the fugitives to Algiers, and, after a terrible cannonading, took the city and freed the captive Venetian and Spanish vessels. At the close, the Turkish admiral, represented by Sir Robert Mansell, with his captains, in full costume, were presented to King James as captives, and amidst a general salute of artillery the royal party retired.¹

“All these aforesaid pastimes,” writes an eye-witness, “were most nobly performed between the hours of three and five in the afternoon, to the great content as well of foreign nations as of our own country people, whereof in one place and at one time hath been seldom seen a greater number: also for a farewell to this day’s pleasure, a train of fireworks were discharged in St. George’s-fields, of a long continuance, and of such an echoing thunder, that they even amazed the heavens. Thus ended Saturday’s shows upon the waters, being the eve of this great marriage day.”

This was the formal account, but a news-writer of the day mentions the affair in less glowing terms:—

“On Thursday night the fireworks were reasonably well performed, all save the last castle (of fire), which bred most expectation, and had most devices, but, when it came to execution, had worst success. On Saturday, likewise, the fight upon the water came short of that show and brags had been made of it; but they pretend the best to be behind, and left for another day, which was the winning of the castle on land. But the king and indeed all the company took so little delight to see no other activity but shooting and putting off guns, that it is quite given over, and the navy unrigged, and the castle pulled down, the rather for that there were divers hurt in the former fight, as one lost both his eyes, another both his hands, another one hand, with divers others maimed and hurt, so that to avoid further harm it was thought best to let it alone; and this is the conclusion of all the preparation, with so much expense of powder and money, which amounted to no less than 9,000l.”²

¹“*Mercuré Français*,” 1613, p. 69.

²Chamberlain to Alice Carleton (sister of Sir Dudley Carleton), 18th Feb. 1612-13, *S. P. Dom.* under date. Printed in “*Court and Times of James I.*,” vol. i. p. 224. A Privy Seal Bill, dated 17th Jan. 1613, states that, “whereas for the more magnificent and royal solemnizing of the marriage of our dearest daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, we have given order for a naval fight to be made upon the river of Thames, together with masks, fireworks, buildings, and divers other preparations, necessary for such princely triumphs, as we purpose shall be performed at that solemnity,” the King orders the payment of such sums as the Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Horse shall require, without limitation.—Privy Seals, 10 and 11 James I., f. 72 b. See also Pell Records, pp. 157, 158.

Thus passed the eve of the bridal; the following day, the 14th of February, which was "Shrove Sunday" and St. Valentine's day, was that appointed for the nuptials of Frederic and Elizabeth. They had already, according to good old English custom, been three times asked at church.¹ The wedding ceremony took place in the chapel of Whitehall Palace, which was in "royal sort adorned". In the centre was a raised platform, about twenty feet square, richly carpeted, and railed off for the bridal party, whilst along both sides, from the stalls to the communion table, double rows of seats were erected, for the gentlemen of the chapel royal and those of the household, who were permitted to be spectators. In order to gratify the eager curiosity of the people, the procession, after passing through the presence and guard-chamber and the new banqueting-house, was to come out at the court gate, and go along a scaffold gallery which reached to the great chamber stairs, and thence proceed to the chapel.² The Palatine Prince, preceded by a flourish of trumpets, entered first. He was attired in cloth of silver, embroidered with gold and radiant with diamonds, his plumed hat was looped up with diamonds, and he wore the insignia of the Garter, with the George presented to him by Elizabeth.³ The Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Nottingham escorted him, and he was followed by numerous peers of Germany, and the unmarried peers of England and Scotland; but by the King's orders the doors were kept so strictly, that only sixteen of these, to correspond with the years of his age, were permitted to enter. This restriction, rendered necessary by the confined space in the chapel, had been communicated to the Prince the evening before. The Lady Elizabeth then appeared, led between her brother, Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton. She wore a dress of Florence cloth of silver, richly embroidered,⁴ and on her head a crown of gold, brilliantly decked with diamonds and pearls, from which pendants of the same mingled with her long and beautiful hair, which drooped over her shoulders down to the waist. Her train was borne by sixteen young ladies,⁵ robed in white satin, the number coinciding also with the years of her age; they were compared to a constellation of beautiful

¹The German chronicler of the wedding seems to think many apologies necessary for the adoption into these royal nuptials of a form common to all classes; but ascribes it to the King's anxiety that it should be publicly known and no secrecy observed.—"Beschreibung," *ut supra*, p. 34.

²Leland's "Collectanea," vol. v. p. 330.

³"Beschreibung," *ut supra*, p. 47.

⁴[The embroidering of this gown cost 257l. "paid to several workmen". Devon's Pell Records, pp. 158, 160. There is a portrait of the Princess in her wedding dress in the National Portrait Gallery. The warrant for part of her trousseau (giving details) is printed in "Archæologia," vol. xxvi.]

⁵[Finet says a dozen, Chamberlain says thirteen, "besides five or six more which could not come near it". Letter of 18th Feb., already quoted, which contains a full account of the wedding.]

stars, attending upon the radiant moon. Two of the numerous poems on the marriage thus describe her progress to the chapel.

“ At length the blushing bride comes, with her hair
Dishevelled 'bout her shoulders ; none so fair
In all that bevy, though it might appear
The choicest beauties were assembled there.
She enters with a sweet commanding grace,
Her very presence paradised the place.
All eyes are fixed on her ; the youthful fry
Amazed stand at her great majesty :
The nymphs and maids both envy and admire
Her matchless beauty, state, and rich attire.”¹

“ Now unto the church she hies her, In her gestures, as she paces, Which who sees and hath his senses, O most true, majestic creature ! Felt you not an inward motion,	Envy bursts if she espies her, Are united all the graces ; Loves in spite of all defences, Nobles, did you note each feature ? Tempting love to yield devotion ? ” ²
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Elizabeth, preceded by Lord Harrington, and followed by his lady and her own suite, ascended to the platform, where they were met by the Prince, who mounted by steps on the opposite side. Then came four heralds, many more peers, the lords of the privy-council, and four bishops ; after them the sergeants-at-arms with the mace, and the Earl of Arundel bearing the sword before the King, who was attired in black velvet, with a diamond of inestimable value in his hat.

The Queen, also (who had not been seen in public since the death of her son), honoured the occasion by her presence ;³ she was followed by a train of married peeresses, and a guard of archers brought up the rear. All then took their places ; the King, Prince Charles, Prince Frederic and Count Henry of Nassau, on one side ; on the other, the Queen, the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Harrington ; whilst the rest of the assembly retired to inferior positions.⁴ After the anthem, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. James Montagu,⁵ preached a sermon of half an hour, on the marriage of Cana in Galilee ; then a second anthem was performed ; after which the Archbishop of Canterbury, ascending the platform, performed the nuptial ceremony. It was conducted in English, the Prince having mastered the language so well, that his responses were given correctly and with propriety. The King gave away the bride. Elizabeth's deportment was graceful and majestic, and it was observed that as the words were pronounced which united her for ever to the

¹ Heywood's "Marriage Triumph," reprinted for the Percy Society, p. 6.

² Withers' "Epithalamia," 8vo, Lond. 1622.

³ Chamberlain to Carleton, 11 Feb. *S. P. Dom.* under date.

⁴ Finet to Carleton, 22nd Feb. 1613, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ [Finet calls him "Dean of the Chapel," which office Montagu also held. Perhaps this was the reason why he was chosen.]

object of her affections, her beautiful face was lighted up with "coruscations and lightnings of joy that expressed more than an ordinary smile, being almost elated to a laughter".¹ The young couple advanced to the altar, and knelt, whilst the concluding benediction was pronounced; ² after which they returned to their place, and Garter King-at-arms proclaimed:—

"All health, happiness, and honour, be to the high and mighty Prince Frederic, by the grace of God Count Palatine of the Rhine, Arch-Sewer, and Prince Elector of the holy Empire, Duke of Bavaria; and Elizabeth, his wife, only daughter to the high, mighty, and right excellent James, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain," etc.³ "Then there was a joy pronounced to the blessed couple, by the king and queen, seconded with a congratulation of the lords present, and confirmed by a draught of wine, out of a great golden bowl, begun by the count, and answered by her grace, and this with cups full of wafers and other appendices, served up by some six barons."⁴

"The Lady Elizabeth, being thus made a wife, was led back, not by two bachelors as before, but by the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Nottingham, in a most reverend manner. Before the Palsgrave, at his return from the chapel, went six of his own country gallants, clad in crimson velvet, laid exceedingly thick with gold lace, bearing in their hands six silver trumpets, who no sooner coming into the banqueting-house, but they presented him with a melodious sound of the same; flourishing so delightfully, that it greatly rejoiced the whole court, and caused thousands to say at that instant, —'God give them joy! God give them joy!'"⁵

The company now adjourned into the state room; but Elizabeth sought for a short time the seclusion of her own chamber, to repose from the fatigue of excitement. A blast of trumpets, however, speedily announced that the dinner was served up, and the bride again made her appearance. She was ushered into a new dining-room, temporarily built out into the terrace for the occasion, in order that the banqueting-hall might be left at liberty for the evening's entertainment. It was adorned with tapestry curiously wrought, representing the victory of Queen Elizabeth over the Spanish Armada.⁶ There dinner was laid out for 100 persons, including the ambassadors of France, Venice, and the States-General, Count Henry of Nassau, and the rest of the Palatine Prince's attendants, with all the lords

¹ Wilson's "Life and Reign of James I.," p. 64.

² "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. p. 51.

³ Caron's Despatches, Addit. MS. 17677, H. f. 1192. Leland Collect. vol. v. p. 334.

⁴ Finet to Carleton, *ut supra*.

⁵ The sum of 100*l.* was distributed in fees amongst the gentlemen of the chapel royal; and the bride presented liberal rewards to all the musicians, harpers, trumpeters, drummers, and violists, of the King, the Queen and the Prince Palatine. "The bravery that day," says another writer, "was incomparable: gold and silver lace upon lords', ladies', and gentlemen's backs, was the poorest burthen; pearls and rich embroidery being the commonest wear. The king's, queen's, and prince's jewels only, were valued that day by his majesty himself in a public discourse of his upon occasion of that day's gallantry, at 900,000*l.*" Finet's letter, *ut supra*.

⁶ Account of the Master of the Works, 1612-13, Audit Office.

and ladies who had been present at the marriage.¹ The room was strewn with flowers, and the splendour of the feast corresponded to the importance of the occasion.² The Princess sat at the upper end of the table, with her husband at her right hand, and her brother, Prince Charles, at her left. After the repast she exchanged her bridal robe for one embroidered with gold, and altered her head tire, still retaining the crown; and then the whole party adjourned to the banqueting-room, to witness a masque, got up for their amusement by twelve peers.

The subject was classical; Orpheus and Prometheus were the principal characters, and the gist of the drama lay in the transformation by Jupiter, at the prayers of Prometheus, of eight beautiful silver statues of females into living, breathing women, who were each led out by an expectant knight to the dance, singing at intervals to the royal couple:—

“ Breathe now, while Io Hymen !
 To the bride we sing ;
 Oh, how many joys and honours
 From this match will spring !
 Ever firm the league will prove,
 Where only goodness causeth love.
 Some, for profit, seek
 What their fancies most dislike ;
 These love for virtue’s sake alone—
 Beauty and youth unite them both in one.”

The chorus sang thus:—

“ Live with thy bridegroom, sacred happy bride,
 Now blest is he that is for love envied.”³

The dance lasted till a very late hour, and then the company went into the saloon, where a costly banquet of sweetmeats was set out. The royal party merely walked round the tables, and left the good things as spoil to the aristocratic mob, who hardly waited the moment of their retiring to seize and carry them off.

On the morning of Monday, the day succeeding the marriage, the King paid an early visit to the young couple, and he and the Queen presented to their daughter costly gifts of jewels. In the afternoon, whilst the Queen and Princess were spectators in the windows of the banqueting-hall, the tilt-yard was thrown open, and royalty itself shared in the sport of running at the ring. Three times the King bore it away; Prince Charles, four times, and the Palatine Prince, twice. “ When that was ended,”

¹ Leland’s Collections, vol. v. p. 336.

² “ Triomphes, Entrées, etc., pour le Mariage de Frederic et Elizabeth,” 18mo, Heidel. 1613.

³ Lords’ Masque, by Campion, Nichols, vol. ii. p. 562. Orders for the dresses for this masque occur in the wardrobe warrants of the Princess.

writes a spectator, "and the king and prince gone, the Palsgrave mounted upon a high-bounding horse, which he managed so like a horseman, that he was exceedingly commended, and had many shouts and acclamations of the beholders; and indeed I never saw any of his age come near to him in that exercise."¹ The entertainments of the day were followed by an evening masquerade, prepared by the Middle Templars and Lincoln's-inn men, which, judging from the praises bestowed upon it, must have done great credit to their ingenuity.²

"On Tuesday, it came to Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple's turn to come with their mask, whereof Sir Francis Bacon was the chief contriver; and because the former (mask) came on horseback and open chariots, they made choice to come by water from Winchester Place, in Southwark, which suited well enough with their device, which was the marriage of the river of Thames to the Rhine; and their show by water was very gallant, by reason of infinite store of lights, very curiously set and placed, and many boats and barges, with devices of light and lamps, with three peals of ordnance, one at their taking water, another in the Temple Garden, and the last at their landing; which passage by water cost them better than three hundred pounds. They were received at the Privy Stairs, and great expectation there was that they should every way exceed their competitors that went before them; both in device, daintiness of apparel, and, above all, in dancing (wherein they are held excellent), and esteemed for the properer men.

"But by what ill planet it fell out, I know not, they came home as they went, without doing anything; the reason whereof I cannot yet learn thoroughly, but only that the hall was so full that it was not possible to avoid³ it, or make room for them; besides that most of the ladies were in the galleries to see them land, and could not get in. But the worst of all was, that the king was so wearied and sleepy with sitting up almost two whole nights before, that he had no edge to it. Whereupon, Sir Francis Bacon adventured to entreat of his majesty that by this disgrace he would not, as it were, bury them quick; and I hear the king should answer, that then they must bury him quick, for he could last no longer, but withal gave them very good words, and appointed them to come again on Saturday. But the grace

¹ His prowess is thus lauded by a contemporary poet, Johannes Maria, "Nuptial Hymn," p. 22:—

"Beyond all these is Frederic's noble courage,
His manly mind, and wisdom in young years,
His virtues far exceed his tender age,
As in his valiant exercise appears,
When he bestrides and makes his bounding steed
To run, career, or stop his headlong speed.

"At long race, round ring, or cross tournament,
He bears his arm, lance, body, with such art;
His wand, spur, bridle, with such complement
Of strength and state adorning every part;
He rounds the ball with such dexterity,
So right he shoots, and that so smooth and swiftly."

² A full description of this masque, which was written by Chapman, is given in Nichols's "Progresses," vol. ii., and also in the "Mercure Français," 1613, p. 73. The *morale* conveyed flatteries to the sovereign, as a model of piety and learning, and courtly compliments to the young espoused.

³ Make it void—empty it.

of their masque is quite gone, when their apparel hath been already showed, and their devices vented, so that how it will fall out God knows, for they are much discouraged and out of countenance, and the world says it comes to pass after the old proverb, 'the properer man the worse luck'."

The disappointed players, however, recovered their spirits after this ill-timed rebuff, for, a few days afterwards, our correspondent writes :—

"Our Gray's Inn men and the Inner Templars were nothing discouraged, for all the first dodge, but on Saturday last performed their parts exceeding well and with great applause and approbation, both from the king and all the company. The next night, the king invited the masquers, with their assistants, to the number of forty, to a solemn supper in the new marriage-room, where they were well treated and much graced with kissing his majesty's hand, and every one having a particular *accoglienza* from him. The king husbanded the matter so well that this feast was not at his own cost, but he and his company won it upon a wager of running at the ring, of the prince and his nine followers, who paid 30*l.* a man. The king, queen, prince palatine, and Lady Elizabeth sat at table by themselves, and the great lords and ladies, with the masquers, above four score in all, sat at another long table, so that there was no room for them that made the feast, but they were fain to be lookers-on."

The rejoicings at court were echoed throughout the kingdom ; and illuminations, bell-ringing, and bonfires, gave expression to the general joy ; though vague reports that a vessel had arrived from Spain, full of pocket pistols, and that a general massacre was in design to stop the obnoxious marriage, roused the civic troops, and 500 musketeers, and a band of substantial householders, headed by a London alderman, were appointed as an extra guard for the court.¹ In the dominions of the Elector, also, where solemn thanksgivings had been already offered in the churches (on the occasion of the betrothal), there was a joyous celebration of the happy event.² The city of London presented to the bride a magnificent chain of Oriental pearls, valued at 2,000*l.* In connexion with the marriage, it was noted that the Scotch sent an express request that Elizabeth might be entitled "Princess and eldest daughter of Scotland," and not merely "Princess of Great Britain"; also Lyon, king-at-arms, being expressly sent for to be present at the wedding, had a rich coat of arms "provided here" for him, in which the arms of Scotland were placed before those of England.³

Numberless were the literary greetings poured forth on the royal bride and bridegroom. Almost every hand that could

¹"*Mercure Français*," 1613, p. 77. "There was neither cost nor pain spared by his highness's subjects that any way might give signs of joy for the marriage of his princely daughter to her royal husband, whom God bless with long happiness, and thrones of angels keep and defend, Amen!" Nichols, vol. ii. p. 524.

²Duke of Deuxponts to James I., 10th-20th Jan. 1613, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³"Court of James I.," vol. i. p. 231.

wield a pen, and every brain that could frame a couplet, exercised its ingenuity.¹

One poet writes :—

“ As violets excel the bramble-briar,
Lily the violets,—*that* the rose disgraceth ;
Eliza so doth virgins. As stars, fire,
Moon, stars ; sun, moon ; so *Frederic* all surpasseth ;
Both pass all others of all age or birth,
Yet each of both doth equal other's worth.”

Heywood, in a poem, every stanza of which concludes with the name of the Princess, writes in a spirit almost prophetic.

“ May that name be raised high,
Nor in the female issue die :
A joyful and glad mother prove,
Protected by the powers above ;
That from the royal line
Which this day doth combine
With a brave prince, no fate, no death,
Extinguish may Elizabeth.”²

The climax of courtly adulation is presented in the following translation from a Latin ode.³

“ Paint me the graces.”—“ 'Tis done.”—“ Now paint the muses.”—“ I have so done.”—“ Join to those the nymphs, the goddesses, and mingle your blended colours with experienced reason, so that, from many divinities, one form may here be made.”—“ 'Tis done.”—“ Now depict the chaste Diana's mind, the genius of Minerva, the skill of Penelope.”—“ 'Tis painted.”—“ Thou *Frederic*, thrice illustrious, say now what goddess is depicted in this lovely picture.”—“ ELIZABETH.”

The strains of eulogy were not confined to the poetic tribe ; we find grave divines speaking in terms hardly less warm. The following is from a sermon, preached on the marriage-day, by George Webb, and entitled—“ The Bride Royal ”.

¹ A punster, named George Tasche, composed some twenty anagrams, such as “ Elizabeth Stuart, Princesse—I secure best palatine's rest”. “ Melrose Papers,” vol. ii. p. 419. The University of Oxford alone issued no fewer than 242 epithalamia, three in Greek, one in Italian, and the remainder in Latin, varying in length from two lines to a hundred, running through every grade of merit.—“ Epithalamia, sive lusus Palatini,” 4to, Oxon. 1613. Alexander Julius, a citizen of London, in his own name and that of his fellow-citizens, wrote a long congratulatory ode on the marriage, which bore appropriately as its motto—“ *Pro lachrymis redeant risus* ”—“ Let smiles take the place of tears”—in allusion to the recent death of the Prince of Wales. Dr. Donne, whose works are still well known, and who was afterwards a favourite with Elizabeth, exercised his muse in a lengthy but not very fortunate poem.—Edinb. edit. pp. 132-42. John Gordon, a Scottish poet, composed one of very elaborate character, in Latin, introducing a dialogue held by Elizabeth and her husband with the King, on the morning of the nuptials, and detailing with many mystic allusions, the marriage ceremony, etc.—Royal MS. 12, A. 27, f. 197. A lengthened poem was also composed by Henry Peacham ; a friar, Giovanni Battista, wrote one which is lost.—“ Court and Times of James I.,” vol. i. p. 234.

² “ Epithalamium,” p. 28.

³ Published in a volume of Nuptial Odes, 4to, Lond. 1613.

“This our king’s daughter is all glorious within, and not within only, but wholly admirable. The god of nature hath in her body made a mirror of nature’s beauty, and in her soul a pattern of grace’s piety, so that, albeit in her outward shape, to the sight of men she be exceedingly glorious, yet inwardly to the sight of her God, she is most glorious: so graciously all holy graces in her being so compact together, that it draws the eyes and hearts of all men to admiration, to see so much piety in such comely beauty, so great humiliation in such a majesty.

“Neither do her glorious bridal robes, be they never so glittering with wrought gold, or curiously embroidered by the art of man, (as no doubt this day, for the solemnity of it, and the honour of her estate, it is most glorious) so much adorn her as the more than golden graces of God’s Holy Spirit in her.”

After reverting to Queen Elizabeth’s glorious reign, the author adds:—

“Our present Elizabeth, this day’s royal bride, is of no less happy hopes; her love unto her name-sake’s memory, her imitation of her virtues, her hatred of Popery and superstition, her zeal to God’s glory, and sincere profession of the gospel, her religious education from her infancy; her reverent attention at the hearing of the word; her respect unto the ministers of the gospel; her faith, her zeal, her charity, is admirable, and to every Christian heart most comfortable.

“It was the desire and often wish of this gracious Princess, (if report of some of her nearest observers may be credited) that in her marriage match, she might be linked to a prince professing the same religion in which she herself had been instructed. Good princess! (the God of Heaven be blessed for it) she hath her wish. No superstitious mass doth defile the celebration of her nuptials, or obscure the glory of her marriage, but she is matched with a prince, in religion, in education, in years, in virtues fit, and fit for none but herself. Had she, good princess, been linked in marriage with one of a different religion, what an unequal yoke had that been? How derogatory from God’s glory? How prejudicious to our state? How dangerous to her person? How hurtful to her soul? But, blessed be God, who hath provided better things for us, for her, for his church’s good. Herein our gracious sovereign hath manifested unto the world the sincerity of his heart, and the soundness of his profession, in that no outward dignity, state, or glory, could cause him to match his child with a contrary religion. Doubtless the finger of God hath been here.”

The magnificence of the marriage preparations completely bankrupted the royal exchequer. It was usual, from time immemorial, for a King of England to levy an aid from his subjects on the nuptials of his eldest daughter; and though more than a century had elapsed since such nuptials had taken place, yet King James did not fail to revive the custom. Writs were accordingly issued,¹ but the payments, not being stringently enforced, only amounted to 20,500*l.*, leaving the King ultimately a loser; for 53,294*l.* was expended in connexion with the

¹“*Fœdera*,” vol. vii. pt. ii. p. 183. [Amongst the Chamberlain’s accounts of the Corporation of Leicester, is the following item:—“Paid to the Kinges Majestie for ayde to marrye the ladie Elizabeth, his highnes daughter, as the lawes of this realm require, oute of all the landes and tenementes of the maior, bailiffes and burgesses of Leycester . . . vj *li.*” Report viii. Hist. MSS. Comm. App. i. p. 429 a.]

marriage,¹ exclusive of the bride's portion of 40,000*l.* Lord Harrington was one of the greatest sufferers, since he had to provide the bridal equipments for his ward. Her current expenses had amounted to 10,000*l.* for the year,² and as he did not receive half that sum in stated and certain payments, he was upwards of 3,500*l.* out of pocket;³ and the King, unable to repay him, was obliged to grant him, in recompense, a patent for the privilege of coining brass farthings.⁴ In a sudden fit of economy, the Court was broken up; and, to the bitter mortification of the Lady Elizabeth, the household provided for her husband was abruptly dismissed. Frederic, responding to the hint thus thrown out, gave intimation to most of the attendants who came over with him, but remained at the King's expense, that their visit had already been sufficiently prolonged, and they took their departure. The King, to save appearances, left town for Newmarket.

This vexation did not interrupt the loving harmony of the youthful couple. On the 24th of February, accompanied by the Queen, they attended the christening of the infant daughter of the Earl and Countess of Salisbury. On the evening of the 25th, as they walked together in the pleasure gardens of Whitehall Palace, which then contained a variety of beasts and birds belonging to the King, the Princess was surprised by the entrance of a magnificent equipage, a chariot blazing with gold and elaborately painted, the lining of silk and silver, embroidered with historical pieces. It was drawn by six horses, richly caparisoned, and attended by coachmen and footmen wearing her own liveries. Her surprise was changed into rapturous delight, when her husband presented her with the equipage, which had been made in Paris expressly for her.⁵

The next day Prince Frederic, sacrificing the claims of love to those of duty, followed his royal father-in-law to Newmarket,⁶

¹ Carte's England, "vol." iv. p. 263. The Wardrobe Warrants contain long descriptions of silk tissues, brocades, satins, cloth of gold and silver, velvet, etc. for dresses, bodices, and mantles, satin for night dresses, white cloth of silver for the covering of the furniture of the bridal chamber, etc. etc. Also plumes of feathers, spangled lace, liveries for her pages and footmen, beds hung with crimson velvet, furniture, and necessities of every description for her use.—Addit. MS. 5751, f. 166; "Archæologia," vol. xxvi. p. 580; also Devon's Pell Records of James I., pp. 151-162.

² Harl. MS. 544, f. 54 b.

³ A curious illustration of the expenses incurred by the nobility is given in the account book of Robert, Lord Lisle, drawn up by one of his servants, in which the whole charge of his suite at the marriage of Elizabeth is detailed, amounting to 180*l.*—Addit. MS. 12066.

⁴ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 608.

⁵ Devon's Pell Records of James I., p. 162; "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. p. 67.

⁶ "His Majesty is this day gone towards Royston, and so to Newmarket, whither he will draw the Count Palatine for a time there, and thereabouts entertain him '*en faisant* (as they say in France) *le bon père*,' not to say, as we say here, 'to see his uncle'; the phrase is too cheap, though the application would not, perhaps, be far from the purpose!"—Finet to Carleton, 22nd Feb. 1613, *S. P. Dom.* under date.

and thence, accompanied by Prince Charles, went to Cambridge,¹ where, writes our newsmonger, "they had great entertainments and had two very commendable acts in divinity and philosophy, besides two excellent comedies; but they marred them with length, and made them grow tedious, the one of them lasting between seven and eight hours".² Several of the Prince's attendants were created doctors, and he also became an honorary member of the University, and entered his name on the books. The *literati* of Oxford, unwilling to be outdone by the rival University, in the honours paid to their Princess's husband, sent a deputation to request a visit from him. He excused himself on the plea of business, but sent them his portrait, hung on a gold chain. Not yet satisfied, they sent a second deputation, with the register-book of Christ Church College, in which they requested him to enter his name, as a member of the University, which he did, with the super-added motto, "Rege me, Domine, secundum verbum tuum".³

The period of her husband's absence was beguiled to Elizabeth by frequent correspondence with him, and by visits to her mother, who remained at her favourite palace of Greenwich. By degrees, Queen Anne's dislike to the marriage had melted away before the personal graces of her young son-in-law, enhanced by his affectionate attentions to herself.

"The queen," writes a courtier, "doth discover her liking of this match over all others; and for the more honouring of it, she exceedeth the king in new liveries that she giveth to her servants, and caresseth the Palsgrave, whensoever he cometh to her, as if he were her own son."⁴

On the 23rd of March, the anniversary of the King's accession to the English throne, there was a grand tilting at Court. Being the last festival in which the Princess would take a share, it was made more gay than any that had preceded it, and, to grace the day, the court laid aside the mourning which had been hitherto worn for the deceased Prince of Wales.⁵ The following day, the 24th, Elizabeth accompanied her husband on a visit to the Tower of London, which, with its famous menagerie, he was anxious to inspect. The Tower guns gave a salute in honour of their visit, and the Princess, to prove to her husband that her

¹ "Court and Times of James I.," vol. i. pp. 229, 233.

² *Ibid.* pp. 233, 239. Singularly enough, one of the questions discussed was whether successive or elective monarchy was preferable; and James I., whose notions of divine right were very high, was "out of patience" that such a matter should be argued.

³ Wood in his "Athenæ," vol. i. p. 351 (Fasti), misled by finding the Prince's name in the register book of Christ Church, represents him as having visited Oxford; but the contemporaneous writer of the "Beschreibung der Reiss" gives the details as here related, p. 69.

⁴ *S. P. Dom.* lxxii. 28.

⁵ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. p. 70.

spirit was equal to her birth, herself took the match and fired one of the cannons.

Frederic, now in possession of his cherished treasure, his "*herz-allerliebste Gemahlin*," as the expressive German has it, once more urged her royal parents to permit their departure. Heart-sore with the loss of their first-born, they yet hesitated, but affection yielding to reason, they consented to dismiss their daughter when Easter was over. The whole Court now resounded with preparations for the departure of the young Elector and his bride. The number and quality of the Princess's attendants had been frequently discussed, and also the names of those noblemen who were to attend her. The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Arundel, Viscount Lisle, and Lord Harrington, were appointed royal commissioners, but they were to have the title of ambassadors, in order to secure their precedence above the diplomatic agents at the Hague and elsewhere. Lady Harrington, though not officially sent by the King, chose to attend her beloved ward at her own expense, rather than leave her without an experienced female friend at so important a period of her life. Letters were despatched to those potentates through whose dominions the Princess was to pass, bespeaking her a courteous entertainment, and an escort where necessary, rather, however, to compliment them, than from any doubt of their readiness to receive one whose marriage promised the happiest omen for the welfare of Protestant Germany.¹ By her marriage contract, Elizabeth was allowed forty-nine servants, whose wages were to be paid and their expenses defrayed by her husband;² but her train swelled much beyond the assigned limits. Her chief lady of honour was Mrs. Anne Dudley, induced to accept office,

¹ Dickenson to Lake, 30th Jan.; James I. to Dickenson, 22nd Feb.; Winwood to Rochester, 13th March, *S. P. Holland*.

² Their salaries were to be as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
<i>Maitre d'hôtel</i>	66	13	4
Secretary	50	0	0
Master of the Horse	50	0	0
To four gentlemen, 20 <i>l.</i> each	80	0	0
Chaplain	50	0	0
Physician	50	0	0
Two footmen, 10 <i>l.</i> each	20	0	0
Two grooms of the chamber, 13 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> each	26	13	4
Master of the Robes	20	0	0
Cook	20	0	0
Cup bearer	20	0	0
Inferior male attendants, 18 in number	66	13	4
First lady of honour	66	13	4
Six maids of honour	120	0	0
Two chamber-women	26	13	4

Four maidens, belonging to the maids of honour, were to be provided with food, and the whole suite to be fed and clothed according to the manner usual in persons of their rank in the Elector's family.—"*Fœdera*," vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 187.

if Court gossip told the truth, by her appreciation of the attentions of Colonel Schomberg. There were seven other female attendants, five of whom had been long in her service, and three laundresses; a *maitre d'hôtel*, secretary, cup-bearer, and other officials, who, with persons of lower grade, amounted in all to 102; whilst the Palatine's train of fifty persons, the commissioners and their attendants, and the numerous trades-people and others who accompanied them, increased the entire *cortège* to the number of 675.¹

Orders for the requisite vessels of transport were issued by the King to Charles, Earl of Nottingham, the veteran admiral of the days of the Spanish Armada, who intended his last official act to be the conveyance of the Princess.² Seven large ships of the royal fleet, seven merchantmen, and others of smaller size, were put in demand. All were freshly painted and decorated; and those for the use of the Lady Elizabeth and her attendant nobles were furnished with canopies and cushions of crimson satin and velvet, with gold fringes and tassels, new ensigns and streamers, etc.; they were also provided with every luxury for the table.³ Sir Edward Cecil was appointed treasurer of the expedition, and the sum of 2,000*l.* placed in his hands to defray the necessary expenses.⁴ Phineas Pett, Elizabeth's former host at Woolwich, exerted himself with zeal to see everything put in order for the royal party; and all other shipping was ordered to be stopped, in order that there might be no delay in securing the 2,500 mariners who were needed for the fleet of the Princess.⁵

On Easter Sunday, April 4th, the royal family attended Divine service in the chapel at Whitehall, the Bishop of St. Andrews officiating, and received together the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.⁶ The people were much gratified to observe that, in spite of differences of creed—for Prince Frederic was a rigid Calvinist—he was willing to join with his wife in the solemn rite. The Queen alone was absent; her change of faith, though jealously concealed, prevented her participating in the sacramental forms of the Church of England.

In the afternoon of Saturday, 10th April, the royal party left Whitehall in barges, and went down to Greenwich. The bridges and the banks of the river were crowded with people, anxious to bid their Princess farewell; and parting salutations were expressed by the waving of flags wherever she passed, and by discharges from the guns at the Tower, and from pieces of ordnance placed along the shore. On their arrival at Greenwich, the King with the two Princes, went out to hunt, the Princess re-

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*, April, 1613. [See Appendix A.]

² "Fœdera," vol. vii. pt. ii. p. 189. The provisions of the table were left to Sir Marmaduke Darrell. His orders are to be found in Addit. MS. 5752, f. 70.

³ *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxii. 122.

⁴ "Fœdera," vol. vi. p. 191.

⁵ "Court of James I.," vol. i. p. 239.

⁶ Howe's "Chronicle," p. 1007.

maining with her mother. Sunday was passed in retirement, except that the family attended Divine service in public. Numbers of persons were present, who had flocked from London and the neighbourhood to take a last look at their beloved Princess. Free entrance was allowed to all comers, and at the close of the service, as Elizabeth was retiring, she permitted those who wished it to kiss her hand. Her husband shared the popular homage.

A slight jar occurred to interrupt the harmony of the royal family. Henry, Lord Grey, who had been imprisoned in the Tower on the charge of joining in the conspiracy of Sir Walter Raleigh, tried to make interest with the Prince Palatine to intercede for his release. Frederic accordingly preferred an urgent request to his father-in-law, but was refused, the King expressing surprise that he should plead on behalf of a man whom he had never seen. The Prince replied that his uncles, the Duke of Bouillon, Count Maurice, and Prince Henry of Nassau, who knew Lord Grey, had recommended him; to which the King, with some asperity, retorted: "Son, when I come into Germany, I will promise to make no request for any of your prisoners". Frederic felt himself aggrieved, and complained to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the King had treated him like a child:¹ but the cloud soon passed away.

On Tuesday afternoon, the 13th of April, the party set forth for Rochester: they were met at some distance from the town by the mayor, with a troop of seventy horse, and the magistrates and council received them on their entrance, and offered to the Princess a present of plate. The morning of the 14th was passed by the King, Prince Charles, and the Prince and Princess Palatine, in visiting several galleys and vessels which were in course of construction. On their return home, Elizabeth had to encounter her first farewell, for the Queen was about to return homewards. She parted from her daughter with an emotion which was still more strongly felt by the Princess. The King was about to follow her; but before leaving, he entered into a full statement of his wishes in reference to the respectful treatment of his daughter, and particularly that she should be allowed precedence of her husband and of the German Princes. Frederic, under the excitement of the moment, when all his efforts were needed to console his weeping bride, made promises and protestations, the fulfilment of which involved him in subsequent difficulties.² Warmly commending his child to the affections of

¹ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 642. *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxii. 120. In Harl. MS. 7002, f. 306, is an epistle from Lord Grey to the Earl of Northampton, mentioning having obtained letters in his favour from both Frederick and Elizabeth. Frederic's letter is in *S. P. Germ. States*. The Privy Council records mention some share of liberty granted to Lord Grey in 1613, but it was of short duration.

² "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. pp. 68-71.

her lord, and to the kindly offices of Colonel Schomberg, the King bade her a tender adieu, and with fond embraces and many tears they parted.¹ Prince Charles, however, was not willing to leave his sister so soon: he accompanied her to Sittingbourne, where they passed the night; and the following day to Canterbury, the next stage of her progress. The neighbouring nobility rode out to meet them; and the mayor and magistrates, in their scarlet robes, received them with an oration at the gates of the city, and conducted them to the cathedral. There the dean and canons welcomed them with a second oration, and accompanied them to seats in the church, to attend the usual evening service. Elizabeth was then led to the house of the dean, where she was to lodge. Prince Charles was accommodated in the house of a doctor close by.

Freed from the shackles of Court restraint, Charles and his sister resolved to spend a few quiet days together at Canterbury, the wind not being so favourable as could be desired. Meanwhile, under the superintendence of Schomberg, their retinues were divided, and the Palatine's attendants, excepting a few immediately about his person, went on to Margate, and sailed for Flushing, to be in readiness to meet the royal party on their landing. Whilst the Princess remained at Canterbury she addressed the following letter to her father:—

“Sire,

“I now feel the sad effects of separation and distance from your majesty. My heart, which was pressed and astounded at my departure, now permits my eyes to weep their privation of the sight of the most precious object, which they could have beheld in this world. I shall, perhaps, never see again the flower of princes, the king of fathers, the best and most amiable father, that the sun will ever see. But the very humble respect and devotion, with which I shall ceaselessly honour him, your majesty can never efface from the memory of her, who awaits in this place a favourable wind, and who would return again to kiss the hands of your majesty, if the state of affairs, or her condition could allow it, to show to your majesty with what ardent affection she is and will be, even to death,

“Your majesty's very affectionate, very humble, and very obedient daughter and servant,

ELIZABETH.”

“From Canterbury, April 16th, 1613.”

She wrote also to Sir J. Cæsar as follows:—

“Good Sir Julius Cæsar,

“If you be remembered, I did send you a note, signed with my own hand, the 10th of this present month, containing the number and prices of rings, which, as tokens of my affection, I have bestowed upon my friends. Now do I send you another bill, which shall show you the number and prices of rings distributed amongst those who, taking their leave, did require some token, which I could not deny; and, having nothing to confer, was constrained to make Jacob Hardret, my jeweller, furnish me with these rings, which I do acknowledge, by my signe, apposed to this last bill, to have received and given away. You do know that it is fitting for my quality, at the

¹ Johnston, “His. Rer. Brit.,” p. 487.

time of my parting from my natural country, to leave some small remembrance of me amongst my affectionate friends; but that anything employed for my use should rest unpaid doth not well become my quality; and therefore, being fully persuaded of your affection towards me, in such sort that you will never suffer my name to come in question for any debt contracted by me, I do earnestly entreat you to cause see these bills paid and discharged, so soon as may be, for my respect, because all these tokens have been given with mine own hand. I am assured his majesty shall allow you in so doing. This messenger expecteth your answer, which I pray you let be sent me with all expedition, and in recompence, you shall ever find me ready to prove,

“Your good friend,

“From Canterbury, the 20th of April, 1613.¹

ELIZABETH.”

“To her honourable friend, Sir Julius Cæsar knight, chancellor of the Exchequer.”

The kindly feeling displayed in the preceding epistle is illustrated in another letter, addressed to the Mayor of London, Sir John Swinnerton, on behalf of a servant, formerly her cook, entreating a reversionary post for him.²

For five days the royal sister and brother enjoyed the luxury of union and intercourse. On her brother Charles, Elizabeth seemed now to lavish much of the affection she had previously entertained for Henry; and often, in their after life did both recur, with tender regret, to these days of full and free outpouring of confidence and love. At length the King, jealous, possibly, of this long delay, sent a mandate for the Prince to return to London, to be present at the festival of the Order of the Garter, on the 23rd of April. He was much disappointed to be prevented from seeing his sister on board her vessel, but the royal command was imperative.³ Unconscious, each, of the melancholy destiny which was to render their separation final, they soothed their regrets by mutual promises of frequent and happy reunions; and after many a loving embrace and fond farewell, they parted.

The same day, April 21st, the Princess and her train proceeded to Margate, and at once went on board. The vessel prepared for their reception was *The Prince Royal*, in the building of which Elizabeth and her brother Henry had taken so much interest, and its commander was his favourite shipwright, Phineas Pett, who had constructed the vessel.⁴ The High Admiral, the aged Earl of Nottingham, received the Princess with due reverence; her husband and the Earl and Countess of Harrington, with their attendants, were alone permitted to embark with her; the rest of the train sailed in other vessels, which, forming into a crescent, were ordered to follow

¹ Addit. MS. 12504, Art. 253, Orig.

² Ellis's "Letters," 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 231. The plea was not successful; some time elapsed before the vacancy occurred, and then another person was appointed.

³ Chamberlain to Carleton, 29th April, 1613. *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxii. 120.

⁴ Extract from Pett's Life, "Archæologia," vol. xii. p. 268.

the signals of the admiral. The intention was to set sail with the next tide; but the wind being against them they were compelled to wait, and on the 22nd, the Prince and Princess, with part of their train, again landed at Margate.¹ Count Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, uncle to Frederic, sent over a skilful pilot² with two pinnaces, to steer them over the dangerous sands of Flushing; and thus encouraged, and wearied, moreover, with tarrying at a small fishing village on the dull coast of Kent, at ten o'clock on the evening of the 25th, they again went on board; the weather was clear, though contrary winds still prevailed. With the next tide they ran out to sea, and on the morning of the 26th, the Princess lost sight of the shores of her native land.³

¹“The winds have been so cross and contrary,” says a Court letter, “that they cannot get away.” See Chamberlain’s letter, *ut supra*. “They have been shipped once or twice, but fain to get on shore again.” Sir Henry Wotton speaks of the Princess as “having lain long in our poor province of Kent, languishing for a wind, which she sees, though it be but a vapour, princes cannot command”. At length, he continues, they had been able to put to sea, “some eight days after a book had been printed and published in London of her entertainment at Heidelberg; so nimble an age it is”. Wotton to Sir E. Bacon, Add. MS. 34727, f. 23.

²[“Einen vornehmen und erfahrenen Mann,” entitled “Professor rei Nauticæ,” “Beschreibung der Reiss,” p. 77.]

³“Beschreibung der Reiss,” etc. p. 77. “Archæologia,” vol. xii. p. 269.

CHAPTER II

Elizabeth's voyage to Holland—Reception—Letter to King James—Arrives at the Hague—Entertainments there—Presents—Travels towards Germany—Embarks on the Rhine—Welcomed in the Palatinate, and at Heidelberg—Festivities there—Hunting-parties—Elizabeth's dower settled—Her establishment—*Fracas* of servants—Death of two Lords Harrington—Disturbances in Elizabeth's household—Her life at Court—Birth of Prince Frederic Henry—General rejoicings—His baptism—Congratulations—Elizabeth's facile disposition—She runs into debt—Schomberg marries her maid-of-honour—Frederic reaches his majority—Attends a meeting of Princes at Heilbronn—His illness—Elizabeth writes to the King—Contests for precedence—Domestic regulations—Jewels missing—Explanations—Heidelberg gardens—Visit to High Palatinate—Suspicious entertained against Schomberg—Death of his wife—Letter of Elizabeth—Assembly at Würtemberg—Discussions on precedence—Death of Schomberg—Arrival of Lady Harrington—Birth and baptism of Prince Charles Louis—Projected visit to England—Present of monkeys—Threatened assassination—Birth of Princess Elizabeth—Death of Anne of Denmark—Arrival of Doncaster, English Ambassador—Elizabeth's love of literature.

THE voyage of the Princess, though slow, was safe.¹ On the evening of the 27th of April, 1613, the fleet anchored off Ostend, and the light of the following morning discovering her arrival to the inhabitants, she was greeted with a discharge of cannon; a similar salute was fired on her passing Helvoetsluys. The noise of the artillery conveyed the tidings of her approach to Frederic's maternal uncle and guardian, Maurice, Prince of Orange, who awaited the august party at Flushing. Maurice, with the Princes Henry of Nassau and Emanuel of Portugal,² put off in a boat and joined the royal fleet, which lay at anchor a few miles from Flushing. They kissed the hand of the young Elector and of his bride, to whom they were formally presented, and were then introduced to the English commissioners, all of whom had come on board the *Prince Royal* to meet them. After a short interview they proposed returning to shore; but at the urgent request of the Princess and the English admiral, they not only remained to partake of a splendid supper, which was served up in the saloon of the vessel, but even consented to pass the night on board.³

¹ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. p. 78. Nichols, vol. ii. p. 611.

² This "Prince of Portugal" was Emanuel, son of Antonio, Prior of Crato, an illegitimate scion of the royal family of Braganza, who had unsuccessfully endeavoured to vindicate a claim to the throne, against the pretensions of Philip II. of Spain. In 1597 he had married Amelia of Nassau, and now found a refuge among his wife's relatives.

³ Monk to Lake, *S. P. Holland*, 10th May.

The next day, 29th of April, after an early dinner, the Princess prepared to land. A boat was let down for the reception of the royal party, lined with crimson velvet, and furnished with twenty English rowers, in red and white liveries. The oars kept rapid time to the music of a band placed at the stern. Elizabeth was attended by the Countess of Arundel, Lady Harrington, Mrs. Dudley, and her ladies of the chamber, and also by the Lords Arundel, Lisle, Harrington, and other knights and gentlemen.¹

“No sooner did they set footing on the land but (to make heaven and earth echo forth report) the lord admiral sent unto them a volley of great shot, to the number of 400; the town of Flushing answering in the like thunder of 200 great shot.”

On the landing steps, the deputies of the States of Zealand received the Princess. The streets of the town were lined with citizens, and soldiers in full armour; and in the midst of firing, music, bell-ringing, and every token of rejoicing, Elizabeth, attended by her husband, proceeded on foot, unveiled and uncanopied, to a house of Prince Maurice, where she was to be entertained. Her condescension, in thus submitting to gratify the curiosity of the Hollanders, was so much applauded, that she adopted the same plan so long as she remained in the country; which “noble behaviour” is said to have given “great contentments to all the beholders”.² A foot-walk through the narrow and crowded streets of a small Dutch town, must certainly have been a curious episode in her existence. A stately supper, and a display of excellent fireworks, with other shows and devices, concluded the day.

Early on the morning of the 30th, Frederic departed for the Hague, where his presence was necessary to the conclusion of a treaty between the States-General³ and the Princes of the Protestant Union in Germany, of which he was the head.⁴ Winwood followed the Prince, and Elizabeth was left to pursue her journey in charge of the English admiral and commissioners, and of the Burgomaster of Flushing. On Saturday, 1st May, they escorted her to Middelburg, where she was received by twenty companies of soldiers, who, “with loud and lusty volleys of shot,” conducted her to her lodging in the abbey. On Sunday,

¹ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 613.

² Winwood's “Memorials,” vol. iii. p. 464.

³ It may be advisable, for the sake of perspicuity, to explain that each of the seven provinces of Holland was governed by its own “States,” and that the “States-General,” which legislated for the whole country, was composed of deputies from each of these provinces. “The United Provinces” was, in strict propriety, the name of the country which is now designated Holland, as the term Holland, though often given to the whole in common parlance, was in its stricter sense confined to one province.

⁴ Schomberg to James I., 17th May, Frederic to James I., same date, *S. P. Germ. States*.

in company with the Dutch Princes and such of the commissioners as understood the language, she attended the French service. She was then led in state to the Rathhaus, or town-hall, where she partook, with cordial cheerfulness, of a dinner which had been prepared for her by the States: "No words being able to express the bounty, royalty, and cost, of so princely an entertainment". Eighty persons, male and female, of the highest rank in the place, were allowed to share the repast, and all combined to show every possible mark of honour to their illustrious guest. The following day (3rd May) the aged admiral, who had gallantly fulfilled his commission, presented to the Princess the commander of the ship, Phineas Pett, to kiss her hand,¹ and then he himself took leave of his fair charge, and departed homewards. He was the bearer of the following note from the Princess to her father.²

"Sir,—I could not select a person more suitable to relate to your majesty the extraordinary favours and courtesies that I have received from the admiral, than himself, who has so honoured me for your majesty's sake, that I shall esteem myself the happiest of beings if I shall afterwards understand that your majesty shews good will towards him. The admiral will declare to your majesty the love of all the people of this country and the honour that I received from regard to your majesty, but he is not able, neither am I, to express with what devotion I shall ever be Sire,

"Your majesty's very affectionate daughter

and very humble servant,

ELIZABETH."

"Middelburg, 3rd May, 1613."³

In the afternoon, the party took their barges for Dort; but the wind being against them, the Princess landed for the night at Wilhelmstadt, all excepting her immediate attendants remaining on ship-board; on the 4th she arrived at Dort, and was lodged in the Prince's palace, and the next day reached Rotterdam. Frederic, who, when his business was despatched, flew on the wings of love to rejoin his bride, had already arrived there, together with Sir Ralph Winwood, the English ambassador, and the wife of Count Ernest of Nassau-Dietz, Sophia Hedwig of Brunswick, who was cousin to the Princess,⁴ and wished, therefore, to be the first lady to bid her welcome. Leaving Rotterdam in coaches, and passing through Delft, they arrived the same evening, 5th May, at the Hague, where the States-General, in their capacity of guardians of the Prince Palatine,—an office which they held by his father's will,—exerted themselves to show their heartfelt welcome. Headed

¹ "Archæologia," vol. xii. p. 267.

² "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. pp. 80-81; Nichols, vol. ii. p. 611.

³ From the original, in the private collection of Miss Richardson Currey, of Eshton Hall, Yorkshire.

⁴ Her mother, the Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, was Elizabeth of Denmark, sister of Queen Anne.

by Prince Maurice, and attended by a train of horse, they went out some distance to meet the Princess, and when she drew near, dismounted and kissed her hand, and then followed her to the town; ¹ there she was received by the burghers with peals of artillery, and by them conducted to the palace of Count Henry, where their entertainment "was as royal as his mind that bestowed it". ² After the evening repast a French comedy was performed for their amusement.

The following day a magnificent dinner was given, at which all the chief persons were present: they then went out to hunt, and Elizabeth, who dearly loved field-sports, shot down three stags with her own royal hand, ³ and was highly exhilarated with the exercise. Another comedy, and a concert of music, formed the evening's diversion. On the 7th, the party set forth for Scheveningen, to see the wind-chariots, lately invented, which were propelled by means of the wind acting upon large sails. But when they had proceeded a short distance, they were stopped for want of wind, so that the company betook themselves again to their carriages and returned to the Hague.

Frederic, whose presence in his own dominions was necessary to the honourable reception of his wife, now took a formal leave of the States-General, with hearty thanks for their princely entertainment, and commended to them the Princess, who was to remain a few days longer in their charge. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 8th, he bade her a loving farewell, cheering her with hopes of their speedy and final re-union, and set out homewards. ⁴ That day a review took place for the amusement of Elizabeth, who was conducted to the field with great military pomp by the Prince of Orange and the States.

The following day, being Sunday, she passed in retirement. On the 10th she was called to take upon her the honours due to her position as Electress; Count Philip of Winnenberg, the Burgrave of Alzey, a noble of the Palatinate, arrived as deputy from the Administrator, the Duke of Deuxponts, to bid her welcome, and requested an audience. ⁵ The same day a deputation from the States waited upon her, to present their congratulations on her marriage, and also to offer their gifts, which were so munificent and costly that their total value was

¹ Johnston, "Rev. Brit. Hist.," p. 477; "Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus," 1613, tome ix. liber 4, p. 84.

² Winwood to Rochester, 22nd May, *S. P. Holland*.

³ "Mercure Français," 1613, p. 77; "Merc. Gallo-Belg.," tome ix. liber 4, p. 85.

⁴ Frederic arrived at Heidelberg, 13th May. Plessen to Villiers, the French agent at Düsseldorf, 15th May, 1613; Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. For extracts from Plessen's Despatches, the author is indebted to the courtesy of M. Mignet.

⁵ "Beschreibung der Reiss," p. 90.

estimated at 10,000*l.*¹ The Princess expressed her grateful acknowledgments, and took a courteous farewell of her liberal hosts. In addition to their presents, they had expended upwards of 20,000*l.* in her entertainment,² though the Princess's treasurer was punctual in refunding to the civic authorities of the different towns all charges for the diet of her train; and at the Hague alone he spent 491*l.* in provisions and in presents to the servants of Counts Maurice and Henry.³

On the 11th of May, still attended by Prince Maurice and the Princess of Nassau-Dietz, Elizabeth left the Hague in a chariot drawn by four white horses,⁴ for Leyden, where the whole body of citizens, clad in armour, received and conducted her to Prince Maurice's residence. On the 12th she proceeded to Haarlem, and was accommodated in the Town-hall, where she passed the night, having previously visited all that was of note in the place. The city had prepared a present significantly utilitarian—a magnificent cradle and complete trousseau of baby linen, valued at 50,000 florins.⁵ At Haarlem she took boat for Amsterdam, where her first welcome was a volley of cannon: a carpeted platform was erected for her passage from the boat to the shore, and thence to the carriages which were in waiting; and the burgesses, armed, were all in attendance.⁶ At the end of the street near the exchange was a triumphal arch, decorated with figures, one of which symbolised the Princess, under the character of Thetis, daughter of Nereus and mother of Achilles; and a stanza beneath gave the points, present and prospective, of the comparison. Over the bridge leading to the Prince's court was another arch with symbolic

¹ Addit. MS. 5847, f. 339. "A particular of such gifts as were presented to her highness by the States-General of The United Provinces, the tenth of May, 1613:—

"A carcanet garnished with 36 diamonds in bossed work.

"Two great pearls pendant, weighing 36 carats and 1 grain.

"A string of pearl of 25 pieces, oriental water.

"A great needle or bodkin, garnished with a great table diamond, and 4 other diamonds about it, of which 3 are pendants in bossed work.

"All these lay in a small cabinet of cloth of gold, between the folds of a perfumed cushion.

"A great looking-glass of silver-gilt of bossed work.

"Ten pieces of tapestry by Francis Spiring.

"Six other pieces of tapestry for a cabinet, of the same workman.

"Several pieces of fine linen damask work, packed in 6 cases, containing in all, for napkins and table-cloths, some 60 pieces.

"Furniture for a chamber of China-work [*i.e.* lacquer work], black and gold, containing a bedstead, a cupboard, a table, 2 great chests, a less chest, 5 small chests, 2 voiders, 24 dishes, 24 lesser dishes, 12 fruit dishes, and 6 saucers."

² Winwood to Rochester, 11th May, 1613, *S. P. Holland*.

³ Account of Bannister and Leigh, officers of the green cloth, appointed to attend Sir Edward Cecil, treasurer of Elizabeth, on the journey.—Audit Office, Declared Accounts [Printed in "Archæologia," vol. xxxv.].

⁴ Johnston's "Rer. Brit. Hist.," *ut supra*.

⁵ "Mercure Français," 1613, p. 77; "Life of Louise Juliane," p. 15.

⁶ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 615.

figures.¹ Friday was passed, in spite of bad weather, in perambulating this capital of Holland, and witnessing some of the strange uncouth games of its fishing population. Here Elizabeth received a costly present of golden plate.² On the 15th she went on to Utrecht, which was a free city: seventeen companies of foot and three of horse received her outside the walls; and the magistracy were in waiting to conduct her to her abode at the "German-House". The next day, the weather being remarkably clear, the Princess mounted the tower, and had a fine view of the thirty cities of Holland, lying around in a panoramic landscape. A costly collation was prepared in the tower, of which she partook; and to do honour alike to her and to the English ambassador who attended her, the healths of her father and brother were drunk, with a salute of fifteen guns. From Utrecht she went to Rhenen in Guelderland, where Prince Maurice again took her out to hunt, and his brother Henry met them with a troop of horse, who, on the approach of the Princess, performed a mock-fight. After a night passed in a nunnery at Rhenen,³ they proceeded to Arnhem, and spent a day with the Count and Countess of Nassau-Dietz, the latter of whom entertained her near relative, as she was proud to style the Princess, in very hospitable manner,⁴ and presented her young son Henry, an infant of a year old, who afterwards became a gallant defender of Elizabeth's cause.⁵ This was the last place within the limits of the States which she would have to pass, and, flattered by the courtesies she had received, Elizabeth wrote to her father in terms of ardent gratitude for the favours received from the States-General, and also of cordial obligation to her father's ambassador, not only for his attendance, but for the judicious counsels which his long experience in those countries enabled him to give her.⁶

Before quitting Arnhem, the English ambassador, Winwood, who had hitherto attended the Princess, kissed hands and took leave. The opportunity of forming his acquaintance on this journey was of value to Elizabeth, as he subsequently became Secretary of State, and was ever ready to use his influence in her favour. For her safeguard up the Rhine, Prince Maurice provided three troops of horse; and on May 20th, escorted by him and by the Princess of Nassau-Dietz, she set out towards Emmerich, and crossing the Yssel, reached that

¹ "Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus," 1613, vol. ix. book 4, p. 86.

² Her reception is said to have cost the State five tons of gold.—"Epitome Belg. Hist.," Sande, p. 95.

³ "To the States' Ministers in Rhenen, and to certain nuns in whose cloister her highness was lodged, where the greatest part of the charge was defrayed for one day, 37l. 4s."—Account of Bannister and Leigh, *ut supra*.

⁴ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. p. 92.

⁵ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe 7th June, 1637, *S. P. Dom.* under date.

⁶ Holograph, French. *Ibid.* under date 18th May, 1613.

town in the evening. She was now in the Duchy of Cleves, the whole territory of which was in the hands of temporary guardians, till the termination of disputes between the heirs of the last Duke of Cleves should settle the succession. The regency despatched a body of troops to meet the Princess on the frontiers, and form her escort. She paid a visit to the Jesuits' church at Emmerich, and then taking leave of the Princess of Nassau-Dietz, who was returning homeward, went on to Niederwesel. There she was met by an envoy from the Court of Flanders, who desired an audience, and presented letters of credence from the Archduke Albert and his wife, Isabella of Spain, congratulating her on her safe journey hitherto, and requesting that she would honour them by passing through their town of Rheineck, which lay in her route. Elizabeth well knew, even then, how insincere were the congratulations of Austria and Spain on a union whose great object was to strengthen the Protestant interest in Germany, and she briefly, but very courteously, declined the invitation; though her refusal gave some offence.¹ Proceeding by Wesel, her next tarrying was at Düsseldorf. Dickenson, the English Resident in those parts, thus writes to James I. :—²

“I hold it my duty to give your majesty notice that on Saturday, the 22nd of this month, the princess came to Dusseldorf, having been met and received a good way without the town, by the young Prince of Brandenburg, and the Count Frederic of Solms, (who came to perform that office of reception and attendance in the Prince Wolfgang William's name,³) followed by a fair train of gentry, besides those who received her highness at the frontiers of Cleveland, which are somewhat near to Arnheim. I must confess,” he adds, “that her treatment within the territories of the possident princes, doth not equal that of the united Low Countries; but withal, I dare boldly affirm that the inequality consisteth only in the disproportion of conveniences and means, not of desire and endeavour.”

At Düsseldorf, a deputation from the magistrates of Cologne waited on the Princess, to beg that she would visit their ancient city. It had previously been matter of doubt whether or not she would pass by Cologne: on the one hand, her numerous train, which was now swelled to 4,000 persons,⁴ rendered it difficult to find accommodation in small places; and even in larger ones, the active co-operation of the rulers of the country was needed to procure necessary conveniences; but on the other hand, her guardians were exceedingly jealous lest she should go anywhere unwelcomed.⁵ This deputation, however, settled the point, and journeying by way of Mülheim, the party shortly arrived at Cologne, where banners waved and artillery thundered,

¹ Winwood's "Memorials," vol. iii. p. 460. ² *S. P. Holland*, 26th May, 1613.

³ The Elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang William, Duke of Neuburg, were the rival claimants for the Duchies, and respectively occupied Cleve and Jülich-Berg.

⁴ Winwood to Rochester, *ibid.* 22nd May.

⁵ Lenox, etc. to James I., 19th May. Winwood to Rochester, 11th May, *ibid.*

to do them honour. In order to show confidence in their hosts, the troops of horse and foot that accompanied the Princess remained outside the walls; whilst she, with Counts Maurice and Henry, entered the city; a proceeding which, in England, was censured as unjustifiably hazardous;¹ but which the issue proved to be safe. In the afternoon of the next day, May 25th, Elizabeth and her companions, attended by some of the magistracy, were led to the Town-hall, where they partook of a sumptuous banquet of sweetmeats. On the 26th, the magistrates of the city returned the visit, and dined with the Princess. She was conducted in due course, to see the cathedral and the church of St. Ursula; in the former, all the relics, including those of the far-famed three kings of Cologne, were displayed before her.² She presented 100s. to the servants of the house in which she lodged, and 6*l.* to the trumpeter of the Margrave of Brandenburg; her chaplain disbursed 26*l.* during the journey, in alms to the poor—given at her command; and her gentleman usher expended 168*l.* from her privy purse in rewards and gifts. The following items of expenditure also occur: “100s. to Garrett, the jester, in reward from her highness”; “77*l.* to Michael Johnson, a picturer, for his attendance and drawing her highness’s picture”; and “380*l.* for a ring and a jewel, to set a picture in,” probably the one just named.³

From Cologne Elizabeth proceeded to Bonn, where the young Prince of Brandenburg waited to invite her to a collation spread on the grass, in the open fields. At this point, her gallant companions, the Princes Maurice and Henry, with Emanuel of Portugal, all of whom had done their utmost to make her journey agreeable, took their leave. Prince Maurice sent her, after their parting, a diamond chain, which he had purchased at Amsterdam.⁴ Preparations were now made for embarking on the Rhine. The Prince of Brandenburg handed Elizabeth on board her vessel, when to her surprise she found herself introduced into a suite of rooms, far exceeding in splendour those in which she had sailed from England. Her private room and ante-room were hung with velvets, rose colour or blue, and canopied with tapestry of flowered gold: the saloon was proportionately spacious and beautiful, and the other parts of the ship were in keeping; whilst on deck was spread a costly awning, supported by columns of imitation marble, and well protected from the weather, in which she

¹ Wotton to Bacon, 18th June, 1613, Wotton’s “Letters,” p. 25.

² “Beschreibung der Reiss,” etc. p. 94. “Mercurius Gallo-Belg.,” 1613, ix. 4, p. 87.

³ Bannister and Leigh’s accounts. Audit Office, Declared Accounts. The senate presented a parting gift of jewels and wine.—“Mercurius,” *ut supra*, p. 88.

⁴ At a cost of 1,600*l.* Winwood to James I., 24th May, *S. P. Holland*. The bearer of this gift had a reward of 20*l.* and Prince Maurice’s steward received a gratuity of 200*l.*

could sit and enjoy the magnificent scenery of the river. Her coat of arms, and those of the Prince Palatine, were emblazoned on the mast, and the whole vessel was wreathed with laurels. On the bow was a crowned lion, whilst the stern displayed a figure of Fortune poised on a ball, the constant movement of the ship rocking her up and down her orb in characteristic vicissitudes. A more fitting emblem could not have been devised to grace the vessel which bore Elizabeth of England to her changeful destiny!¹ The pleasure of the Princess was increased, when she learned that this ship had been built expressly for her by her husband, who had also sent two others, handsomely fitted up for the English commissioners. Thirty Rhine boats accommodated the inferior attendants and the baggage.

From this time the days were chiefly passed on ship-board, and in the evening the Princess landed at one or other of the towns on the banks of the river; the first night at Oberwinter, where she was received by the Archbishop of Cologne, and entertained in the nunnery; the 27th, at Andernach, where she was lodged in the castle, and with her train fêted by order of the Archbishop of Cologne, as also, the day following, at Coblenz, by the Archbishop of Treves: only, being Friday, the repast consisted of fish in every possible variety. The firing, as she passed the bridge thrown over the Moselle, and by the fortress of Hermanstein (or Ehrenbreitstein) reverberated with striking effect from the neighbouring hills. By this time rumours flew far and wide of the gallant vessels which were bearing their royal charge up the waters of the noble river, yet unploughed by steamers, and where even a solitary barge rarely intruded upon the beautiful seclusion: several of the knightly residents upon or near the banks, sent offerings of wine or refreshment to the Princess as she passed. Arriving at St. Goar, she was received by the young Landgrave of Hesse,² and rested for the Sunday, a day kept sacred during her whole journey, with praiseworthy decorum.

The next morning brought two messengers³ from the Elector, to apprise Elizabeth and her guardians of the unhealthy state of several of the towns in the neighbourhood, which were infected with the plague, and to entreat them not to land in any place where there was the slightest danger of contagion. They

¹ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. pp. 86-87, 96. Nichols, vol. ii. p. 616. Gellius, in an epithalamium and gratulatory poem, 4to, Heidelb. 1613, describes Elizabeth as the "Palatine Venus," and represents this Rhine tour in glowing terms. Maxwell, whose graceful verses to the Princess have already been quoted, wrote in prose "a monument of remembrances," in honour of her arrival in Germany, deducing the mutual descent of Frederic and Elizabeth from twenty-five Emperors and thirty-five Kings, and searching biblical and classic lore for fitting types to represent them.

² Nichols, vol. ii. p. 616.

³ John Casimir, a Palatine Prince, and William, Baron of Winneberg.

accordingly sailed past Oberwesel, Caub, and Bacharach, without touching, and had hardly passed the latter place, when a swift chalupe was seen to approach, and Prince Frederic, who had tarried not a moment after the necessary arrangements for his bride's reception were completed, sprang on board her vessel, and was welcomed by Elizabeth with equal surprise and delight. The same evening she landed at the village of Gaulheim, setting foot for the first time in the territory of the Palatinate, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who received her with repeated acclamations and firing, and a train of coaches was in waiting to convey the party to the Town-hall. There tables were spread, to the number of 150, and the next morning the whole suite landed to breakfast.

The object of the English commissioners was now accomplished. They had conveyed their charge, in safety and honour, to the dominions of her husband, and delivered her into his care, and they therefore requested their dismissal; but Lords Lennox, Arundel, and Lisle received and accepted an urgent invitation to accompany their Princess to the end of her journey, and pay a visit to Heidelberg. Lord Harrington, with Levinus Monck and Dr. Martin, who were associated with him as legal commissioners, also went on, that they might examine and take possession of the Princess's dower lands.¹ The officials who had managed the commissariat department, with their numerous attendants, were dismissed; but many of the inferior retainers contrived still to linger in the Princess's suite, where, as we shall subsequently find, their numbers and their anomalous position caused her much annoyance.

An inconvenience, unforeseen and unprovided for, transpired after the departure of the commissioners. It was considered fitting to the rank of the Princess that presents should be given, on her part, in all the towns through which she passed; and those presents had been furnished by her treasurer Cecil. On his departure, she was to travel at the Elector's expense; but she felt a strong reluctance to apply to him at once for her private funds, and a still stronger to omit the customary gratuities; and yet she had no resources of her own. In this dilemma she induced her jeweller, Harderet, to advance a considerable sum, for which she gave him one of her jewels in pledge.²

"If he had not furnished me," she wrote to a friend in England, "I had suffered some kind of discredit, not having the means to give tokens where many times I was obliged by necessity, and oftentimes constrained to give proportionably, to many indifferent persons, to my own quality."³

¹"*Fœdera*," vol. vii. p. 192.

²Elizabeth to James I., April, 1615, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³Elizabeth to Mr. Murray, from the original in the private possession of David Laing, Esq., F.S.A., of Edinburgh.

The voyagers now re-embarked, and in accordance with an invitation from the Archbishop of Mayence, passed a night in that city, the Emperor's apartments in the castle being fitted up for Elizabeth, and those of the Archbishop for Frederic. They "had there a solemn, bounteous and royal entertainment from the Bishop of Mayence," "and were by him feasted for two days, sundry excellent fireworks helping likewise to wear out the time and to make her welcome appear more princely and sumptuous". Oppenheim, the next resting-place, was within the Palatinate; they entered the town under two triumphal arches, bearing allegorical figures and inscriptions,¹ and were presented with a dessert service, silver gilt, a tun of wine, twenty-five sacks of oats, and two hundred-weight of fish. The last offering was a printed oration, composed by Dr. Bartholomew Agricola, who had himself the honour of presenting it.

Elizabeth had become so weary of the tedium of the river passage, that she begged permission to proceed by land, and, as they were now past the infected region, her husband consented. After resting at Oppenheim one day, June 3rd, they took their carriages for Worms. The preparations there making for their reception were not completed in time, and therefore they did not alight: but received, sitting in their chariot, the congratulatory oration and the present of plate, wine, and oats offered to their acceptance. The same evening, they reached Frankenthal, in which, as one of Elizabeth's dower towns, and a chief place in the Palatinate, the rejoicings were exuberant. The whole city was astir; the inhabitants either clad in armour or in their costliest attire. From the highest to the lowest, all had been occupied; some decorated their houses with branches of the graceful birch; some wove garlands and scattered flowers in the streets; some prepared fireworks; and the instant the signal of their lady's approach was sounded from the town, the street leading from the Worms gate was thrown open, and every part of it strewn with flowers. Sixty citizens went forth, dressed in cassocks of blue, trimmed with white and gold, with grey hats and green feathers, and meeting the *cortège* in the country, greeted them with a *feu-de-joie*. As they approached the city ten guns discharged their thunders from the battlements, and on entering, they found the streets lined with musketeers, on one side in Turkish dress, on the other, in the costume of ancient Rome. Near the market-place was a

¹ On one of these, allusion was made to the descent of Elizabeth from the joint houses of York and Lancaster, and to the former union of Lewis Barbatous, Palatine of the Rhine, with Blanche of England, daughter of Henry IV., who is mis-called Queen of England. Blanche was imaged forth, at full length, and represented as uttering words of welcome to Elizabeth, assuring her she would never repent having followed her example and forsaken her father's home for the land of the Palatine. The full description of the decorated arches, etc., with coloured plates, is given in the "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc.

splendid arch of triumph, under which a choir of eighty boys, robed in green, chanted a song of welcome, and then preceded them as they continued their course. Two other companies of musketeers, in Moorish and Indian attire, lined the way up to the door of the princely residence, where on a gallery erected by the goldsmiths, was a band of musicians, who poured forth their sweetest strains.

Arriving at the palace, now become the property of Elizabeth, the Elector and Electress alighted, and mounting a balcony over the portico, presented themselves to the greetings of the assembled throng, and stood for some time admiring the aspect of the decorated city; whilst the bands of musketeers, the children, and the artisans, defiled in procession before them. They were afterwards entertained with the display of a regal throne, illuminated with 100 lamps, representing the throne of Solomon when he entertained the Queen of Sheba, and then, weary with the fatigues of the day, retired to rest. The amusement of the morrow consisted principally in an imitative performance of the siege of Troy.¹

Leaving his wife to repose another day at Frankenthal, Frederic went forward to Heidelberg, etiquette requiring that he should be there to greet her on her public reception. He had heard it whispered amongst the English commissioners that the military exhibitions they had occasionally witnessed were merely a few hired troops, got together for the moment, and not the soldiery of the land; and piqued by their remarks, he determined to make his wife's reception the scene of a grand military display. He therefore assembled nearly 5,000 men, with their tents, field-pieces, etc., in full equipage, upon a spacious plain, about a mile from the city, where, flanked by twenty-six cannon, they formed in battle array on each side of the road through which the Princess was to pass.² The 7th of June was the day appointed for the state entry. A political contemporary writes as follows:—

“Now in the lovely month (which this time we so willingly call *Unio*, (June) partly on account of the union of the royal and electoral houses, but much more for the value of the costly pearl which his electoral highness had stolen in the kingdom of Great Britain, and through God's grace brought here,) on the seventh day of this month June, its lovely sunshine showered great joy not only in the electoral town of Heidelberg, but on the whole land, all desirous to see and receive the English treasure and pearl, the joy, wealth, and ornament of their loved prince. On the aforesaid day, about 12 o'clock, his electoral highness, with the illustrious Prince and Lord John, Palatine of the Rhine, administrator of the electorate, &c., and the abovenamed princes, earls, and lords, with their noble horsemen, departed handsomely dressed and well-armed, from his residence of Heidelberg, to receive the royal bride.”

¹ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 617.

² “*Mercure Français*,” vol. iii. p. 61.

The *cortège* of the Princess was at length seen slowly approaching along the plain, and the Elector and his nobles rode on a considerable distance to meet them. As they came near the coach in which Elizabeth was seated, they dismounted, and no sooner was the door opened than she sprang out and stood to receive the loving greeting of her spouse and his formal welcome to his capital. Their hands were scarcely joined when a salute was fired by all the artillery, with tremendous and almost overpowering effect;¹ after which the Electress was formally presented to the Administrator, and the principal nobles. She wore a robe of cloth of gold, embroidered, with a high Elizabethan collar, and a riding-hat of crimson velvet, plumed with feathers, of the peculiar high-crowned, broad-brimmed description, familiar in the portraits of her mother.²

A collation had been prepared for her in the Elector's tent on the plain, but as the weather became cloudy and threatened rain, it was thought better to proceed at once; and for the same reason the Princess declined to mount on horseback, as had been intended, and was led by her husband and the Margrave of Ansbach to another carriage, covered with crimson velvet, pronounced by competent judges to be the handsomest and most tasteful ever seen in Europe.³ The Ladies Arundel and Harrington took their places by her side. The carriage, though surrounded by a canopy wrought with gold, was open on all sides, so as to give the crowds of beholders an opportunity of seeing the Princess. As the procession moved on, salutes were fired by the troops, and cannon were discharged with such vigour that for nearly an hour the plain was covered with smoke. Band after band of soldiers formed into file under their respective leaders, and preceded her to Heidelberg; their uniforms of scarlet, green, and white, adding much to the effect of the spectacle. These were followed by the trumpeters, and immediately before the Princess rode the Prince Palatine, the Administrator, the Margrave of Ansbach, and the Duke of Würtemberg. Then came her carriage, escorted by six pages of honour mounted on horses splendidly harnessed, and the royal commissioners of England with their wives; the female attendants brought up the rear.⁴ As they came within sight of Heidelberg, they were welcomed by a salute from all the towers in the city, and also from sixty-seven cannon placed along the banks of the Neckar.

The ceremonies of the arrival in the city occupy many pages

¹ Gellius, "Epithalamium," etc. *ut supra*.

² A coloured illustration of this scene is given in the "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc.

³ Plessen to Villars, 11th June, 1613; Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.

⁴ "Beschreibung der Reiss," etc. pp. 122-30.

in the volume from which our description is taken ; but they must be briefly passed over. At the bridge over the river, leading into the town, the fishermen made the first pastime, which, if less beautiful than those that followed, was perhaps not less amusing, from the hearty good-will with which it was performed. A cask, surmounted by four turrets, was fastened on the top of an iron spike, so formed as to revolve at a touch, and around this were twelve boats, full of sailors, who with iron lances strove to tear away the hoops of the cask, or to pierce the turrets. There was many a failure in the attempt, which precipitated the unfortunate fishermen into the water ; but the successful candidates were rewarded with presents of money ; as were those also who performed the more difficult task of shooting a goose fastened to a floating scaffold. The good-natured Prince sent the poor fellows wine to drink his health, and that of his bride, and the *cortège* passed on to the bridge, through a portal bearing the arms of England and the Palatinate, with two clasped hands and the motto "*Deus conjunxit*"—"God hath joined together". The bridge had the appearance of an arbour, so great was the profusion of flowers. Over the gate of the city was a large oil picture, depicting Frederic and Elizabeth as the Rhine and Pallas, and bearing numerous Latin mottoes, the first of which was, "Welcome, thou long-wished-for one ; most precious care of God ; the love of our prince ; the safety of the people, and delight of the age". Riding on through streets tapestry-hung and flower-bestrewn, and crowded with people, they passed through three bands of troops, in the market-place, to the entrance of the Obernstrasse, where the burgomaster had erected at his own cost a graceful arch of trees and flowers, with the motto, "God guard thy entrance". From the centre hung a golden crown, which, had Elizabeth entered on horseback, as was expected, would have been lowered upon her head ; but in place of this, as the royal carriage passed beneath, it descended upon the canopy, and was drawn up again ; significant emblem of short-lived regality ! Had the magistrate of Heidelberg foreseen the war and desolation which the acceptance of a crown by those who were thus greeted would cause to his country, he would surely have chosen another symbol.

From this place the citizens, in arms, lined the streets, and as the Princess passed on, all "were recreated and exhilarated by the aspect of her benignity, by the majesty of her countenance, and the amiable cheerfulness of her brow".¹ The University of Heidelberg outshone all competitors in its strenuous efforts to do honour to the bride of their Prince, and the daughter of the most reputedly learned monarch of the age. No less than four triumphal arches were erected, each covered

¹ Johnston's "Hist. Rev. Brit.," p. 488.

with laudatory inscriptions, and learned emblems. Under the second portal stood the University rector, with a long train of professors, doctors, and masters of art, who, in a Latin oration, wished the Princess all happiness, and commended the University to her protection. At her request, Colonel Schomberg gave a courteous reply, and then a young child, stepping forward, presented her with a basket of the rarest fruits and flowers, saying, in French: "Madam, the goddesses Flora and Pomona greet you, and wishing you every blessing and felicity, they present you this basket". Elizabeth not only received the boy's offering with a gracious smile, but gladly partook of its refreshing contents.

All the other triumphal arches were eclipsed by one erected in the court of Heidelberg Castle: it was sixty-five feet high, by thirty-six wide, and twenty-five deep; on the sides were full-length statues of four of the most illustrious dukes of the Palatinate, and surmounting these, on the entrance-front, were figures of Henry the Lion and his wife, Matilda of England; and on the inner-front, of Louis Barbatous and Blanche of England; thus gracefully commemorating the two alliances which already united the blood-royal of England with that of the Palatine House. About six o'clock in the evening the carriages passed under this arch, and drew up in the courtyard. Frederic instantly sprang from his horse, and flew to the door of the Princess's carriage, which he opened himself, to receive and hand out his "royal treasure," and present her to his mother, who stood on the steps at the castle door.

"With what joy, hearty embracings, and loving kisses, these two Electresses, mother and daughter, received and greeted each other, is rather to be imagined than described," writes our author, "for it was with such maternal and filial ardour, grace, and eagerness, that all the bystanders were moved, and they were highly and heartily gratified."¹

Another authority, also an eye-witness, states that Elizabeth threw her arms round the neck of her mother-in-law, kissed her, and addressed her in "most civil and courteous language".² The Electress warmly returned her caresses, declaring that since the death of her husband, she had never tasted pleasure so sincere as that with which she welcomed her royal daughter-in-law.³

The Princess was then led into the great hall, and presented to a company of ladies, who awaited her in their several ranks. The chief of these were the two Duchesses of Deuxponts, mother and wife of the Administrator; the latter, who was sister to the Prince Palatine, was accompanied by her little daughter, whom

¹"Beschreibung der Reiss," p. 154.

²Plessen to Villars, 11th June, 1613, *ut supra*.

³Gellius, "Epithal." etc. *ut supra*.

Elizabeth caressed with great kindness; next in rank were Catherine and Charlotte, the unmarried sisters of Frederic; and other relatives of the Palatine house.¹ After these introductions, the Princess was attended by the Administrator and the Margrave of Ansbach, and followed by all the ladies to her apartments, where, at last, she was allowed some repose; the English nobles also were conducted to the rooms provided for them.

The Castle of Heidelberg, whose romantic ruins, situated on a hill beyond the city, still form an object of interest, was then a magnificent structure, built of stone, and surrounded with beautiful gardens. The principal apartments commanded a splendid view of the country, through which the glittering river Neckar wound into the noblest plain in Germany. The rooms known as the English portion of the castle, of which the outer walls still remain, were afterwards built for Elizabeth in the English style, by order of the Elector.²

The day following her arrival, Tuesday, the 8th of June, was appointed as a general thanksgiving-day in every church in the city. At the chapel of the Castle the learned Abraham Scultetus officiated, and Elizabeth was present, though her knowledge of the German language was imperfect. He commenced the service with a paraphrase of the 136th Psalm, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever"; calling upon the town, the Electorate, etc., to say that "His mercy endureth for ever"; after which he read the 147th Psalm, and made it the groundwork of his discourse, concluding with a fervent thanksgiving for the preservation of the Prince, during his journey to England, for the happy fulfilment of his hopes, and for the prosperous arrival of his bride.³

From the chapel the party went to the dining-room, where they sat down to supper, after the ceremony of washing of the hands, at which, according to the custom of the country, noble Counts held the ewer, basin, and towel for the Princess. Elizabeth was placed at the top of the table; on her left were her mother-in-law and the other ladies of the family, who occupied one side; on the other the English Commissioners, alternating with Princes, Dukes, and Nobles of the Palatinate. The dishes were served and carved, and the wine poured out, by Counts and Barons innumerable. Frederic had invited the Duke of Würtemberg and several of the neighbouring potentates, who joined in the festivities, to bring with them their musicians, instrumental

¹ The company now included thirteen Princes, besides a great assemblage of Counts and Barons.—Carleton's Despatch, June, 1613, *S. P. Venice*.

² Pöllnitz's "Memoires," vol. i. p. 324, vol. iv. p. 11, *Ansichten Heid. Schloss. Mannheim, 1806*.

³ The service and sermon are given at full in the "Beschreibung," pp. 81-96; as also the thanksgiving-form read in the churches, and a prayer which was offered throughout the Palatinate for the safety and return of Frederic when he set out for England in August, 1612, pp. 96-98.

and vocal; ¹ company of all ranks flocked together, and no fewer than 5,500 persons were feasted that day in or near the Castle of Heidelberg. ² The party then adjourned to dance in what was called the glass saloon, which was beautifully decorated. They were diverted from their amusement by the arrival of five trumpeters on horseback, blowing silver trumpets, and leading, on another horse, a page of the Elector, who, in presence of the assembly, read aloud the regulations of a tourney, to be held on the morrow, in the gardens and tilt-yard of the castle, at which none but Princes, Counts, and Knights were permitted to enter the lists.

The next day, accordingly, immediately after dinner,—which, at that period, was literally *Mittagsmahlzeit*, mid-day meal,—coaches were in waiting to conduct the party to the appointed place. A temporary gallery of two stages had been erected, overlooking the gardens, in the upper part of which Elizabeth, with the Dowager Electress, and the other ladies, was stationed, and the lower stage was occupied by the judges of the field. At one o'clock the lists were opened, and a band of thirty-two knights entered, their plumed helmets and gilded armour sparkling in the sun; after bowing to the Princess and the ladies, they formed into three companies, headed by the Margrave of Ansbach, the Duke of Würtemberg, and Frederic Casimir of Deuxponts, brother of the Administrator. They took opposite sides, and ran against each other in knightly style; after which rewards were distributed to the six most skilful performers. In the evening there was a brilliant display of fireworks, from three mock towers, built on boats upon the Neckar, which lasted with great brilliancy for more than two hours.

On the Thursday, the Elector and Electress, with their guests, again resorted to the gardens, to witness the running at the ring; a feat in which the knight was expected, whilst

¹ MS. Chur. Pfalz. U. 39, Munich library. John, Count Palat. to James I., 17th June. Turner's Hist. MSS., vol. ii. Art. 32.

² "Mercure Français," 1613, p. 26. "Respecting the magnificence of the Palgrave's court," writes another contemporary, "there is one thing which setteth out the Prince Elector's greatness not a little; that besides 6000 trained footmen, who stayed there all the solemnity, and were fed by the prince abroad in the fields, there were every meal, during the abode of the commissioners and the German princes there, above 500 tables furnished, and about 6000 persons, guests and servants, fed at them. But because this was extraordinary, know that court is ever great; for it hath 1000 persons in ordinary, daily fed, and clothed twice a year, at the prince's charge, and he keepeth 300 great horse. Besides, his highness hath many governors, lieutenants, deputies, receivers, clerks, captains, and other officers, abroad in several governments, who have all large salary; and he is served in such state, that every meal a marvellous great kettle-drum striketh, and twenty-four trumpets sound the service, twelve and twelve. Wherefore let envy, malice, and ignorance cease ever henceforth to carp at that they cannot parallel, now they may know it; and all honest minds rest satisfied herewith."—Tract, translated out of Dutch, quoted in Nichols, vol. ii. p. 621.

riding full speed, to bear away a ring from a pole with the point of his lance. To this sport succeeded an elaborate display of classical representations. Various gods and goddesses made their appearance, each with appropriate devices and accessories—Pallas, Juno, Neptune, etc.; and after them came the Elector, personating Jason, in a ship bearing the golden fleece, and attended by six squires, armed with shield and lance.¹ When all these personages had appeared, Pallas challenged attention to a long historical account of the scene and its allegories; the hero Jason, bowing to the Princess, took his place by his companions, and each in turn addressed to her an adulatory ode. If at the close, Elizabeth was not fully persuaded that she was a very goddess upon earth, the fault was not in her adorers.² This pageant was followed by another of similar character:—Mars, with his symbols of war; Venus and Cupid in a swan-drawn chariot; and Diana embowered in trees, attended by satyrs and nymphs. Joachim Ernest, the young Margrave of Brandenburg, was the leader of this group, and they bestowed the same complement of addresses upon their royal auditor; as did a third band, headed by the Duke of Würtemberg, in the character of Ariovistus. The sports then commenced with great energy, and were kept up to a late hour. They were resumed the next day, when the young Elector, fired by ambition to distinguish himself in the presence of his wife, gained twenty-eight out of the ninety-four prizes which were given, and also the first reward for his impersonation of the hero whose name he assumed.

On Saturday, the 12th, a hunt was got up for the special gratification of Elizabeth, as this was her favourite pastime. The Electoral Princes had a lovely pleasure-house, about a mile from Heidelberg, called Schetzingen, which was on the borders of an extensive wood, abounding in deer. This wood was partitioned into six districts, the first of which was assigned to the Princess and her ladies and officers, the others to the Elector and his companions.

“Their electoral highnesses,” writes our author, “took great delight and pastime in this hunt, especially the princess, who chased the deer after such a fashion that it was marvelled at, and in this country even seemed somewhat strange; for her grace shot twelve deer with her cross-bow, and at last, from her horse, she shot at a stag of the second head,³ struck it in the ham, and brought it to the ground; whereat the elector and the princes were much surprised. And when they had spent the day till five o’clock in this hunt, with great pleasure, and had taken about thirty stags and deer, the hunt closed, and their electoral and princely highnesses, with the illustrious princes and the ladies, rode home again.”

¹ Nichols, vol. ii. p. 618.

² “Beschreibung der Reiss,” etc. Append. pp. 62-69. “Triumphes et Entrées faites pour le mariage de Frederic,” etc. 8vo, Heid. 1613.

³ An expression signifying a stag of six years old, when the second antlers are grown.

On this occasion the cross-bow of the Princess was so much more effective than the lances used by the sportsmen, that she killed more than a third of the spoil.

The next day, 13th June, was Sunday. In the morning prayers and sermon were attended, and in the evening there was an entertainment in the castle, of anything but Sabbatic character,—that of running at the tub, after the fashion of Don Quixote, in whose name the challenges were read.¹ A last chivalric *fête* took place on the 19th,—the *Kopf-rennen*, in which the tilter aims his weapon at the head of a moor, or some statue placed for the purpose.

The festivities were now at an end; and, after the brief mention of a congratulatory oration, delivered to Frederic at the University on July 4th, the “description of the journey, home-bringing, and reception at Heidelberg,” from which many of the preceding particulars are drawn, closes with an earnest petition for the health and welfare of the princely pair. The English having witnessed every sort of homage paid to their Princess, and seen her invested with her new dignities, took their leave. Lord Lisle went to a German spa; the Earl of Arundel, being a virtuoso of the first rank for the time in which he lived, went with his Countess into Italy, where he had before travelled, and where he had a villa, near Padua; the Duke of Lennox, with the inferior attendants, returned by way of France² to England, and was the bearer of a letter from Frederic to his father-in-law, acknowledging their attentions to his dearest spouse.³ An English gentleman, who left Heidelberg a few days after the Duke of Lennox, conveyed a letter from Elizabeth to the King, expressing the greatest satisfaction with her reception, and referring him for particulars to Lennox, as principal actor and spectator.⁴

The other commissioners were still occupied in settling points connected with the Princess's dowry, which they arranged entirely to their satisfaction, obtaining full security for its payment in case of her husband's death, and a promise that her marriage portion should be settled upon her daughters, should she have any.⁵ The transfer of the dower lands of Elizabeth

¹ “Beschreibung der Reiss,” pp. 155-200, and Append. pp. 49-55. “Triumphes et Entrées,” etc.

² He went to see his mother, Lady d'Aubigny, and his sister, who was a nun at Fontevraud.—Letters of Mary de Medicis, Middlehill MS. 3181, vol. iii. p. 393 b.

³ “Fœdera,” vol. vii. p. 194.

⁴ Hist. MS. vol. ii. p. 31, in the private collection of Dawson Turner, Esq.

⁵ Harrington and others to James I., 29th June, *S. P. Germ. States*. Among the Lansdowne MSS. (No. 160, f. 88) is a Latin petition from the secretaries of the chancery in the Palatinate, in which a reminder is given to the commissioners, that it was usual for a gratuity to be bestowed on those by whose means a successful marriage was accomplished; and intimating that as all business was now completed, they felt it their duty to remind those “respectable and illustrious men” of what was customary, hinting, moreover, that their master had not forgotten similar gratuities when he was in England!

to the hands of her agents, was performed with great ceremony. There were deliveries and re-deliveries of keys, meetings of commissioners, oaths of fidelity sworn to her, which were not duly binding unless uttered with two fingers of the right hand raised; and other legal minutiae, the repetition of which would be tedious.¹ Elizabeth, in a letter to her father, assured him that the commissioners had sought out all manner of sureties which they deemed for her good, commending especially the zeal and affection of Dr. Martin.² Frederic wrote to the same effect and also informed the King that he had commanded Colonel Schomberg to draw out a plan for building a new residence for the Princess, at Frankenthal,³ according to the stipulations of the marriage contract. James was equally prompt in the fulfilment of his part of the agreement: the marriage portion was regularly paid, at the half-yearly periods; but Frederic complained of a loss resulting from the difference of exchange between the two countries.⁴

Lord and Lady Harrington still remained with the Princess. The strong attachment subsisting between them induced a mutual desire to postpone as long as possible the period of separation, especially as there was not a single person in the Princess's establishment "of quality, reputation or discretion" sufficient to be her counsellor in cases of difficulty;⁵ Mrs. Dudley, her lady of honour, was the person of most consequence permanently remaining with her. It was in deference to the prejudices of the Germans who, as we have seen, were jealous lest Elizabeth should introduce into the court of a German prince, the costs and splendours of regality, that her suite did not include persons of greater distinction. To compensate this disadvantage, the King proposed to have a resident at Heidelberg, to whom his daughter could always apply for advice and assistance. This office Elizabeth was anxious to secure for Colonel Schomberg. She was certain of his good-will towards herself, as King James, to secure that point, had placed him on the English pension list, with an allowance of 400*l.* a year; and being her husband's factotum, and the admirer of her lady of honour, he occupied an important position in her circle; she assured the King that, by his acquaintance with the German Princes and their affairs, no less than by his attachment to herself, he was the person best fitted to occupy the post.⁶ The colonel seconded her wishes most strongly; but they failed of success, owing to the opposition offered in England.

¹ "Fœdera," vol. vii. pt. ii.

² Hist. MS. vol. ii. p. 36, in Mr. Turner's Collection.

³ Maitland Club, Letters of James I. etc., 20th July, 1613.

⁴ "Fœdera," vol. vii. pt. ii. pp. 201, 203, 207; Frederic to Sir J. Cæsar, Addit. MS. 12504, f. 250; Sign Manuals, vols. iii. 37, iv. 39.

⁵ Winwood to Rochester, 22nd May, *S. P. Holland.*

⁶ Turner MS. *ut supra*, No. 33.

To recruit from the fatiguing ceremonials through which she had passed, the Princess now removed to Friedrichsthal, a country-house of the Elector, where she amused herself with hunting and shooting, and such was her grace and skill, that she was called by the Germans "the Diana of our shady woods of the Rhine". "The princess," writes a Court correspondent, "takes more pleasure in the fields than in this castle of Heidelberg, although its situation, air, view, and environs, are exceedingly healthy and pleasant."¹ Her enthusiasm in these exercises was so ardent that it carried her beyond the limits of prudence, and Colonel Schomberg, whose watchful care was ever on the alert, wrote to her father, and requested him to urge her to caution, as hopes were entertained that she might in time present her admiring subjects with a Prince.²

In the latter end of July, Elizabeth expressed a wish to visit Mannheim, then a fortress in course of erection. They went accordingly, the Princess accompanied in her coach by Lady Harrington. On their return, a quarrel arose about some horses, between Sir Andrew Keith, Elizabeth's master of the horse, and Bushel, an esquire of Lord Harrington; Keith, growing angry, dismounted from his coach in presence of more than fifty spectators, and, going up to the carriage in which the Princess and Lady Harrington were seated, declared that Lord Harrington had dealt unfairly, in a change of horses which he had made with the Princess. Lady Harrington attempted to defend her husband. Keith gave her the lie: Elizabeth in vain commanded him to silence. Lord Harrington and Bushel contradicted him in turn, and at length Keith and Bushel grew so warm, that going off to a little distance, they attempted to draw their swords and fight upon the spot. Elizabeth in great distress called to Schomberg to part them. He ran forward, and in threatening tones demanded, if they had no more respect for the person of the Princess than to demean themselves thus, assuring them that she would overhear them, and be seriously angry. The dispute was thus hushed for the present, but great uneasiness was felt lest the Princess should have been unduly alarmed. The next day matters grew worse; still thirsting for revenge, Keith, with several of his fellow-servants, lay in wait for Bushel, and struck him several times with an oaken staff. A servant of Lord Harrington took Bushel's part, and a general scuffle ensued, in which Bushel received fourteen wounds, some of them dangerous, and several other persons were seriously hurt. Schomberg took the principal offenders into custody;³—the Princess, shocked

¹ Plessen to Villars, 9th Aug. 1613, Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.

² Schomberg to James I., 26th June, Turner MSS. vol. ii. No. 34. Same to Rochester, 27th July-6th Aug. Kolb to Windebank, 30th July, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Schomberg to Rochester, Kolb to Windebank, *ut supra*. Lockie to Puckering 12th August, Harl. MS. 7003, f. 276.

and distressed at the outrage, having especially directed that her esquire should be placed in confinement. The Elector cautiously referred judgment in the case to his father-in-law,¹ who ordered Keith to be imprisoned as a punishment for his disrespectful conduct to Lord Harrington, and then to compound his quarrel with Bushel, at the orders of the Earl Marshal.²

A few days after this fracas, Lord and Lady Harrington took leave of their royal charge, and departed homewards; but they had only travelled as far as Worms, when Lord Harrington fell a victim to a sudden attack of fever and died. His loss was deeply felt by Elizabeth, who for so many years had looked up to him as a second father, and had received from him uniform attention and kindness; and her grief was exaggerated by the idea that the fatigues of travelling with her had hastened his end.³ Lord Harrington died involved in serious pecuniary embarrassments, from the negligent manner in which the payments on behalf of the Princess had been made, so that his widowed countess had to struggle with poverty as well as sorrow; and, to add to her distress, the following February deprived her of her only son,⁴ the second lord, in whom the title became extinct. He was a youth of great promise, a favourite companion of the late Prince Henry.⁵

Elizabeth had been hitherto unaccustomed to act for herself. She had neither controlled her expenditure, nor regulated her household, nor had she been treated otherwise than as a ward

¹ Frederic to James I., 24th and 26th Aug., *S. P. Germ. States*. [A letter from Elizabeth to Winwood, written on 28th Aug., was perhaps in relation to this same matter. See Appendix.]

² Suffolk to Lake, 20th Nov. 1613, *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxv. 18.

³ A slight sketch of him is given in the funeral sermon of his son, preached by Richard Stock, of Allhallows, printed in 1614, and dedicated to the Countess of Bedford and Lady Harrington. In it the following reference is made to the Princess:—

“To him our king his second jewel dear,
The princess, his sole daughter, did commit,
Who's linked in marriage to that German peer
Whose worth the world admires; a match so fit,
So happy, that who thinks upon that day,
Lifts up his hand and thanks to heaven doth pay.”

“Ten years the father of this matchless son
Had in that honourable service spent,
When the last act of love was to be done,
To bring her home, and give her full content—
Content to *her*, to him that did attend
Fatal it proved,—with service life doth end.”

⁴ Chamberlain to Carleton, 3rd March, 1614, *S. P. Dom.* Printed in “Court and Times of James I.,” vol. i. p. 301.

⁵ He is noticed in Birch's *Life of the Prince*. He died in debt to the amount of 40,000*l.*, and Lady Harrington wrote to Somerset to represent her misery, and her unwillingness to let the honour of the house suffer, and to entreat the payment of arrears due on the score of the Princess.—18th May, 1614, *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxvii. 25.

or pupil; consequently, when thrown upon her own resources, she lacked the requisite firmness and prudence, and threw herself entirely for direction upon Colonel Schomberg, whose accounts of his distractions and difficulties are amusing enough. First came the point of precedence; but Schomberg at once and decidedly declared that the Princess should give place to no one, either within doors or without, and this resolute proceeding stopped further discussion.¹ Then her suite of attendants had to be regulated. It was found that more than a hundred persons had remained behind, when the Ambassadors left, who had no sort of pretext for attaching themselves to her train. These people thronged the Court for their meals, and as they could not be lodged there, they claimed accommodation from the citizens of Heidelberg, which was granted unwillingly, since there seemed to be no party from whom compensation could be looked for or expected; whilst the Court officers grumbled that they had to find food for two hundred persons instead of one hundred, as originally stipulated. A feeling of discontent became prevalent, and all disorders that arose were attributed to the Englishmen of *Madame*, as Elizabeth was usually called.²

Schomberg took alarm at the dishonour thus reflected upon the Princess, and, to rectify it, he requested her to draw out a list of such attendants as she wished to retain, and handed over the list to her *maître d'hôtel*, Sandilands, requesting him to dismiss the intruders. After spending eight days in vain attempts, Sandilands confessed that he was baffled, and Schomberg's more energetic efforts were called into requisition. He peremptorily forbade all who were not on the Princess's list to come to the castle, or to remain in the town, without showing reason why they did so; and to those who wished to depart, he gave money and boats to convey them as far as Cologne, on their way home. Upon this, Elizabeth's secretary, Elphinstone, whose temper was arrogant and unyielding, haughtily harangued Schomberg on his interference; he declared that King James had given the charge to him to guard his daughter's honour, and proceeded to rude reflections and remarks, which greatly annoyed his mistress.

Elizabeth, all unaccustomed as she was to exercise control,

¹ Schomberg to Rochester, $\frac{1}{2}$ June, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² [Häusser draws attention to the great expenses entailed by the English marriage. Never had such an establishment been demanded by any Electress; no Princess there had had such pin-money, or demanded a chapel of her own. A royal expenditure began, which hardly England—far less the little Pfalz—could bear. It would be unfair, he continues, to lay the whole blame of this on the unfortunate Elizabeth. Simplicity had begun to be considered unkingly, and when we read of the numbers of attendants in the train of the princelets who accompanied Frederic to England, the Electress's household is not to be wondered at. In all classes of society extravagance was the fashion. French and Italian customs had broken in upon the old simple life of Germany. Frederic's own training was only confirmed by the English marriage. See "Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz," ii. 270, 272.]

and earnestly anxious to secure the affections of her dependants, was so fearful of offending them, that she had not courage to assume the authority of her position.¹

“I am doing my best,” writes Schomberg to Rochester, “to put the affairs and the train of Madame in good order—it would be an honourable and profitable task, and would oblige those of your country, and give reputation to Madame and all her nation, but I am fearful that I shall not succeed well. Madame allows herself to be led by anybody, and for fear of giving offence to some one, is almost afraid of speaking to anybody. This makes some of her people assume a little more authority than they should do.”

He adds, that Elphinstone demanded, on behalf of himself and his fellow-servants, to be lodged at Court, at the Prince’s expense. Schomberg told him that servants who had their wages from the Court always provided their own lodging, but referred him, if he were dissatisfied, to the council, without whose approval the Prince could not incur any beyond trifling costs. The haughty reply was, that he and his fellow-servants would ask no favour of the Prince’s council, and they blamed Schomberg for wishing to save his master at their expense. The latter applied to James I. to uphold him in his cause, since the Princess devolved entirely upon him the unpleasant task of giving and explaining her orders, adding that Madame’s officers must be taught that their duty is to obey her and not to govern her, as Lady Harrington had done.²

In spite of her conjugal happiness the situation of Elizabeth was not altogether enviable; the Court at Heidelberg being composed of many separate parties, whose position in reference to each other was not definitely marked, none could claim an uncontested pre-eminence.

“Your majesty must consider,” wrote Schomberg to James I., “that I have to satisfy a young prince and princess, an administrator, mother-in-law, sisters, aunts, and all their trains; everybody wishes to govern, everybody believes that I do more for one than another. The counsellors are honest, but they have also their party; they are sworn to the administrator.”

The difference between German and English customs increased the difficulty of arranging matters amicably; not as it concerned the Princess, for she accommodated herself with graceful facility to every plan proposed; but as it regarded her servants, who, if Schomberg’s accounts are to be relied upon, led him a sorry life.

“Have I not a miserable life?” he writes. “Madame’s people and officers, in some of their demands, are right; in others, they are greatly in the wrong. The princess knows it is so. Their complaints are that they

¹ Schomberg to James I., 26th June, 1613, Turner’s Hist. MS. vol. ii. Art. 34. Same to Rochester, 8th Oct., *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Schomberg to Rochester, 30th June, *S. P. Germ. States*.

are not lodged in the castle. According to the custom here, where from day to day, princes and other persons come, who are lodged in the castle, that cannot be done, especially at present. As to Madame's service, it is performed according to her wishes; when she eats in her own apartments, her people wait; and if they would constantly serve amongst, and with ours, we should be very glad, but they will serve none but Madame alone. This cannot be, for at a table where there are ten or twelve princes or princesses, there is but one carver, who carves for five or six at once. Madame acts in this according to her own will; and as to what touches her reputation, certainly I would rather lose my life than forget anything, or permit anything contrary to it. As to carrying her drink, her own cupbearer always does that, but when there is a large assembly, my prince is served by the counts of the country. When it was desired that she would accept the services of some one well known, as one of the house of Nassau, Solms, Hollock and others, and that only to last for two or three days, Madame would gladly have consented, but not so her servants—such are the little dissensions which are scarcely worth troubling your majesty about. As to Madame's meat, she always has it prepared by her own cook—it is served up at table, every meal, I ask her always what she wishes for, and she tells me freely. There is now no other table in the room but Madame's, where are only princes and princesses."¹

Schomberg's vexations were increased by the strong suspicions existing in Germany that because he was an English pensioner, he was therefore disposed to take the part of the young Electress against the interests of his own Prince; whilst her attendants, on the other hand, jealous of his interference, threw upon him the blame of everything that displeased them, and sent to England complaints and misrepresentations of his conduct. Provoked beyond endurance, he threatened at length to withdraw from his troublesome post, but he was persuaded to remain till the Duke of Deuxponts, the Administrator, performed his expressed intention of retiring from Court and leaving the young couple in possession of domestic if not of civil rule.²

About this time Elizabeth received visits from the Duchesses of Bouillon and La Tremouille, aunts of her husband,³ with the former of whom, it will be remembered, he was much associated in his early years. The latter was the bearer of a letter of introduction from Queen Mary de' Medici to Elizabeth, complimenting her on her marriage and arrival in Germany.⁴ She received these ladies with great courtesy, and Madame La Tremouille, on her return home, filled the French Court with praises of the beauty and virtue of the English Princess.⁵ In September, Frederic and Elizabeth paid a visit to the Electress-Dowager,

¹ Schomberg to James I., 8th Oct. 1613, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² D'Athènes's Despatch, 31st Aug. 1613, *ibid*.

³ They were Princesses of the House of Nassau, sisters of the Electress-Dowager.

⁴ Middlehill MS. 3181, vol. iii. p. 394. This MS. comprises a series of volumes entitled "Lettres du Roy et de la Reine," comprising a few letters of Henry IV. and a large and valuable collection of copies of the private as well as public letters of Marie de' Medici.

⁵ D'Athènes's Despatch, 21st Aug., *S. P. Germ. States*. Edmonds to James I., 3rd Dec. 1613, *S. P. France*. [The Duchess de La Tremouille became one of Elizabeth's most intimate friends. See letters in "Archæologia," xxxix.]

then at her country house, the details of which are thus given by an eye-witness:—

“Their highnesses pass their time joyously. Tuesday last, the Electress-dowager banqueted them delicately and daintily at Neuburg, a quarter of a league from here, where the administrator acted himself as *maître-d'hôtel*; and the said lady dowager, to please her company, had brought the two ‘Welcomes,’ or cups, which the late Elector presented to her, which are in the shape of a monk and a nun, (the said house having formerly been a cloister of nuns,) and in the nun cup drank the health of my lady princess, and in the monk, that of my lord the Elector, her son, who responded to her, and all the company did the same, each in his turn. After dinner, and after having taken the air, and seen the gardens, fountains, mill, and other curiosities of the place, they went to see the place where my said lady dowager has very fine cattle brought up; they entered into the cow-house, which is marvellously well fitted up, clean, and polished like a handsome room. There a table was laid and furnished well with sweetmeats, and all things fit for a collation. The princess would herself, with her own hand, give some grass to the cows to eat; there was a great deal of laughing, and Mrs. Dudley and the other English ladies showed themselves very content and joyous.”¹

In November the Elector and Electress were again out hunting wild boars.² Elizabeth, though remonstrated with by Schomberg and by her father, could not be induced to take the precautions usual in her position, or even to acknowledge it, and to receive the then customary congratulations of foreign Courts on her prospect of maternity. M. de Sainte Catherine, recently sent to Heidelberg from France, complimented the Elector on the subject, but Elizabeth declined seeing him at his first audience. On New Year's Day he dined at the Elector's table; Elizabeth, being unwell, was not present; but Sainte Catherine was permitted to visit her in her apartments, and ventured to add to his new year's compliments that of wishing soon to see her a happy mother. The Princess, smiling and blushing, gave him an evasive reply, saying, that people were really so determined to think her *enceinte*, that she should be compelled to believe it herself, and merged into general conversation, inquiring after the health of their Majesties of France, the general tranquillity of the country, etc.³

The very next night, Sunday, 2nd January, earlier than she had herself anticipated, Elizabeth gave birth to an infant Prince. The English council, at the King's command, had been deliberating on the selection of a suitable matron of rank and a skilful midwife to be sent over to attend the Princess,⁴ and had fixed

¹ Plessen to Villars, 3rd Sept. 1613, Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris.

² Schomberg to James I., 14th Nov., *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Ste. Catherine to Puyseux, 8th Jan. 1614, New Style. Lamarre MS. 9291⁵, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

⁴ Suffolk to Lake, 24th Nov. and Dec. 1613, *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxv. 24, 37. Ladies Cecil, Warburton, Howard, and Mrs. Goring, were nominated, but the ultimate decision was in favour of Lady Burgh.—“Court and Times of James I.,” vol. i. p. 280.

upon Lady Burgh for the former office, with a salary of 500*l.* a year, and for the latter, on a Mrs. Mercer, who was to be accompanied to Heidelberg by six attendants.¹ Their tardy movements, however, were anticipated by the event.² Though thus wanting the succours she had expected, Elizabeth bore her trial with the utmost fortitude; and on being informed that her infant was a son, she begged that the usual rejoicings might not be a moment retarded, from consideration for her weakness. She wished herself to write to announce the fact to her father, and when that was refused, she insisted on at least signing the letter.³

The joy which this welcome event occasioned throughout the Palatinate, was surpassed by the enthusiasm of all classes in England and Scotland. King James not only feasted his nobles and liberated certain prisoners, but he immediately settled a pension of 2,000*l.* a year on the Princess, "out of regard," as stated in the preamble, "to her pre-eminent virtues, and as an open testimony of his love to her and delight in the birth of her son".⁴ A chronicler of Perth thus quaintly mentions the event:—

"Her grace, the Princess Palatine, was happily delivered to her husband of one man child—God send him his grace. Bonfires, ringing of the bells, with other pastimes; after, hearing of God's word, and thanksgiving therefor, within Perth the 18th day of January instant."⁵

At the next meeting of Parliament, a bill was passed, naturalising and conferring all the privileges of an English subject upon the infant Prince, and upon any future issue of the Lady Elizabeth;⁶ and the child was pronounced the true and lawful successor to the throne, after his mother.⁷ Prince Charles,

¹ Devon's Pell Records, pp. 185, 317.

² Count Solms to Sir T. Lake, 27th Dec. 1613-6th Jan. 1614, *S. F. Germ. States*.

³ Ste. Catherine's Despatch, 14th Jan., Lamarre MS. *ut supra*.

⁴ "Fœdera," vol. vii. pp. 201-2.

⁵ Chronicle edited for the Maitland Club, by J. Maidment, Esq. The treasurer's accounts of Scotland, 1614-15, contain the following entries:—

"Item, for six score fourteen pound weight of powder, at xvjs. the pound, to be shot in the castle of Edinburgh, for joy of the news of the happy delivery of Lady Elizabeth, 107*l.* 16s.

"Items for coals and tar barrels to the bonfires in the Abbey cloister of Holyrood House and Arthur's Seat, 38*l.* 8s. 8d.

"Item to the workmen, for mounting the pieces, carrying powder, and extraordinary travail that time, 11*l.* 12s."

Forbes, a Scotchman, wrote a series of elaborate Latin odes on his birth, addressed to James I., to the Elector, to Elizabeth, to the Dowager-Electress, and the young Prince, which display more good feeling than good taste. Elizabeth is said to surpass, in the exercise of all conjugal virtues, Penelope, Laodamia, Lucretia, Atalanta, and all the heroines of antiquity.—"Genethliaca," etc. 8vo, Heidelb. 1614.

⁶ "Journals of the Lords," vol. ii. pp. 689-92; "Journals of the Commons," vol. i. p. 459. Draught of Naturalisation Act, Cotton MS. Titus, C. vii. f. 70.

⁷ Puyseux to Ste. Catherine, 17th April and 29th June, 1614, Lamarre MS. 9291⁵, *ut supra*.

afterwards Charles I., was regarded by the English as so delicate a youth that they did not calculate upon his continuing the succession, and therefore Elizabeth and her family were long considered the probable heirs to the crown of England, and this anticipation increased the affectionate interest with which the sister kingdoms ever looked upon their Princess.

The ceremony of the baptism was performed with great splendour, on the 6th of March, the sponsors being King James I., represented by the Prince of Anhalt, the Electress-Dowager, the Duke and Duchess of Deuxponts, Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, on behalf of the States-General of the United Provinces, and the free knights of Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhine.¹ The Princess Catherine, second sister to the Elector, carried the infant, and the Prince of Anhalt, as representative of King James, occupied the first place of honour, and presented him at the font. He received the name of Frederic Henry. Magnificent presents were made by all the sponsors, both to him and to his royal mother; the King's gift being a basin and ewer of pure gold, "wondrous large".² A congratulatory address from the Count of Solms and the Chancellor, and an evening banquet, concluded the proceedings of the day. Plays and masks within doors, and hunting without, afforded diversion for the succeeding week, over which the festivities were prolonged.

An English poet, Joshua Sylvester, previously known to Elizabeth by a poem on the death of her beloved brother, took this opportunity of dedicating to her, in the following terms, a work entitled "Little Bartas, or brief meditations on the power of God".³

" Sweet grace of graces, glory of your age,
Lustre of virtues, moral and divine,
Whose sacred rays already far outshine
Your princely states, your royal parentage ;
Here to your highness, with all good presage,
Congratulating your little Palatine,
I consecrate this little one of mine,
To serve yourself first, then your son, for page.
Your gracious favours to my former brood,
So bind my thoughts, so bolden my desires,

¹ Ste. Catherine to Puy sieux, 12th Feb. 1614, Lamarre MS. *ut supra*.

² Weighing 600 ounces, and valued at 2,000*l.*—*S. P. Dom.* 16th March, 1614. The patent for the pension of 2,000*l.* a year to the Princess was placed in it. The presents of the other sponsors were, Prince Maurice, a ship of crystal, value 900*l.*, and the free nobility a carcanet worth 800*l.*, both given to the royal mother. To the child, the States-General presented two cups of gold, valued 1,300*l.*, in one of which was a grant of a life pension of 400*l.*; the nobility a golden goblet, value 2,000 ducats. The Duke of Deuxponts gave a basin, ewer, and standing-cup, value 2,000*l.*; the Electress-Dowager, 24 silver bowls, value 300*l.*; the attendants of the Princess also came in for a share of douceurs.—Nichols, vol. ii. p. 756.

³ The Princess's Accounts record the payment of 7*l.* to Mr. Joshua Sylvester, for a book which he dedicated to Madame. [It was a kind of epitome of *Du Bartas' Days of Creation*, which Sylvester had translated.]

To shew me grateful, as I know you good,
That thus to you this little mine aspires,
Little in growth, yet of so great a spirit,
As happily your grace's grace may merit."

The happiness of Elizabeth seemed now complete.¹ Her boy was a lovely child, strongly resembling its father, and with the exception of an attack of measles, which only lasted three days, he grew up in robust health; ² the happy parents, neither of whom had reached their nineteenth year, looked upon him with a pride and pleasure that cemented still more strongly their domestic union. The letters of Schomberg to the King and secretaries about this time contain glowing accounts of the conjugal love of the youthful couple, and he gives also many curious details of the internal *ménage* at Heidelberg. He had visited England at the close of the year 1613, to settle with James I. some points of contested arrangement, and returning armed with plenary authority, he succeeded in obtaining from the council several privileges not heretofore conceded to an Electress, as that her *maître d'hôtel* should have lodgings within the castle; that as many horses as she desired should be kept in the stables there; that her chaplain should reside at the castle gate, and have a suitable place prepared near her apartments, in which to conduct the English service, etc. But it was in vain that Schomberg endeavoured to instil notions of prudence and firmness into his young mistress.

"Every day people beg of Madame," he writes, "and, right or wrong, she cannot refuse, however much she may be herself inconvenienced; but I hope to remedy this, although it will only make me the more hated. But for me, Madame had been in debt more than 4000*l.*—everybody robs her, even to the clothes and jewels she wears; and she gives, not of herself, or from liberality, but through importunities, complaints, and tears. I have now put things in order, but by the time I have been away a month, they will be as bad as ever. She has given more than 1,200*l.* this year." "Madame, on her part," he says again, "would rather be ill served, and ill obeyed, than say a word, or maintain unchanged what has once been resolved and commanded."

As a natural consequence of this indiscreet profusion, the Princess was 1,500*l.* in debt. To relieve her embarrassments the electoral council agreed to present her with 500*l.*; and as the necessity of applying to them whenever she required any additions to her wardrobe was a serious annoyance to her, she accepted an offer made by them, to increase her pocket-money of 1,500*l.* to 2,500*l.* a year, on condition of her providing her

¹[A pretty little note to the Duchesse de La Tremouille on the happiness which the birth of her boy has given her is in "Archæologia," xxxix. p. 155.]

²Schomberg to Winwood, 23rd April, 1614, *S. P. Germ. States*. James I. wished to have the testimony of eye-witnesses to the health of Elizabeth and her boy sent over Sir Edward Cecil and his lady to Heidelberg, on a mission of inquiry, and they brought home a favourable report.—Privy Seal Bills, 11-17, James I., f. 21 b.

own dress. The King, her father, refused to assist her further, having just given her a pension, by which her income was raised to 4,500*l.* a year, which was, in fact, merely for her private wants, all the expenses of her establishment being borne by her husband.¹ It is amusing to find Schomberg calculating (in the letter already quoted) about its disposal; that she might have twenty-four new dresses a year, averaging 100*l.* each in price; 600*l.* for stockings, ribands and collars; and 1,500*l.* would still remain for presents and play, which would amply suffice, if her servants would only be reasonable, and careful for her reputation. The indefatigable colonel read and delivered to the Princess's household full regulations for the fulfilment of their duties, carefully inventoried her plate, jewels, and other valuables, and satisfied himself that he had brought everything into good order; but no sooner was his presence withdrawn, when called on business to Frankfort fair, than Elizabeth was persuaded to sign letters which he considered improper. He sent off a post to stop the carrier, and bring back the letters, declaring, if she was so "facile" he would absolutely give up his post, and leave her to manage her own affairs; saying, that his services would be much better appreciated after they had been once missed.

The anxious Schomberg, however, was bound to Elizabeth's Court by stronger ties than even his attachment to his Prince, whose personal attendant he had been from infancy. His passion for Mrs. Dudley still continued in spite of opposition, both from the lady's friends, who had threatened to send for her home, and from King James.² Her lover, however, when in England, had obtained permission for the fair lady to remain in the Electoral Court.³ Elizabeth interested herself warmly in their love-affairs, and wrote to solicit the influence of her royal sire in their favour, representing to him how advantageous to her would be the detention at court of Colonel Schomberg, which could only be gained by the conclusion of the marriage.⁴ The required permission was not at once granted, and the courtship continued for nearly a year longer, Schomberg professing earnest desires to be guided in the matter by the English

¹ Schomberg to King James I. and Somerset, 12th Feb. 1614, *S. P. Germ. States*. The same to James I., 15th March; Turner's Hist. MSS. vol. ii. p. 48.

² "Touching Mrs. Dudley," writes a member of the English council, "I have dealt with my young Lord Harrington about her, whose answer is, that first she meaneth not to marry with Monsieur Schomberg, and, for her coming away, her friends intended to send for her before his majesty's commandment, which they will now hasten, and bring her home as soon as they may."—Suffolk to Lake, 20th Nov. 1613, *S. P. Dom.* James I., lxxv. No. 18.

³ Chamberlain to Carleton, 23rd Dec. 1613, *ibid.* No. 52, printed in "Court and Times of James I.," i. 281.

⁴ Hist. MS. vol. ii. No. 31, Holog. 1614, Mr. Turner's Collection. This letter was accompanied by another on the same subject to Secretary Winwood, dated 19th May, *S. P. Germ. States*.

council.¹ But in the following spring, Elizabeth had the satisfaction of presiding at their wedding, and getting up a ballet in honour of the occasion.²

On the 19th of August, 1614, the Elector Frederic completed his eighteenth year; the period at which, according to the constitution of the Empire, he attained his majority, and, consequently, entered upon the government of his estates.³ The juncture was critical. The seeds of that religious strife which desolated Germany for years, sown at the Reformation, were fast springing up, and leagues had been formed, on the one hand, between the Catholic Princes of the Empire, headed by the Emperor; and on the other, between the Protestant Princes, at whose head was the Elector Palatine. A collision had already taken place in reference to the succession of the Duchies of Juliers and Cleves, which were contested for by the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Duke of Neuburg. James I. was applied to for assistance; but it is curious to note in his conduct, even at this early period, the same dilatory policy, and the same disposition to treat rather than to fight, which was afterwards so prejudicial to the affairs of his son-in-law; ⁴ he lent a sum of money, but refused to enter further into the contest.⁵ The storm blew over for the present.

Considerable alarm was felt by the council for the personal safety of their Prince and Princess, in case troops should approach the Palatinate, as there was no fortress strong enough to resist an attack.⁶ But Frederic and Elizabeth were reckless of danger; they were constantly out hunting,⁷ although the Prince nearly broke his neck by a fall from his horse; and even ventured as far as Spires, with but a slight train, and passed the night there in a cloister of nuns,—a step which was condemned as most imprudent. They went also to visit the Electress-Dowager, who, with her daughters, had retired, three months previously, to her dower residence, and they spent a short time with the Duke of Deuxponts.⁸ They were absent from Heidel-

¹ Schomberg to Winwood, 3rd Nov. and 4th Dec. 1614, 14th Jan. 1615, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Plessen to Winwood, 30th March, 1615, *ibid.* Various items, referring to the ballet, are in the Princess's accounts.

³ A votive oration, pronounced on the occasion by Henry Altling, in the University of Heidelberg, was printed, and an English translation also; a copy of the latter is in Harl. MS. 7310.

⁴ Schomberg to Winwood and James I., 12th July, 9th and 18th Aug., *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Frederick to James I. and Winwood, 27th July, and 12th and 13th Sept. 1614, *ibid.*

⁶ Schomberg to Winwood, 6th Feb. 1615, *ibid.*

⁷ Ste. Catherine's Despatch, 16th Aug., Lamarre MS. 9291, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Privy Council Records, 17th Sept. 1614, Privy Council Office, Whitehall.

⁸ The Princess presented him with a horse, and lost a small sum at play, at his castle of Neuschloss—Eliz.'s Accounts, *ut supra*.

berg about six weeks, returning at the close of August,¹ and in November Frederic attended an assembly of the "Princes of the Union,"—as the Protestant party designated themselves,—which was held at Heilbronn for the purpose of cementing an alliance with the States-General in defence of religion.

The Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, a lady of the house of Solms, was invited to companionate the Princess during her husband's absence. Elizabeth entertained her guest with cards, at which she herself lost 16*l.*, and with her favourite amusement of hunting; but the lady being a less expert rider than her royal hostess, fell from her horse and broke her arm. The injury was at first thought to be serious, but she recovered so rapidly that when her husband hastened to see her she was able to go out and meet him.²

Whilst at Heilbronn, Frederic was taken suddenly and seriously ill, with an attack of tertian fever, which seized him during one of the sittings of the diet. He refused to retire till the assembly broke up, and then, with great calmness, summoned, not doctors of physic, though these were sent for, contrary to his wishes, but doctors of law, and proceeded, with a fortitude that elicited the admiration of the spectators, to give directions for his will. He issued strict orders that the Princess should not be informed of his illness, lest she should be needlessly alarmed; and on that account declined sending a courier to England with the news. The returns of fever were severe and repeated; he raved in delirium for hours; and it was hardly expected that he could survive the attack.³ But youth and a good constitution favoured him; he recovered and returned home, though much changed both in mind and body. Elizabeth tried at first to rouse him by diverting him with pictures, works of art, assemblies, etc.; failing in this, she gave expression to her anxieties in the following letter to one of the English secretaries of state:—⁴

"Sir—The Elector sending this bearer to his majesty, I was desirous to let you understand something of his estate, as of this place. Himself, at this late assembly, got an ague; which, though it held him not long, yet hath it made him weak and look very ill: since his fits left him, he is very heavy, and so extremely melancholy, as I never saw in my life so great an alteration

¹ Solms to Lake, 8th Aug., *S. P. Germ. States*. Elizabeth to James I., 1st Sept., Maitland Club Letters.

² Ste. Catherine's Despatches, 12th May, 3rd and 4th Oct. 1614. The doctor who attended the Landgravine seems to have been a literary person; he presented Elizabeth with two books, and received from her a present of 4*l.*—Accounts of the Princess, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Schomberg to Winwood, 12th Nov., *S. P. Germ. States*. Wotton to same, 18th Nov., *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Elizabeth wrote at the same time and to the same purport to her brother's gentleman, Mr. Murray.—Harl. MS. 7502, No. 1.

in any. I cannot tell what to say to it, but I think he hath so much business at this time as troubles his mind too much; but if I may say truth, I think there is some that doth trouble him too much, for I find they desire he should bring me to be all Dutch, and to their fashions, which I neither have been bred to, nor is necessary in everything I should follow; neither will I do it, for I find there is that would set me in a lower rank than them that have gone before me; which I think they do the prince wrong in putting into his head at this time, when he is but too melancholy. He that hath the best hand to ease his mind of this and set all things in a good way is not here, (the Colonel Schomberg,) who hath been this four months in Cleves, and is yet; but I should be extreme glad that his majesty, by you, would command him to return as soon home as he may, for since his going, all goes not so well as they have done, and I find none so truly careful of me as that man, I assure you, neither any that can do so well with the prince, which makes me desire he were here."¹

She also wrote herself to Schomberg, urging his return. The patience of this much-enduring man for once failed, and he declared, with some petulance, that his mistress must really learn to give her own orders now, to say herself what she wanted saying, and to take care of her own rank and quality.² Sir Henry Wotton, the poet statesman, who through life was a devoted supporter of the Lady Elizabeth, was at this time in Holland, and at the request of James I. he sent for Schomberg, and urged him to comply with the Princess's request, and return at once to Heidelberg. The gallant colonel was then in the army, serving under Prince Maurice of Orange, but he declared his willingness to return, if he could serve his royal mistress; "whereupon," writes Wotton, "he fell to open unto me some secrets of the court of Heidelberg; the baseness of Doctoral counsels, the privacy of the Prince himself, the humourousness of his mother, and some other things not fit to be committed to letters."³

On his return Schomberg found the Prince's natural tendency to melancholy much increased by his recent illness, and that he abandoned himself to constant fears and apprehensions, flying from company and refusing to entertain such visitors as came to his Court.⁴

"My prince," he says, "is too brusque in little things; this impression and vice has been so lodged in his heart lately, that all my five senses cannot get it out. And this with divers intents—I will not name the person;—his majesty knows her to be envious that Madame should enjoy a different entertainment from herself. This brusqueness is not only in manner, but the prince will not even discourse with, caress, esteem, or speak to any one, unless compelled to it, so that I am afraid and ashamed when any one comes here. Judge, Sir, whether any well-bred cavalier would remain in this court."

¹ Elizabeth to Winwood, dated 14th Oct., *S. P. Germ. States*. [Endorsed in error 1615.]

² Schomberg to Winwood, 3rd Nov., *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Wotton to Winwood, 18th Nov. 1614, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Schomberg to Winwood, Nov. 12- Dec. 1-10 (*sic*), 1614, *S. P. Germ. States*.

The lady above alluded to, as entertaining some jealousy of Elizabeth, was the Electress-Dowager, who had recently visited Heidelberg, on the occasion of the marriage of her daughter Charlotte to Prince George William of Brandenburg; and, with all her maternal tenderness, she felt annoyed, now that her daughter-in-law was no longer a bride, to see her take precedence in the Court over which she herself had so long presided. Even if the high spirit of the young Electress would have allowed her to cede the point, she could not have done so for fear of incurring her father's displeasure. Before the departure of her husband for Heilbronn, she appealed to him on the subject, and he decided that she should give precedence to no Electress, either in or out of his house;¹ but, after his return, he was urged to revoke the decision, and to place his wife in no higher position than that usually enjoyed by an Electress-Palatine. Frederic, who had just returned from a visit to his mother, was wavering on the point, when Schomberg arrived, and urged with effect the promises given to James I., and so solemnly renewed on the eve of his departure from England.² Elizabeth wrote to her father on the subject, and the King sent letters to try to rouse his son-in-law from the depression which had originated this misunderstanding; the letters proved successful to a considerable extent.³

Schomberg re-entered upon the duties of his position in good earnest. He found that the exorbitant demands of the servants, combined with the over-indulgence of the Princess, had brought matters into greater confusion than ever. He declares, "madame has no resolution, no consideration, is too liberal to the unfortunate, which I call rather fear, irresolution, pusillanimity, than a virtuous liberality"; adding, that she lets the very stable-boys run after her to importune her, and make her believe that they are ill-treated, and though he exposes the falsehood of their complaints she is always apt to take their part: that if she buys an article, or has it made, and any one admires and begs it, she gives it at once; and if any of her servants wish to visit England she is persuaded to find their travelling expenses.⁴ Schomberg seriously remonstrated with the Princess on these things, and she was candid enough to confess her failings, and to request him to draw up for her use a list of the principal points on which he desired her to improve. This he did with considerable precision, and at great length; the following is a digest of the document, which, to our lady-readers, at least, may convey some useful hints:—

¹ Schomberg to Winwood, 8th Oct., *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Same to same, 1st Dec. *ibid.*

³ See letter from Elizabeth to Winwood, above.

⁴ Schomberg to Winwood, 10th and 14th Dec. 1614, and 14th Jan. 1615, *S. P. Germ. States*. The Princess's Accounts amply corroborate this statement.

"1. Your highness should ever seek to please God and the prince, and to reprove those who try to sow dissensions between you.

"2. You should calculate what you have to expend, divide it accordingly ; and then never give from importunity, but from liberality, according to merit and reason.

"3. Never grant anything on the first request, but answer to all—'I will consider—I will think of it—I will see'—then if you find it reasonable, grant it of your own accord, as from a heroic liberality, and never from fear, for your highness's goodness is abused.

"4. As to your household and money, you must regulate it yourself, as even the greatest emperors have done—have a specification of all your receipts—let the money be placed in a coffer in your cabinet—and 400 or 500 dollars taken out at once, and given to a person who shall only disburse it at your command, not at that of every valet or maid who professes anything to be owing to them ; and have all the accounts entered in a book to be kept in the cabinet. Let every dress be paid for, both material and making, before you ever put it on, and the same with linen and lace, which should be bought before hand, every fair.¹

"5. Have a wardrobe in which to put all the old dresses, and every year examine them—choose those you will not wear again, and give them as you please, but have a list kept of all, with the names of those to whom you give them—and the same with tapestry and furniture.

"6. Let the same be done with your linen and furniture—you brought 3,000*l.* worth of linen from England—and have bought 1,000*l.* worth here—and yet Mrs. Dean complains you are ill provided, which makes me think there must be some abuse somewhere—arising from the inventories not having been strictly kept.

"7. Have all the plate, gold or silver, weighed afresh and enrolled—the same with the jewels and all little boxes and pretty bagatelles ; and let all be deposited in presses and cabinets in your closet with inventories, one of which you should keep ; those you daily wear to be intrusted to Mdle. Apsley—and those jewels should be carefully inspected every six months. You know what fault my wife and I have often found on this point."²

In addition to these personal regulations, Schomberg furnished the Princess with minute directions concerning the management of her household, as follows :—

"For the direction of your servants :—

"1. Generally they must receive orders from the marshal of the court ; the maids must obey the lady of honour, the men the maître d'hôtel ; according to the order approved by the king when I returned from England.

"2. Your highness should never be teased into countermanding an order given by either of these officers, without first speaking to them, and hearing their reasons : for this makes you constantly teased. Should such importunities arise, the offenders should be compelled to obey, or be dismissed. One single example would make your highness loved and respected in Germany and England.

"3. You must never allow reports of one about another, nor importunate solicitations ; nor care when they take offence, because they have not got their requests ; nor be surprised and distressed about it, for that is just giving yourself up to be tormented.

"4. Prevent gossiping between servants of all grades ; they only combine together to resist your commands : and let order and reason govern your highness, not the prattle of maids or valets, to whom you are now

¹Frankfort fair, at which the German Princes usually made their purchases.

²*S. P. Germ. States*, 1615.

enslaved ; and while they thus abuse your goodness, you will always be despised, and lose control over your people.

“5. Let it be known that you will be ruled by reason ; that you abhor disobedience, flattery, and lying ; that you will hear no tales or importunities ; that you will have no flirting in your presence ; that the men-servants shall keep their places at the door, so that when you want a little private conversation, you may not be obliged to retire to your bed-room or dressing-room ; and also that you will not allow private individuals to bring in persons unknown, nor even ambassadors, unless when you are attended as beseems a lady of your quality.

“6. Be generally more strict : liberty causes presumption ; indifference in time spoils even the good—and all the suite of your highness, and of the prince too, believe that you dare not take offence, whatever they do.

“As to visits, games, walks, conversation, &c. remember what I have often said to you, and try to leave a good impression, that you may be everywhere admired and applauded ; in three years, you will see that this is the only way to prosper, and be in repute in Germany and England. This is true satisfaction, and God will bless your highness, and the world will honour you, which is all you should desire.”¹

In conformity with the proposed reformation, Elizabeth gave her signature to the following series of rules, bearing upon her household and business affairs, the superintendence of which she intrusted to the hands of the colonel.

“The order according to which we wish our money to be received and disbursed, goods bought, paid for, and used :—

“1. As a general rule, none of our suite or servants shall take stuffs or any merchandize whatever, from any merchant or artizan, without a bill of it having been previously made ; which, being found reasonable and necessary, shall be signed by Colonel Schomberg, who shall order some one to deal with the merchants or artizans, whether tailor or any other, who shall receive the goods on our behalf, as also he who shall deal for them shall sign the bills. Then our maître d’hôtel, or he who has charge of our money, shall pay each of them, if they are signed by the colonel—and thus, and no otherwise will his account be passed.

“2. Every month, and always before our cash-keeper shall receive more money, he must bring in his account specified, and with each item, the aforesaid bills signed, which he shall deliver to us or to the said colonel ; and then we, or he on our behalf, will order other money to be paid him. He shall keep the accounts to the end of the year, and each half year, he shall present to us a clear digest, and then for his discharge, we will sign him an acquittance with our own hand. He shall also deliver us each time an extract of the money expended, and of what we still have in the coffer, as also of what we still have to receive, and of what we have to pay.

“3. All requests and petitions must be presented to our maître d’hôtel, who will send those which are for alms to our chaplain, and he will write with his own hand thereupon, what he judges necessary to be given ; this is to be understood for petitions of the English and Scotch—the rest he will send to the chancery, unless, for some particular consideration, he is otherwise commanded. The other more important requests he shall deliberate upon with Colonel Schomberg, and either we ourselves, or he, with our knowledge and command, shall make known to our maître d’hôtel what he shall do ; and on each request, shall be signed either the name of our chaplain, if it be for alms, or that of the said colonel, if it be of other consequence. Each month our cash-keeper shall deliver the said requests signed, to us, or to the

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*, 1615.

said colonel, with his account, which, being found just, shall be torn up in the presence of the said cash-keeper.

"Generally, the said colonel shall look to the sums which we ought to receive, that nothing may be forgotten, and that we may lose as little as possible on exchange and cash; he will sign the notes to be paid, and those by which the merchants shall deliver their goods. And, by our command, he will, each month, examine the accounts of the disbursements of our cash-keeper, who shall render his account in the manner aforesaid.

"ELIZABETH."¹

A visible improvement now took place in the entire routine of Elizabeth's household. Her mischievous secretary, Elphinston, disgusted with his position, had retired; her *maître d'hôtel*, Sandillo, had left, on account of declining age;² and more suitable attendants were installed in their room. At length the domestic reforms were pronounced complete, and the Princess was not only out of debt, but with 800*l.* or 900*l.* in hand, though all her purchases at Frankfort fair had been paid for in ready money.

Among the notes of her expenses in 1614-15, are the following, in addition to numerous entries for silver and gold stuffs, for dresses, silver laces, point-lace, etc. :—

"Christmas boxes, besides what she gave to her own people	rix dollars	540	
"Lost in play at divers times	"	396	
"To a merchant of Strasbourg, for laces which she had sent for from Italy	"	288	
"For 10,000 pins in a paper	florins	4	
"Given to the old man who keeps the chickens	thaler	1	
	£	s.	d.
"To M. Elphinston, leaving Madame entirely	68	0	0
"To the painter for two portraits of Madame and one of the young prince, as appears by his receipt	13	0	0
"Given to the servant of M. Harderet, in part payment for the diamond spurs which Madame gave to his highness	50	0	0
"To a man whom M. De Caus brought, who took Madame's portrait in black	1	0	0" ³

The intercourse between James I. and the Palatine family was frequent,⁴ and he exercised a considerable degree of control

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*, 1615.

² The former received a parting present of a diamond ring valued at 3*8l.* 10*s.*; the latter 6*8l.* in money.

³ *S. P. Germ. States*, 1615.

⁴ He sent them occasional presents. "To Jacob Harderet, for jewels by him delivered, at several times, . . . to the Electress Palatine, appearing by two bills testifying the receipt thereof, subscribed by herself. By writ, dated last of May, 1616, there is now paid in full payment, 100*l.*

"To Jasper Tyan, . . . 800*l.* for a diamond in the form of a heart . . . sent by his Majesty unto his dearest daughter the Electress Palatine. By writ dated 20th of Feb. 1617.

"To Henry Raine, sent by his majesty to the Elector Palatine, with certain deer, the sum of 100*l.* which his majesty hath allowed him for charges of transporting the said deer to Heidelberg, the same to be taken to him as of his majesty's free gift and reward. By writ dated 12th April, 1617."—Devon's Pell Records, pp. 199, 217, 221.

over his daughter's domestic arrangements. She dared not, without his permission, receive the sacrament in a Calvinist place of worship, though she was anxious to communicate, at least once a year, in the "great church," with her husband, in order to convince their subjects that their creeds were not essentially different.¹ All the vacancies that occurred in her establishment were either filled up by the King, or her selection was subjected to his approval. He also kept a strict eye on the jewellery and valuables which she took from England, lest they should be alienated from her. Being informed that one of her servants, Mrs. Tyrrell, then in England, had in possession a set of ruby buttons, belonging to the Electress, and also that Harderet, her jeweller, had one of her most valuable jewels, he took the alarm, and the Privy Council issued a warrant to one of their clerks to institute a search in the lodgings of Mrs. Tyrrell, and to place the gems, if discovered, before the Council. The buttons were found, and Calvert, afterwards Secretary of State, was sent to Heidelberg to inquire into the affair. Winwood also wrote a letter to the Princess, requesting to know how the jewels came into the hands of Tyrrell. She replied as follows :—

"Sir Ralph Winwood,

"I received your letter, and understand it is his majesty's pleasure I should make known how Tyrrell, that once served me, came by the ruby buttons. I must tell you that, at her going from me, having served me painfully and very honestly ten years, I was desirous some way to recompense her, who had spent much, and then never gotten anything; so as these buttons, being valued at the most but at 300 pounds, I freely gave them her for so much, understanding them not to be worth any more, neither did I believe any would have sold them for so much. They were given me by the queen, at York, for a fair chain of pearl that his majesty sent me, and her majesty changed with me, and gave me the rubies for the chain. This, if you let the king understand, is truth, and that you will humbly thank his majesty for his bounty to her for me, who am very desirous if the king please, to have the rubies again myself, and I will give Tyrrell 300*l.* for them, which I am sure she will be content with. There was never more than 22 of them since I had them. Thus desiring you to let his majesty understand thus much, and that I may again hear from you, I rest

"Your most affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH."

"I have so lately written to his majesty, as at this time I do not, for fear of troubling him, having little to say. I am very glad to hear his majesty, the queen, and my brother are all well; I beseech God continue them so, that I may ever have so good news out of England."²

Schomberg, to whom the matter was explained, wrote to the same effect, requesting that 300*l.* of the Princess's pension

¹Demands of Schomberg in behalf of the Prince Palatine. *S. P. Germ. States.*

²January, 1615, Holog. *Ibid.*, endorsed (in England), January, 1614.

in England might be paid to Tyrrell, and the buttons restored, which was accordingly done.¹

The circumstances under which Harderet came to receive one of her jewels have already been explained. It was pawned to him when the Princess was on her journey, in order to furnish her with means to make presents when necessary. Finding that her father was much displeased, she wrote him a full explanation of the case, and humbly implored forgiveness.² Calvert paid a second visit to Heidelberg, in order to withdraw all the jewels from the hands of her attendants, and to place everything on its proper footing; but he did not discharge the duty in a satisfactory manner, owing probably to the absence of the Princess at the time.³

In the spring of 1615, Frederic took his wife to Frankenthal, which, it will be remembered, was assigned as her dower residence, and where he was planning a palace for her, according to the marriage agreement, though the expenses of the erection at Mannheim prevented its rapid progression. She remained there whilst Frederic presided over a meeting of the Senate of Worms, of which city he was the protector.⁴ On their return, Frederic continued a project which had occupied his leisure hours for many months, the laying out of a terrace garden, on the high ground surrounding Heidelberg Castle, in which his beloved consort might find some counterpart to the wooded seclusions of Combe and Kew. The natural obstacles, though serious, were surmounted with lover-like ardour; orchards of English trees were transplanted entire, blooming parterres, delicious fountains, and luxuriant grottoes adorned that which had been a barren hill-side, and to crown the whole, an entrance arch, said by tradition to have been erected in one night, as a pleasant surprise for Elizabeth, which admitted her into the terrestrial paradise constructed for her gratification, bore the inscription, "Frederic V. to Elizabeth, his dearest wife, A.D. 1615".⁵

A few months later, he accompanied her to visit, for the first time, their subjects of the Higher Palatinate. Inconveniently for the Palatine Princes, their dominions were separated into two portions, by a tract of country which, in those days, could not be travelled over in less than five days. The Higher Palatinate began near Nuremberg, and extended to Bohemia and the confines of the Bavarian States,—Amberg being the principal town. The

¹ Schomberg to Winwood, $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan. 1615, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² *S. P. Germ. States*. Endorsed "Electress Palatine, 26th April, 1615" (probably date of receipt). Schomberg to Winwood, 24th May, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Schomberg to Winwood, 10th July, *ibid.*

⁴ Plessen to Winwood, 3rd May, 1615, *ibid.*

⁵ Description of the garden, printed by Solomon Caus, its projector, 4to, Heid. 1620, containing many beautiful engravings of its ornaments, etc. [See also Koch and Seitz's fine work, "Das Heidelberger Schloss".]

lower Palatine extended (loosely speaking) along the Rhine, from the Bishopric of Strasbourg nearly to Coblenz, and in width, from the hills along the River Sarre, eastward to the territories of the Elector of Mayence, including the dependency of twenty walled towns.

Sending their young son to remain under his grandmother's protection,¹ the Elector and Electress set out in the middle of June, attended by Schomberg, the Count of Solms, grandmaster, Plessen, and a train of 400 horse, but by few of the Princess's servants. At first the whole suite opposed the journey, and declared they would not go: they then changed their minds, and combined in wishing to go, but Elizabeth dispensed with all, excepting her personal attendants. After visiting the Margrave of Ansbach, whose territories lay in their route, they reached Amberg on the 18th of June, remained there ten days, and thence went to the principal towns of the duchy, returning to Amberg on July 1st.² Elizabeth having a great desire to see the Danube, and to visit Ratisbon, which was but twelve miles from the frontiers of the Palatinate, her husband gratified her; and, leaving their train, they made a short and swift excursion to the city, where in after years were held so many imperial diets, all-important to the interests of Elizabeth. In their own dominions they were everywhere joyfully welcomed, and received handsome presents;³ they returned home on the 15th of August, in good health, and much gratified with their journey.

The following day was the Elector's birthday, and it was commemorated at Court with great rejoicings. The 17th was the day on which was celebrated the jubilee of the reformation of the Palatinate Church. Frederic and Elizabeth were present at an oration delivered on the occasion, in the University of Heidelberg.⁴ The Princess's birthday, which occurred on the 19th, was also kept with much festivity.⁵ "Their Highnesses, thank God," writes Schomberg about this date, "are very well,

¹ Schomberg to Winwood, 2nd June, *S. P. Germ. States*. On 1st July, Louise Juliane wrote to James I. about his grandchild as follows:—"He grows as tall, fine, and pretty, as possible. I often wish he could have the honour of being seen by your majesty; I am sure he would soon get into your good graces."—*Ibid*.

² Elizabeth to James I., 1st July, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ The States of the Upper Palatinate granted their Elector a subsidy extraordinary of 160,000*l.*—*Ste. Catherine's Despatches*, 2nd and 18th June, 9th July. Lamarre MS. Schomberg to Winwood, 23rd June, 24th July, 1615, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Pæraus, "De statu quinquagenario Palat. ecclesiæ," 4to, Heid. 1616. The Elector was congratulated on his safe return, and complimented as the father of his country and patron of the University, and then the orator proceeded: "Hail yesterday's light which has brought under a happy star, to our most serene Elector, Frederic V., his 20th natal day. Hail light of the day after to-morrow, which art, as we pray, about to bring to the most serene and royal Elizabeth, the most beloved wife of his highness, with a star equally fortunate, her 20th natal day."—*Inaug. oration*, Heidelb. 1616. They were both entering upon their twentieth year.

⁵ *Ste. Catherine's Despatch*, 30th Aug., Lamarre MS. 9291³.

love each other better than ever ; and madame is at this moment playing with and caressing her little prince." ¹

In November Elizabeth was invited to return the visit of the Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, and to stand sponsor to her infant son ; but she declined the journey to Cassel, on account of the distance and the bad weather. ² A few weeks afterwards she received a severe shock in the death of her favourite lady of honour, still called Mrs. Dudley, though she had been some months the wife of the indefatigable Schomberg. Her married life was troublous. King James, who, in the first instance, approved of the match, became jealous afterwards, lest Schomberg and his wife, having the Princess so completely in their hands, should take unfair advantage of their position ; and he did not refrain from expressing his doubts and suspicions. He wrote to his daughter, inquiring if any jewels were in Mrs. Dudley's custody, and whether it was usual in Germany for the lady of honour to be married. Elizabeth replied with much spirit :—

"Mr. Calvert told me your majesty desired to know what Dudley hath in charge ; she hath nothing but some plate, that was given me since my coming hither ; though I assure your majesty I have nothing to keep that I should not put sooner into her care and trust, than any creature, having never had other cause." ³

A few weeks later she adds :—

"Touching my dame of honour, I can assure this truth, which I beseech your majesty to believe, that she hath ever been careful for my good and hath most faithfully served me, without ever having taken present of me since I came into Germany ; and I shall ever be ingrate when I do not witness this same for her ; and since your majesty desires to know if it be the custom that the dame of honour should be married ; to this I can tell your majesty—yes, that it is the fashion, and that the Elector, his council, and all here, have often desired me to further their marriage ; your majesty yourself having written me word that you wished it, and should like she were married to Schonberg, and then I should be contented with her, by reason I should be better served ; as indeed I find in effect, and am well contented with both their service, and must confess that none in this state hath had care or done so much for me, my good rank, reputation, and profit, as Schonberg." ⁴

The vexatious jealousy of the King, combined with some irregularity in the payment of his pension, and the odium occasioned by his attempts at reform, excited much disgust in the mind of Schomberg. Reports, too, reached him from England that it was said that the Princess was so poor she could only afford four or five dresses in the year, and that he was unjust to her attendants, in order to spare expense to his Prince. This misrepresentation was deeply felt.

¹ October or November, *S. P. Germ. States.* ² *Ibid.* 7th Nov.

³ Postscript to letter already referred to, p. 105, note 2, above.

⁴ 28th May, *S. P. Germ. States.*

"I have brought up the prince," he wrote, "reformed the court, installed madame, maintained the balance proper for the preservation of their highnesses, offended everybody to serve his majesty and madame, and so acted that his majesty can never, with truth, hear any reproach or reflection upon these personages, though married so young, assisted so little, left, flattered by everybody; and it is I alone who have had this burden upon my shoulders."¹

He stated that he had received no rewards from the Prince, that his wife never had more than 20% from her mistress, beyond her ordinary salary; but since accusations against them gained credence in certain quarters, he declared his settled purpose of retiring with his wife from the Princess's confidential service, and of devoting himself solely to his more public duties. A few weeks later his wife gave birth to a son, and after progressing favourably for a fortnight, a feverish attack supervened, which became daily more serious, and it was soon evident that it would terminate fatally. Elizabeth was often by her bedside, and even the Elector came to pay her a parting visit. The dying woman, now in a position the solemnity of which set aside all distinctions of rank, touchingly and fervently admonished her young lord and lady so to pass through this world that they might at last join her in paradise, and then took a pathetic farewell of them and of her husband. The etiquette of royalty usually enforces absence from the saddening scenes of closing mortality; but Elizabeth would not forsake the friend who had followed her into a foreign land, and she remained with her till the struggle was over. She communicated the intelligence to her father in the following letter:—

"I have not written to your majesty for a long time, for want of a subject. Now, I have to tell you, with much regret, of the loss of my lady of honour, Dudley, for she died of high fever, in her confinement, on the 8th of December, for which I am very sorry; since both in her life, and when dying, she testified the respect and friendship she bore me, and her sincere fidelity. She has left a son—she is a great loss to me, for she was very careful in all that concerned me. Your majesty will perhaps be teased by one or another for this place, but I entreat you to consider that it is not every one who is fitted for it in this country and this place. I entreat your majesty, therefore, to let me know who are solicitors for it, and whom you judge most suitable, and I will write to you about it, or perhaps in two months I may send Colonel Schomberg to decide with your majesty on this point and divers others of importance—for the rest all is as usual in these parts. The Elector and my little black baby² are very well, thank God—to whom I heartily commend you.

"I ever remain, Sire, your most humble and obedient
daughter and servant, ELIZABETH."³

"Heidelberg, 14th December."

¹ Schomberg to Winwood, 24th May, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² The term which, in her letters, Elizabeth generally gives to her little son.

³ Holog. French, *S. P. Germ. States*.

The depression from which the Princess suffered, after the death of her friend and companion, was relieved by a visit which she, with her husband, paid in March, 1616, to Stuttgart, where they were to officiate as sponsors to the young son of the Duke of Würtemberg. A large assemblage of German Princes was convened on the occasion, as state-discussions were to be included with the festivities. This was the first time, since Elizabeth's bridal appearance in Germany, that she had intermingled with the associate Princes, and the harmony of the meeting was marred by her claims to precedence over her husband, and all German Princes and Princesses, on which she had been strenuously charged to insist. The point, though ceded at the time, as matter of courtesy, was still not formally settled when she returned to Heidelberg. At this juncture Sir Henry Wotton paid her a visit, on his way to Venice,¹ and was commissioned by Elizabeth to sound her husband on the subject. He began by commending the Elector for the deference he paid to the King of England, by maintaining the dignity of his daughter, and assuring him of his majesty's satisfaction with his conduct; on which Frederic appeared uneasy, and declared that he could no longer give place to the Princess as he had done; "that it was against the custom of the whole country; that all the Electors and Princes found it strange; that it would turn to his own diminution; that Kings' daughters had been matched before in his race, and with other German Princes, but still placed under their husbands in public feasts; that in the German ground he did compete with the Kings of Denmark and Sweden," etc. Wotton replied, that it would have been better, in the first instance, to deny the Electress her place of honour, than having once granted it, to retract; and begged him to consider the important position held by Elizabeth; that she was not merely the daughter of a King, but had the prospect of possible succession to three crowns, and that, as the mother of his son, she was entitled to the greater consideration.

"These motives and others," added Sir Henry, in his account to the King, "I laid before him in the fairest manner, but in conclusion, seeing him for the present otherwise resolved, I besought him to represent his reasons unto your majesty by Colonel Schomberg, who for this and other causes was determined to pass speedily into your court."

Schomberg accordingly went to England, and on his arrival, the question was earnestly discussed by the learned in courtly etiquette.

"The matter itself," wrote Sir Ralph Winwood, to Wotton,² "is of such a nature, being a question betwixt man and wife, that it must be tenderly handled; and although we may hope to bring things so to pass that her highness may have the same place which formerly she did enjoy, yet we

¹ *S. P. Venice*, 23rd April, 1616.

² *Ibid.* 31st May, 1616.

cannot but fear that it may hereafter bring forth some other difference, of a worser quality and greater consequence than this."

The English lawyers argued that the daughters of the King of France, when married to persons of inferior rank, always retained the precedence due to their birth, and not merely that to which they were entitled by marriage,—that the wife of Archduke Albert of Austria, who was a Spanish Infanta, sat at his right hand, received Ambassadors first, and signed her name before his in public documents,—and that Elizabeth should therefore not only take precedence of her husband but of her aunt, the Duchess of Saxony, who was a Princess of Denmark, on the ground that that crown had been, till of late, elective, and therefore not equal in dignity to the hereditary monarchy of Great Britain. On the other hand it was alleged, that there was no example of an Electress, even though the daughter of a King, being placed before her husband, as even Kings themselves ceded to Electors, by whose arbitration was chosen the Emperor, avowedly the first in rank; and moreover, it was urged that the Princess Blanche of England, daughter of Henry IV., when the wife of a Palatine Prince, gave precedence to her husband.¹

When in the privacy of the home circle, Frederic and Elizabeth probably troubled themselves little about ceremonial; they were too closely united in affection to contend with each other about superiority in position. Frederic expressed his personal willingness to comply with the wishes of the King of England; and Elizabeth assured her father of her confidence that all would be accommodated, and wisely resolved to avoid bringing the matter to an issue, by declining, for the present, to join any public re-union of German Princes. On this account, when the Elector went to attend the baptism of a son of the Duke of Deuxponts, which took place in the latter end of June, she took the opportunity of visiting the waters of Schwalbach, about two and a half days' journey from Heidelberg; and thus, without seeming incivility, absented herself from the ceremony.² Her husband came to escort her home,³ and on her return, she addressed a brief letter of compliment to the Duke of Würtemberg, with whom she had formed a friendly intimacy during her recent visit to his Court. Wotton gives the following account of the young couple:—

"I do not find the Count Palatine, in the judgment of my eye, much grown since your majesty saw him, either in height or breadth, though there

¹ Lansdowne MS. 160, ff. 121-22.

² Ste. Catherine's Despatches, Jan. and Feb. 1616, Lamarre MS. 9291³, Bibliothèque Royale; Plessen to Winwood, 23rd June, 1616, *S. P. Germ. States*; Elizabeth to James I., 7th June, 1616, *ibid.* The waters of Schwalbach were considered to be as efficacious as those of the celebrated Spa.

³ In Moser, "Diplom. Belustigungen," vol. i. p. 399, is a letter from Frederic to the Elector of Mayence, dated Schwalbach, 8th August, 1616.

be a common opinion of the first. *Par boutades*, he is merry, but for the most part cogitative; or (as they here call it) melancolique." "My lady, your gracious daughter," continues Wotton, "retaineth still her former virginal verdour in her complexion and features, though she be now the mother of one of the sweetest children that I think the world can yield. The prince and my lady do pass in outward view rather kind than amorous demonstrations, according to the solemnness of the court, for I understand otherwise, from the nearest interpreter's intelligence (which is her highness herself) that his nature is not of itself froward and impliable. The domestic differences which, in the beginning, and some good while after, grew by the emulation of servants, seem now to be as well settled as they can be in a court, and by no means more, than by the severing of the nations at their ordinary diet, the English and Scottish eating together, and the Allemans apart."¹

The Princess had some conversation with Wotton about the new lady of honour to be sent to her. "She begs," he wrote, "that she may be furnished with one of no lesser quality than the former, nor much different in age, because otherwise she will be unfit to accompany her in her disports abroad, and perhaps likewise be less plausible at home." She expressed herself warmly in favour of Schomberg, of whom Wotton wrote as "the only sincere and resolute friend she had found"; and said, that "without his continual vigilance and power with the Prince, she had been much prejudiced, both in her dignity, and the rest, not so much by the Prince's own notions, as by the infusions of others, and particularly of the old Electress". Elizabeth's regret may be imagined, when, a few months later, she was deprived by death of the services of this faithful friend.² She deeply deplored to her father his loss, and her own need of one or two good and faithful persons to manage her affairs.³ King James felt the advisableness of having a business agent at his daughter's Court, who could constantly look to her interests; and for this purpose he selected Albertus Morton, nephew of Sir Henry Wotton, and sent him with a commission to the Princes of the United Protestant Union, with orders to reside principally at Heidelberg, and officiate as secretary to the Princess.⁴

Meanwhile Elizabeth had written to England, urging the fulfilment of a promise made by her father, to allow her the selection of her own lady of honour,⁵ and earnestly desiring the companionship of her former governess, Lady Harrington; who no sooner received the intimation of her wishes, sanctioned by the King, with a present of 700*l.*,⁶ than she at once prepared to

¹ Wotton to James I., 23rd April, 1616, *S. P. Venice*.

² Bilderbach to Carleton, 3rd Sept. 1616, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Plessen to Winwood, 9th Sept. *ibid.*

⁴ Plessen to Winwood, 10th Dec. 1616, *ibid.*; Abraham Williams to Carleton, 4th Oct. *S. P. Dom.* Wotton, who the preceding spring had spent six days at Heidelberg, on his way to Italy, wrote a full account of the Palatine Court, for his nephew's direction.

⁵ See his letter of 4th Jan. 1616, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁶ "Court and Times of James I.," vol. i. pp. 436, 440.

set out, in spite of the lateness of the season and the inclemency of the weather. Her daughter, Lady Bedford, wrote:—

“My mother goes presently to Germany, by my lady Elizabeth’s extreme earnest desire, and the king’s commandment; which, the season of the year considered, is so cruel a journey I fear how she will pass it. But her affection to her highness keeps her from being frightened with any difficulty; and her spirit carries her body beyond what almost could be hoped, at her years, which I trust will not fail her, in this no more than in other labours.”¹

On the 18th of November, the Privy Council issued “A pass for the Lady Harrington to go unto Heidelberg, to attend upon the Lady Elizabeth her highness, and to be furnished with convenient shipping and post-horses for herself and her servants, with transportation of her provisions, without search”.² Sir John Finet, the King’s Master of the Ceremonies, was sent to escort her.³ She landed at Calais on December 30th, and made her way as rapidly as possible to Heidelberg, where her royal ward eagerly welcomed her.⁴ Changes important to both had transpired since they parted: Lady Harrington was now a widow, and had lost an only son and one of two daughters, in the prime of life; Elizabeth had become a mother, and her awakening to the realities of life rendered the presence of this her almost mother an invaluable boon.

Lady Harrington and Sir Albert Morton concerted together, as to the best mode of rectifying certain inconveniences resulting from irregularity in the payment of the Princess’s allowance, which, in the mode of its discharge, had been diminished by 50*l.*; on this ground complaint was made by Morton and Lady Harrington. Frederic construed the application into a request for a larger allowance, and sent an answer from Heilbronn, where he was then presiding over an assembly of the Union, to the effect that any neglect or delay to satisfy the wants and wishes of his consort must be attributed, not to lack of affection towards her, but to the pressure of important business. He added, that, in his anxiety to gratify her he had determined to add 5,000 florins to the 15,000 which she already received, and

“He assures himself,” wrote his secretary, “that the reciprocal love of my said lady will induce her properly to consider the aforesaid inconveniences, and that, accommodating herself, (as his majesty from the beginning gave hopes she would do,) to the fortune of his said highness, common both to my said lady and to this young offshoot, with which God has blessed their marriage, she will be content with the said sum; which, being duly adminis-

¹ Cornwallis Corresp., 8vo, Lond. 1842, p. 26.

² Council Records, Privy Council Office, Whitehall.

³ *Ibid.* 24th March, 1617.

⁴ *S. P. Dom.* 14th and 30th Dec. 1616. Finet returned home in March, the bearer, he declared, of fifty letters from Elizabeth to her friends in England.—Finet to Winwood, 1st March, 1617, *S. P. Holland.*

tered, and joined to the annual pension which his majesty is pleased to give her, will, in all parts of Germany, (which God has destined for the residence of my said lady, and where moderation is singularly esteemed,) be judged sufficient to satisfy all that her rank requires, conformable to the dignity of her birth, his highness's reputation, and the lustre of this electoral house."¹

Soon after the Prince's return home, Elizabeth accompanied him in a hunting expedition across the Rhine, whence Frederic paid a short visit to his old governor, the Duke of Bouillon, at Sedan.² In the autumn he was invited to Berlin, to attend the baptism of the son of his sister, the Princess of Brandenburg, and the Elector Archbishop of Mayence requested both him and Elizabeth to pay him a visit, *en route*, at his palace of Aschaffenburg on the Main. They were pretty well aware that the object of this invitation was to influence Frederic to favour the views of the house of Austria, in an impending election of the King of the Romans, but as no compromise was involved, they cheerfully availed themselves of it, and left Heidelberg on the 16th of October, accompanied by Prince Christian of Anhalt and Count John of Nassau. The Elector Archbishop treated them very handsomely, and gave them rich presents at parting; but failed to elicit from Frederic any promise of political co-operation. The latter proceeded to Berlin, and thence to Dresden, to visit the Elector of Saxony; these meetings, apparently friendly and casual, being devoted to the more serious business of strengthening the alliance of Protestant Europe.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth returned home, and received a visit from her cousin, the Countess of Nassau-Dietz.³ In anticipation of her approaching confinement, she invited the Electress-Dowager, her mother-in-law, to Heidelberg, and entertained her with an affection and kindness which threw into oblivion the little differences about ceremonial that had previously disturbed their concord. Frederic, on his return, visited his cousin, the Duke of Bavaria, whose country he had not before seen; and thence went into the Upper Palatinate; he was detained longer than he anticipated, and in the fear lest he should be absent from his wife in her hour of trial, he posted home, night and day, with such rapidity, that he arrived at Heidelberg six days before his grand-master, the Count of Solms, who set out at the same time.⁴ A bevy of attendants from England had

¹ *S. P. Holland*, 1617.

² "Carleton Letters," 4to, Lond. 1780, p. 155; Plessen to Winwood, 20th Aug. *S. P. Germ. States*; same to Carleton, 23rd Aug. *S. P. Holland*. The preceding May, Elizabeth sent a present of horses to the Duchess of Bouillon.—Ste. Catherine's Despatch, 30th May, 1617.

³ Ste. Catherine's Despatches, Oct. and Nov. 1617. This information is minutely confirmed by Sicard's "Chron. in Scriptorum rec. Mogunt," vol. i. p. 912.

⁴ Plessen to Carleton, 17th Dec. *S. P. Holland*. Ste. Catherine's Despatches, 17th Nov. and 11th Dec. 1617. Here these interesting transcripts unfortunately terminate.

already arrived; ¹ and on the 24th of December, between four and five A.M., her second son was born.² He was at first a weak and delicate infant, but improved so rapidly that when he was a fortnight old he was pronounced a remarkably fine child.³ Elizabeth sent an earnest request to her father that as her purse was "at the present very light," he would pay the rewards of those who had waited upon her, and also begged him to write to the Electress-Dowager a letter of thanks for the attentions she had shown during the period of her illness.⁴ Baron Winnenberg was sent over to England to ask the Queen and Prince of Wales to stand sponsors for the infant, and Elizabeth made a request, that if they sent no special proxies, they would accord to the Electress-Dowager⁵ and the Duke of Deuxponts the honour of standing for them, which was granted.⁶ The other sponsors were to be Elizabeth's uncle and grandmother, the King and Dowager-Queen of Denmark; her aunts, the Dowager-Duchesses of Saxony, Brunswick and Holstein; the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick; the Prince and Princess of Brandenburg; Louis Philip, Duke of Simmern, and Catherine, the brother and sister of Frederic, and the Duke and Duchess of Bouillon. The Dukes of Würtemberg and Brunswick were expected to be present, and some even wagered that the King of Denmark would take the opportunity of visiting his niece. There were several disappointments in the guests, but the masks and entertainments went off with great spirit.⁷ The infant received the names of Charles Louis, after the brothers of Elizabeth and Frederic.

"The happy news of the king's new grandchild at Heidelberg," wrote Finet to Carleton, "hath caused the streets in London to shine with bonfires, and hath almost put his majesty out of his melancholy humour, which hath too much possessed him this Christmas. 'Tis said at court that my Lady Eliza-

¹ Devon's Pell Records, pp. 206, 212.

² Lady Harrington announced the birth to Sir Dudley Carleton; but the letter, dated 6th January, being sent by way of Brussels, was long in coming to hand, for on 3rd February, Morton thus replies to a complaint that the news had not been despatched:—

"I have already quarrelled with all the gentlewomen, for omitting to advertize to you her highness's delivery. Their excuse is that they could not doubt but it should have been performed from the other side, which, as I conceive, was not done from thence, for no other reason than for the fear they conceived that your lordship might have sent the first news into England, which they desired might come from themselves; and to that end, for some time after the departure of Mr. Green, their messenger, the gates here were guarded, with order that no English should go out." *S. P. Holland*, 1618.

³ Morton to Lake, 3rd Jan. 1618, *S. P. Germ. States*. [Morton had only reached Heidelberg on St. Stephen's Day.]

⁴ The same to the same, 8th Jan. *ibid*.

⁵ The Electress had just heard of the death of her brother, Philip William, Prince of Orange, but she would not go into mourning, nor notice it, till the christening was over. Bridwode to Ste. Catherine, 7th March, 1618, Lamarre MS. 9291⁵.

⁶ Morton to Lake, 3rd Jan. *ut supra*; Nichols' "Progresses," vol. iii. p. 467.

⁷ News Letter, 30th Jan. *S. P. Germ. States*.

beth's grace will be in England the next summer, and will begin her journey in May; but purposes that require so many circumstances as this doth, do often change."¹

The proposed visit to England was uppermost in the thoughts of the young Electress.

"The Lady Elizabeth, we hear," wrote Chamberlain, "makes great means to come over hither, after she is fully recovered of her childbirth, and is so bent to it that she will hardly be stayed. I see not to what purpose it is, nor what good can come by it to either side; for unless here were a more plentiful world, she will not find that contentment she hath done heretofore, and expects."²

Elizabeth, however, had secured her husband's permission for the journey, in which he proposed to accompany her, and she was earnest in her endeavours to accomplish the object.

"Her highness," wrote Morton, "hath now again, by her letters, renewed unto his majesty her earnest desire of seeing him, the next spring; of which, as she received, at my coming, good hope from the king's hand, so hath she of late had some confirmation of it. And the longer it shall be maintained, the more uncomfortable would it prove, if it should resolve into the contrary; which I am the bolder to write unto your Honour, because I have not seen her highness more subject to melancholy, at any time, since my first coming hither, than of late days. But we hope that the open air, (in which she hath not yet been since her deliverance,) will qualify that humour."³

The melancholy referred to was the symptom and precursor of a severe illness which attacked the Electress, but from which she happily and speedily rallied.

A few weeks later, she received the welcome intelligence that her visit to England was approved by the King. But one point of uncertainty had to be settled before her husband could decide to make his appearance at the English Court, *viz.*, whether he would be allowed to take precedence of the Prince of Wales. This claim he had not advanced on his former visit, being then in his minority, and under an administrator; now, however, in his independent position, he was resolved to make it good.⁴ Either this difficulty proved a sufficient hindrance, or some other occurred still more formidable, for the journey was postponed, and Elizabeth had to content herself with her household ties, and to seek diversion nearer home.

The pleasures of maternity did not check the predilection for animals, which caused her to be painted, when a child, with a mackaw on one shoulder, a parrot on the other, a little love-bird on her hand, and a monkey and dog at her feet. We still find casual notices of grooms sent over into England, to

¹ *S. P. Dom.* 2nd Jan. 1618.

² "Court and Times of James I." vol. i. p. 456.

³ Feb. 6, 1618, *S. P. Germ. Stâtes.*

⁴ See an unsigned, undated copy of a letter in Lambeth MS. 930, f. 107, which, from the position of Morton at Heidelberg, seems to have been written by him.

procure various sorts of hounds for her pleasure.¹ Sir Dudley Carleton, with whom she renewed acquaintance, as he passed through Heidelberg on his return from an Italian embassy, had recently sent her two young monkeys, as companions to an old favourite, which she had brought from England. Albertus Morton wrote to tell him that the "two travellers and their guide," were very welcome, and that the old monkey had been out of countenance and very jealous of them ever since their arrival. Lady Harrington assured him that they were esteemed as jewels by the Princess.² Mistress Apsley, one of Elizabeth's ladies, writing to Carleton, says:—

"Her highness is very well, and takes great delight in those fine monkeys you sent hither, which came very well, and now are grown so proud as they will come at nobody but her highness, who hath them in her bed every morning; and the little prince, he is so fond of them as he says he desires nothing but such a monkey of his own. They be as envious as they be pretty, for the old one of that kind, which her highness had when your lordship was here, will not be acquainted (with) his countrymen, by no means; they do make very good sport, and her highness very merry; you could have sent nothing would a been more pleasing."

This letter of the maid was directed by her "very merry" mistress,

"To Sir Dudley Carleton, from the fair hands of the Right Reverend Mrs. Elizabeth Apsley, chief governor to all the monkeys and dogs."³

The picture here drawn of the royal lady amusing herself in bed in a morning with her monkeys and her little son, is droll enough; but it must be remembered that at this time Elizabeth was only twenty-one years of age, and therefore a touch of juvenile frolic may be pardoned.

Whilst thus confining her attention to the circle of home, absorbed with her husband, her children, and her *ménagerie*, and mingling little in the arena of political life, Elizabeth had very nearly become the victim of a treacherous plot, the object of which was to sever from the Protestant cause in Germany the powerful support of England. The leading Powers in Europe had for many years been preparing themselves for a conflict, which though including numerous minor interests, was viewed by many Protestants as the grand contest of civil and religious liberty, as gradually evolved since the time of the Reformation,

¹ Privy Seal Bills, 11-17, James I. f. 46 b. Clarendon Gallery, vol. iii. p. 340, by Lady T. Lewis.

² Morton to Carleton, 28th April, 1618, *S. P. Germ. States*; Lady Harrington to same, 25th April, *S. P. Holland*.

³ April, 1618, *S. P. Holland*. [Elizabeth Apsley was a great favourite with the Queen. See letters to Lady Apsley (her mother) in Appendix B. She married Sir Albertus Morton.]

against despotism, spiritual and temporal.¹ The balance of parties was so even, that alliances were of the utmost consequence to both. James I. was known to be a lover of peace, and it was surmised that the state of his exchequer would render war very inconvenient; still, so long as the acknowledged head of Protestant Germany stood in the relationship of his son-in-law, it was not expected that he would withhold his support. But could that tie be snapped, it was hoped that the King would be a mere passive spectator. As early as 1616, a design had been formed to break it by the murder of the Princess Elizabeth and her then only child: a design so atrocious, that did it not rest on the authority of original papers, it would be almost beyond credit. Captain Henry Bell, an English officer who had served under the Elector of Brandenburg (and afterwards in the Venetian army), detailing the circumstances many years afterwards, in a petition to Charles I., wrote:—

“In the year 1616, being at Cologne on the Spree, in the Prince-Elector of Brandenburg’s court, the said Prince-Elector very privately opened unto me that, few days before, he had received very certain advertisement, from Vienna, touching a dangerous plot, which was there contrived and concluded, to be put in practise against your majesty’s only dear sister, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince, her then only son, under the colour of a kind and loving letter of invitation, which the then empress intended to write unto her highness; wherein she was to be invited to meet the empress at Ratisbon, at the imperial diet, which the same year was appointed to be held in that city. The said Prince-Elector told me further he was likewise certainly advertized that, if the Lady Elizabeth should meet the empress, according to the said invitation, and should take her son with her, it was concluded that they should never go back again alive. And, moreover, he said that a far greater mischief was to follow thereupon here in England. He told me also that, with all speed, he would write hither to the king, and give his majesty notice thereof. The next day following, the said Prince-Elector showed me the letter which he had written to his majesty and bade me read it, which accordingly I did, and afterwards, being sealed, the Prince-Elector himself, in my sight and hearing, gave the said letter to one of his own servants, a chief officer in his court, commanding him to make all haste therewith into England, to deliver it unto the king. The said gentleman departed from thence, the same night, towards England. The Prince-Elector, at the same time, also gave unto me his letters of safe conduct, under his own hand and seal, to the end I might safely and speedily pass through the parts of Germany, and afterwards also into England; the said prince advising me first to go to Vienna, and diligently to hearken and learn somewhat more particularly, touching the empress’s said letter and the intended plot. Whereupon, I went accordingly to Vienna, and there I understood for certain that the empress already had written her letter to the Lady Elizabeth; but in regard the imperial diet was put off that year, the said letter therefore was stayed.”

¹ Daniel de Viduis, chaplain to the English troops at Amersfort, a man of wild and enthusiastic fancies, wrote a letter, in 1616, to Frederic and Elizabeth, urging upon them, as a sacred mission, the total overthrow of the papal power, on the ground that King James had given his daughter, the praised and loved of all lands, to the Palatine Prince, because he was the fitting and predestined agent for such an exploit.—“Imperatoris Hispani, etc. Extirpatie,” 18mo, Amersfort, 1626.

Bell goes on to relate, that he went to England and communicated what had transpired to the King, who ordered him to return to Germany, carefully to ascertain when the Diet should be held, and as soon as ever he found that the letter of the Empress was sent to Elizabeth, to hasten to England with the tidings. Owing to the Emperor's failing health,¹ the Diet was postponed till July, 1618; in the May previous, the Elector of Brandenburg informed Bell that the letter of the Empress either had been, or would be very speedily, despatched. He thus continues his narration:—

“Then I departed with all speed from thence, and came again to Vienna, where I got certain intelligence that the empress had sent away her letters, few days before, to Heidelberg, to the Lady Elisabeth; whereupon I went, with all speed, from Vienna to Heidelberg; and first I opened the business to Sir Albert Morton, then her highness' secretary. He told me her highness had already received the empress's letter, and was resolved, with the prince her son, to meet the empress at Ratisbon. Then we went presently together up to the court, where I related unto her highness what I had understood, as well then, as also two years before, from the Prince Elector of Brandenburg, and at Vienna; whereupon she took the empress's letter out of her pocket, and gave it me to read. Then she commanded me to rest myself, saying she would write letters over hither into England, and would give me the empress's letter to show unto the king her father. So within two days after, I was despatched from her highness, she straitly charging me to make all haste possible into England, and to show the empress's letter to the king, and said she would not stir from thence until she heard from the king her father. Her highness, at my departure, graciously bestowed upon me a very costly ring, adorned with eleven rich diamonds. Then I went away, with all possible speed, and came hither into England, and went to Theobalds, where the king then was, together with your majesty.² Sir Robert Anstruther being there also, brought me to the king, into the garden. So soon as his majesty saw me coming, he asked me if I had heard anything of the empress's letter, which should be written to his daughter. I answered I had the same with me, and so I delivered the said empress's letter unto his majesty; whereupon his majesty told me he had shortly before received another letter from the Prince Elector of Brandenburg, touching that business, wherein he had also expressed my care and travail, concerning the same. His majesty then commanded me forthwith to translate the said empress's letter, out of the high German into the English tongue, from word to word, as it was written in Dutch, which accordingly I did, in his majesty's chamber. Then his majesty, with his own hands, gave me the empress's letter again, charging me safely to keep the same in my custody, in memory of that service, by me done and performed.”³

¹ Veyras to Carleton, 25th April, 1618, *S. P. Holland*.

² Charles I., then Prince of Wales.

³ *S. P. Dom.* under date of 10th Feb. 1637, when Bell presented a petition for relief from debt and imprisonment, on the ground of these services. There are many other petitions from him in *S. P. Dom.* 1632-39. The letters from the Elector of Brandenburg referred to in Bell's document are also at the Public Record Office. *S. P. Germ. States*, 24th May and 6th Sept. 1618. The first bears date 24th May. In the latter, after alluding to his previous communication; the Elector adds:—

“Since then; we have received a more particular and certain narration from our aforesaid ambassador, which we have likewise determined to communicate to your majesty. The wicked conspiracy was this: That his imperial majesty, having determined to hold a diet at Ratisbon in July last, to consult with the princes and

This whole affair was managed with such secrecy that it was never divulged, and it is now, for the first time, brought to light. Elizabeth ever retained a grateful feeling towards Captain Bell, for his services, and twice wrote letters on his behalf. The King gave him the office of surveyor of his lead mines, worth 500*l.* a year, but a subsequent revocation of the grant plunged him into debt, and led him to draw up the petition, recapitulating his services, from which the above extracts have been given. It need scarcely be added that neither the Electress nor her son made their appearance at the Diet of Ratisbon.

Again the journey of the Princess to England was mooted, but without much chance of success.

“Of her coming into England the next spring,” wrote her English agent, Sir Abraham Williams, to Sir D. Carleton, “when I compare the combustions which are yet likely to continue in Germany, and which will not admit of the Elector Palatine’s absence out of his own country, with our want of 100,000*l.* (for the king’s part of the charges can amount to no less), truly my hopes come short of my desires.”¹

Another obstacle was, that the Princess was not in a position to render travelling expedient, for on the 27th of November, 1618, between one and two A.M., she gave birth to her third child and first daughter, Elizabeth.²

Early in 1619 the Electress lost her mother. Anne of Denmark had not, at any time, associated very much with her daughter, their residences having been generally apart; nor did there exist between them that sympathy which endears and sanctifies a relationship so close and intimate; yet Elizabeth’s strong feelings were much wrought upon when she received the tidings of her death; they were first broken to her by her husband, who then presented letters from King James announcing the event.³ After the lapse of two days she replied to them as follows:—

magnates of Germany on public affairs, the empress should, by most friendly letters, invite the Princess-Electress to meet her imperial majesty in that town, pretending to entertain the strongest wish and desire to commence a familiar acquaintance with herself, and to see her son. The real truth, however, (as has been discovered and proved, not only by our said ambassador, but by other persons of the highest dignity and authority, sincere well-wishers to your majesty and us,) is that if the Princess-Electress had gone with her son to meet the empress, according to her invitation, (as she had determined to do, if her journey as beforesaid had not been hindered) they would both have lost their lives.”—*Latin S. P. Germ. States*, 6th Sept.

¹ *S. P. Dom.* 24th Sept. 1618.

² Stow, p. 1030, Ct. Lewenstein to Carleton, Nov. *S. P. Holland*.

³ News Letter, 31st March, *S. P. Germ. States*. It was at first reported that the Queen had left her daughter a casket of jewels, but this was not the case—she postponed making a will so long, that she could only articulate a verbal consent to a suggestion that she should leave all her property to the Prince.—Dohna to Carleton, 6th April, *S. P. Holland*.

“Sire,

“I have received your majesty’s letter, in which you send me word, to my extreme regret, of the death of the queen; it is to me an affliction so great, that I have no words to express it. I pray God to console your majesty, and for me, I am very sure that I shall regret this death all my life. The Elector is extremely afflicted for this great loss, and will not fail to shew it by an express embassy. I most humbly supplicate your majesty to pardon me if I do not write more; sadness weighs my heart so that it hinders me from writing as I ought. I will therefore conclude, entreating your majesty always to love me and to keep me in your good favour, being all my life, Sire,

“Your majesty’s most humble and most obedient daughter

and servant,

ELIZABETH.”

“Heidelberg, this 23rd of March.”¹

Before the Queen’s death, Lady Harrington had received leave to return to England, to be present at the marriage of her grand-daughter to a son of the Marquis of Hamilton. But unwilling to leave her royal mistress till her first gush of sorrow had subsided, she remained a few weeks longer, until the latter end of May, when she took leave for a short absence, as both deemed it in prospect, but Elizabeth never saw this second mother again.²

About this time Lord Doncaster was sent on an embassy by James I. to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, the Elector Palatine, and the Princes of the Union, to compose, if possible, the growing differences between them, and more especially between Ferdinand and his Bohemian subjects, in which contests the Kings of England and Spain had offered themselves as mediators and had been accepted.³ When he arrived in the Palatinate, Frederic was at Heilbronn attending a meeting of the German Princes; but as soon as Elizabeth heard of the approach of the Ambassador, the first person of rank who had visited her from her father’s Court, she sent one of her own coaches to meet him, and an officer to inform him that she had ordered his apartments in the castle. He sent a polite refusal, on the ground that an Ambassador should not be treated as a visitor, fearing also lest a visit to the Electress, before her husband’s return, might revive the ancient disputes about precedence.

¹ *S. P. Germ. States.* [It is rather interesting to note that Elizabeth sent to Paris for her mourning. In a letter to the Duchess of Bouillon, after thanking her for her condolences, and expressing her joy that her father, who had also been “malade à la mort,” was convalescent (so that, by God’s pity she had not been overwhelmed by two such great losses at one time), she goes on to thank her aunt for her kind advice on the subject of her mourning. Had she known that the Duchess had been in Paris she would certainly have asked her to get it for her. As it was, she applied to Madame Beringhen; it has arrived and she likes it very much. “Archæologia,” xxxix. p. 156.]

² Lockie to —, 23rd Feb. Harl. MS. 7002, f. 448. *S. P. Dom.* James I. cix. 36, 51, 59, 79.

³ Frederic to James I., 11th and 12th March, 1619, Tanner MS. 74, ff. 250, 252, Original, Bodleian Library; Doncaster to Buckingham, 18th June, *S. P. Germ. States.*

"Which melancholy difference," he wrote to Buckingham, "was heretofore so sweetly buried by their own goodness, that it were a great sin now to revive it.

"All this," he added, "prevailed nothing against this most sweet princess's longing to speak with a man that came so near from the king her father, since his sickness; and therefore I was forced contrary to her highness's pleasure, to take up at an inn in the town; where I was hardly set down, when the barons of Dhona and Winneberg came thither, charging themselves with a strict command from the princess, to see that I lay not in the town, and assuring me that, to that end, they had forbidden the merchants to sell me any provision, as they had indeed. Whereupon, fearing my obstinacy might be worse interpreted by their highnesses, than my yielding could be by others, I at last, with all humble thankfulness, embraced their favour, both of lodging and defraying me, which I have received in such a royal fashion, as I must say it is more fit for a prince than for an ambassador."¹

Elizabeth, however, was scrupulously careful not to wound her husband's feelings, and though a few walls only separated her from her father's messenger, she refrained from summoning him to her presence till the Elector returned, which he did privately and hastily. The day following, Lord Doncaster dined with the Elector and Electress, with both of whom he had much conversation, on public as well as private matters. The result he thus reports to the King:—

"According to the commandment I received from your majesty, I have endeavoured to sound this prince, your son; and if my short understanding were a fit measure to judge any depth by, I should dare pronounce that his highness is, much beyond his years, religious, wise, active, and valiant."—"The princes of the union yield to him, as his right, of being general of the forces they send to the Upper Palatinate, on pretence of defending it, but really to be used as occasion requires.

"If your majesty could hear with my ears, how infinitely his highness is respected by all those princes . . . and redoubted in all Germany, and how extremely he is loved and honoured by all his own people, your majesty would believe the testimony of fame if you discredit mine.

"Concerning her highness, I can say no more than that she is that same devout, good, sweet princess your majesty's daughter should be, and she was ever; obliging all hearts that come near her by her courtesy, and so dearly loving and beloved of the prince her husband, that it is a joy to all that behold them."²

One of the Ambassador's attendants was the poet-preacher, Dr. Donne, whom Elizabeth had previously known as holding an official appointment in England, but who subsequently devoted himself to the Church, and became Dean of St. Paul's. A friendly intercourse subsisted between them; and Izaak Walton, in his life of Donne, says that this journey to Heidelberg—

"Seemed to give him a new life, by a true occasion of joy to be an eyewitness of the health of his most dear and most honoured mistress in a

¹ Doncaster to Buckingham, 19th June, 1619, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Doncaster to James I. 18th June, 1619, *ibid*.

foreign nation, and to be witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him ; who having formerly known him a courtier, was much joyed to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his excellent and powerful preaching."

Dr. Donne records his preaching before the Prince and Princess Palatine, on June 16th, from the text,—“ For now is our salvation nearer than when we believed ”. This sermon is in print ; but not a second, which he preached before them some time later.

Doncaster was commissioned to arrange with the Princess the selection of a secretary, Sir Albert Morton having been recalled to take an official appointment in London.¹ Forged letters, in Elizabeth's name, had been presented to King James, requesting the re-appointment of the same Elphinston whose influence had been so injuriously exerted in her household on her arrival at Heidelberg, and the King consequently nominated him. Elizabeth was much disconcerted, and begged Doncaster to inform the King, that he had so conducted himself, that she should deem his return to her service one of the greatest afflictions that could befall her, and one which she was sure her father would not allow, were he rightly informed of the facts. She requested Doncaster to speak on the subject to the Elector, “ who discovered no less bitterness than her highness had wrapped up in sweet terms ”. Doncaster ultimately obtained the post for his own secretary, Mr., afterwards Sir Francis, Nethersole, formerly orator at Cambridge, whose subsequent doings and sufferings in the cause of his royal lady were alike conspicuous, and whose name will frequently occur in the following pages.² Like his predecessor, Morton, he was appointed to the double post of Elizabeth's secretary and agent for the King with the German Princes.³ He received from England a salary of 200*l.* a year for the former office, and 165*l.* for the latter.

As a matter of form, Elizabeth required a secretary, but she rarely employed his pen ; her own was ever ready to give forth epistle after epistle, often vivacious, sometimes witty, and always shrewd, clear, and to the point.⁴ Nor were her letters her only intellectual efforts. The library at Heidelberg still contains a small MS. prayer-book, in white parchment cover, in which many of the prayers are the composition of the Princess, and in her own handwriting ; they are beautiful specimens of calli-

¹ He was made clerk of the council, in the place of Calvert, who was raised to the secretaryship.

² Doncaster's Despatches, 18th and 19th June, 24th July, *S. P. Germ. States.*

³ *S. P. Dom.*, 22nd Sept. 1619.

⁴ We contemplate the publication, at some future time, of the collected letters of Elizabeth ; upwards of four hundred, by far the larger proportion of them never yet in print, are already transcribed for the purpose. [This purpose was never fulfilled and the transcripts have not been found amongst the author's papers.]

graphy, and breathe a devout and earnest spirit. Another volume in the same library also contains prayers written by her, and a third, prayers written for her use.¹ Elizabeth had a warm appreciation of literature. During her early residence in Germany she mastered that language, as she subsequently did the Dutch; so that she not only understood but could converse freely in six languages:² English, French, Italian, German, Dutch, and Latin. The homage paid to her genius, her beauty, and her misfortunes by divines, statesmen, warriors and poets, had at least the merit of being as disinterested as it was profound.

¹ Wilken, "Geschichte der Heidelb. Buchversammlung," 8vo, Heidelb. 1817. These MSS. were returned to Heidelberg, in the general restoration of works of art in 1815, and now form Nos. 661, 690, 694, of that library. It was customary with the Palatine family to preserve, in the library, their private records, down even to their cookery books, but the subsequent disasters of Heidelberg destroyed or scattered the treasures.

² Sorbière (in a letter to Princess Elizabeth), "Lettres et Discours," 4to, Paris, 1647, p. 95.

CHAPTER III

State of Germany—Election of Emperor Ferdinand—Bohemian crown offered to Frederic—He appeals to England for advice—Elizabeth urges him to accept it, and prevails—She prepares to accompany him to his Kingdom—Farewell to Heidelberg—Enthusiasm of the English Nation—King James's coolness—Journey of Frederic and Elizabeth to frontiers of Palatinate—Bohemian Deputies meet them—Formal acceptance of the Crown—They go on to Prague—Joyous reception—Palace of Prague—Coronation ceremonies—Frederic goes to Nuremberg—Writes to Elizabeth—Disturbances at Prague—Presents to the Queen—Birth of Prince Rupert—Baptism—Succession to Crown settled on Elizabeth's son—She writes to her father—Public affairs—James I. refuses aid—Appeal of the Dowager-Electress—Elizabeth writes to her brother—James I. levies troops—Spinola attacks Palatinate—Prague threatened—Elizabeth is urged to remove—She refuses to leave her husband—Frederic joins the army—Letters to his wife—English Ambassadors arrive at Prague—Frederic's letters—Battle of Prague—Retreat of King and Queen to Breslau—Elizabeth goes to Cüstrin—Defection of Frederic's subjects—Birth of Prince Maurice—Political alliances—James I. obtains from Frederic a pledge of submission—Prohibits him and his daughter coming to England—They are invited to the Hague—Journey.

THE career of the Princess Elizabeth had hitherto flowed prosperously and smoothly, like a quiet joyous stream, making music within its own verdant banks, and little heard beyond; but the time had now arrived when the force of adventitious circumstances, combining with her own energy of character, turned it from its tranquil course, and it became like a restless torrent, rushing from rock to rock, in troublous eddies, till at last it is swallowed up in the dark whirlpool beneath.

Our object in the following pages is to adhere, as closely as possible, to the private history of Elizabeth; but this is so inextricably involved with that of the stirring times in which she lived and moved that it will be difficult to comprehend it without a rapid *coup d'œil* at the state of public affairs.

Mathias of Habsburg, by hereditary rank Archduke of Austria, by election King of Bohemia and of Hungary and Emperor, was now in the decline of life and childless; yet, notwithstanding this, he was extremely anxious to constitute the kingdom of Bohemia hereditary, and he procured its settlement upon his cousin and adopted heir, Ferdinand, son of Archduke Charles of Syria, by a Bavarian Princess, although with a proviso, that the nominal power only should be Ferdinand's, and the real authority rest with himself as long as he lived.¹

¹“*Mercure Français*,” 1617, p. 1017.

Regardless of this stipulation, Ferdinand, whose character was marked by strong religious enthusiasm, began his career with such rigorous treatment of the Bohemian Protestants, that the leaders of the party appealed to the Emperor. Mathias, however, ratified all that Ferdinand had done, and the exasperated Protestants vented their rage upon two of Ferdinand's lieutenants, Martinitz and Slawata, and the secretary (*pro. tem.*) of the council, Fabricius, all of whom they threw out of the windows of the council chamber in the old palace of Prague.¹ This "defenestration" was the signal for open revolt; knowing that they had gone too far to retreat, they openly took up arms, entered upon a vigorous and determined opposition to the religious tyranny of the house of Austria, and obtained several important advantages in arms.

The Emperor requested the two Protestant Electors of the Palatinate and Saxony, with two Roman Catholic Princes, the Elector of Mayence and the Duke of Bavaria, to act as mediators between him and the Protestants of Bohemia.² Various pacific measures were devised and many arguments used against the impolicy of proceeding to extremities; but the Emperor demanding implicit submission, and the States complete tolerance, no negotiation could succeed.³

Frederic sought the advice of his father-in-law of England,⁴ and earnestly urged on him, on the Princes of the Union, and on the States-General, the importance of assisting their oppressed fellow-Christians in this emergency.⁵ The States answered, that they should be guided by the movements of the English King; and James, with his characteristic aversion to take up arms, replied that, by the terms of his alliance with the German Protestants, he was only pledged to assist them in case they were assailed; whilst he wrote confidentially to Frederic that he had no money for war, but added, in the next sentence, that he had expended as much in a pacific embassy to the Emperor as a powerful succour would have cost.⁶ He consented, however, to renew, for four years longer, his alliance with the Princes of the Union.⁷

At this critical juncture, the Emperor Mathias died, on

¹ Declaration of States of Bohemia, Bethune MS. 9774, ff. 1-21; MS. 2249, f. 4; Sup. Français, Lockie to —, 16th June, 1618, Harl. MS. 7002, f. 404; Abelin, "Theatrum Europæum," vol. i. p. 16; Rushworth's "Hist. Collect." vol. i. p. 7.

² "Mercure Français," 1618, p. 194; Rushworth, vol. i. p. 8.

³ "Ein treuherziger Rath an ihre Kayserliche Majestät," 4to, 1618; "Variorum discursuum Bohemicorum nervi," 4to, 1619; Frederic to James I. 10th Sept., 8th Oct. 1618, *S. P. Germ. States*; De Plessen to Carleton, 9th Oct. *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Frederick to James I. 4th Dec. 1618, Maitland Club Letters.

⁵ Carleton's Letters (1616-20), pp. 337, 355, 359, *S. P. Holland*, May and June, 1619, *passim*.

⁶ James I. to Princes of the Union and to Frederic, 4th July, 1619, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁷ Williams to Carleton, 18th May, *S. P. Holland*.

$\frac{10}{20}$ March, 1619,¹ and the Elector Palatine, who was *ex-officio* Vicar of the Empire during an interregnum, called upon his fellow-electors to assemble and choose another Emperor.² "The Report goeth," wrote an English correspondent, "that the Palsgrave shall be emperor. It is true he is the principal of the seven electors that are to choose the emperor, but I can hardly believe he shall be emperor."³ Nor did he make any attempt to seize the imperial crown, but with his brother, Louis Philip, Duke of Simmeren, he marched to the Upper Palatinate, to head the army of the German Princes, 12,000 strong—raised in self-defence, and to give weight to their position.⁴ On account of the critical state of affairs, he excused his personal attendance at the diet, but sent deputies to act in his name,⁵ in endeavouring to secure the Empire for his cousin, the Duke of Bavaria;⁶ and in the meantime he wrote a letter to the Bohemian States to entreat their submission to a pacific arbitration of their differences.⁷ To his wife he wrote, "I have heard nothing from Bohemia this week, but it seems likely, that instead of gaining a crown at Frankfort, Ferdinand may chance to lose two. God grant him that grace: what a happy prince is he, to be hated by everybody!"⁸

The former part of Frederic's prediction was not verified. The Austrian party succeeded in the election of Ferdinand as Emperor, which took place on $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{8}{8}$ August. But for the Crown he won Ferdinand lost two. The party opposed to him in Bohemia and Hungary had gained strength and courage from the success with which their arms had been crowned. They despaired of any pacific arrangement, and when they found their envoys forcibly excluded from the Diet at Frankfort,⁹ and their King

¹ The dates [of the days of the month] given in this volume are according to the old style, then retained in England and by the Protestant States of Germany, etc.; when a double date occurs, the upper figures refer to the old, the lower to the new style, which was adopted by Catholic Princes. [The year dates are new style.]

² Frederic to James I. 25th March, 1619, Tanner MS. 74, f. 237, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

³ News Letter, 4th June, 1619, Harl. MS. 3786, f. 82.

⁴ [It would seem that Prince Charles was at this time inclined to go himself to Germany. In a holograph letter to Doncaster, he says: "I am very glad to hear that my brother is of so ripe a judgment and of so forward an inclination to the good of Christendom as I find by you he is. You may assure yourself I will be glad not only to assist him with my countenance but also with my person, if the King my father will [inserted over 'would' deleted] give me leave." 27th June, 1619, *S. P. Germ. States.*]

⁵ Doncaster to Naunton, 24th July, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁶ [Maximilian of Bavaria, however, declined to be put in nomination. He did not wish to add to the difficulties of Ferdinand, his brother-in-law and his friend since childhood, by becoming his rival. See Charvériat, "Guerre de Trente ans," i. 136.]

⁷ "Merc. Gallo Belg." 1619, p. 16; Rushworth, vol. i. p. 11.

⁸ Bromley Letters, p. 2.

⁹ The English Ambassador, Doncaster, was also refused permission to enter Frankfort during the election.—"Brief Information of Affairs," p. 42. [The refusal of admittance was not due to their being antagonistic to Ferdinand. It was

certain to be elected to the Imperial throne, they resolved at once to throw off the hated yoke.¹ The Estates of Hungary chose for their King, Bethlehem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania; the Bohemian Council, with the Estates of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, met in conclave on the $\frac{1}{8}$ of August, 1619, solemnly deposed Ferdinand on the ground of his having violated his coronation oaths,² and determined that the leading features of their new monarchy should be religious toleration and the absence of priestly rule.³ [Several Princes were proposed as successors to the vacant Crown—the King of Denmark, the Electors of the Palatinate and of Saxony, the Duke of Savoy, and the Prince of Transylvania; but none was considered, in all respects, so suitable as the Palatine Prince, part of whose dominions touched upon Bohemia, who was the head of Calvinist Germany, and who was, moreover, son-in-law to the King of England.] By unanimous consent, therefore, Frederic was elected King of Bohemia; the hymn of St. Ambrose was solemnly chanted, guns were fired, bells were rung, and every mark of rejoicing was indulged in by the people.⁴ A deputation from the Estates was sent to request his acceptance of their Crown. The letters announcing the election were couched in the most respectful terms, and addressed, not only to Frederic but to Elizabeth, entreating her to use her influence with her husband in securing his acceptance of the proffered dignity, and with her father, to obtain speedy and powerful aid.⁵ The Estates protested that there remained no mode of terminating their discussions, but by the election of a Prince, just, and wise, and good; and that, to follow up their letters, an honourable embassy should, with all speed, be sent to urge their plea, as, owing to their critical position, a prompt decision was imperative.

The excitement that prevailed at Heidelberg was intense. The honour was unsolicited and unexpected; it had been supposed that the Bohemians would continue under the rule of the directoral government, which for many months had so ably regulated their movements, and none of the politicians, either in Germany or in England, even conjecturally anticipated the

the decision of Pappenheim, the hereditary marshal of the Empire, on the ground that only the Electors and their representatives had the right to be there at such a time.—See Charvériat, i. 138.]

¹ News Letters, 9th and 10th Oct. 1619, MS. 2249, Sup. Franc.

² Bethune MS. 9774, f. 18.

³ "Merc. Gallo Belg." 1619, p. 133.

⁴ "Merc. Gallo Belg." p. 152; "Mercure Francais," p. 109. [The rejoicings, however, were confined to the Calvinist party; there was consternation among both Catholics and Lutherans. "La terreur, chez les luthériens comme chez les Catholiques, fut telle, que le directoire se crut obligé de faire lire dans toutes les églises une déclaration destinée à les rassurer. On n'y parvint pas."—Charvériat, i. 159. See also Klopp's statement that the Lutherans in Bohemia preferred the Catholics to the Calvinists, and the Emperor to the Palatine ("Tilly," i. 46).]

⁵ S. P. Germ. States, Sept. 1619.

event.¹ In great tumult of spirit, Elizabeth wrote off to England, and her letter was sent by a counsellor of her husband, Christopher Dohna, who was officially deputed to ask the opinion of King James on the acceptance of the crown. It was addressed to the (Marquis of Buckingham,) already her father's favourite minister, on whose fiat she knew his decision would mainly depend; she entreated him "to use his best means in persuading his majesty to show himself now, in his helping of the prince here, a true loving father to us both"² Frederic also wrote to Buckingham to request his interest, and added:—

"I promise myself that, from your zeal for the preservation of the church of God, assuring you that my only aim, in this affair, is to employ all that I have in this world, for the service of Him who has given it me."³

Elizabeth solicited the opinion of Archbishop Abbot, with whom, as we have previously noted, both she and her husband were on the most friendly terms. He returned a speedy reply, urging unhesitating acceptance of the crown, whether King James at once expressed approval or not, as he was satisfied the king would ultimately assist, adding that the cause was just, and as God had set up the Prince, to be a mark of honour throughout Christendom, he dared not give advice, but to follow where God should lead.⁴

¹ Accusations were afterwards thrown out against Frederic for plotting to obtain the Crown during the recent assembly at Frankfort (see Du Puy MS. 10, ff. 86 and 87, *Bibl. Nationale* and *Reliq. Wotton*, p. 18); these, however, are contradicted, not only by his own steady disavowal,—a point of importance as he was scrupulously honourable in adhering to the truth,—but by the testimony of eye-witnesses (see Spanheim, "*Vie de l'Electrice*," p. 142), and by the fact that the event was not even guessed beforehand. [On the 11 of August, the States of Bohemia wrote to Frederic, complaining of Ferdinand's cruelties, and entreating him not to abandon the cause of Protestantism, but without any hint of their intentions.—(Harl. MS. 1583). On the 13, the very day of Frederic's election, Lord Doncaster wrote from Aix-la-Chapelle, that the Hungarians had chosen the Prince of Transylvania, which made him think that possibly the Bohemians may have some such intention; and if so, it will explain a mysterious hint given to him by their ambassador, that his masters were about to take a brave resolution, but he was forbidden at present to reveal it to any one; only he promised that when his lips were unsealed, Doncaster should be the first to know it. "This seems a wild imagination," adds Doncaster, "but, if true, will put an end to all mediation." Still not a word is said, though in a confidential letter written on the spot, to intimate that there was the least idea of Frederic's election.—*S. P. Germ. States*, 13 Aug. 1619. Only three weeks before his election, Frederic gave to his rival Ferdinand the title of King of Bohemia.—(Fred. to Ferd. 1st Aug. 1619, *S. P. Holland*). The only allusion to any antecedent probability which has fallen under our notice is a flying rumour which reached England in 1618, and is thus expressed in the unpublished diary of a Dorchester citizen: "It was reported that there was great stir in Bohemia about choosing them a king, who, it is hoped, may be a means to bring in a Protestant emperor in Germany; and afterwards we heard that the Elector Palatine, son-in-law to the King of England, is like to be chosen king."—Egerton MS. 784, f. 8. This was a mere report, as was another, a few months later, that the Duke of Savoy was chosen.—Donne to Goodyere, 9th March, 1619, *Donne's Works*, Alford's edit. vol. vi. 374. [On this subject, and on that of the part played by Elizabeth in the matter, see Introduction to the present volume.]

² Tanner MS. No. 74, f. 219, Bodl. Library, Oxford.

³ *Ibid.* f. 243.

⁴ Goodman's "*Court of James I.*" vol. i. p. 236.

Meanwhile long and earnest were the consultations held at Heidelberg on this important point. The Electress-Dowager, with the far-seeing wisdom of years, entreated her son not to be tempted by the lure of glory to precipitate himself into a contest which he might not have strength to carry out, and which, if he failed of success, would inevitably ruin him.¹ Her views were shared by the Duke of Bavaria and the Elector of Saxony, by the Elector of Mayence, who had recently visited Heidelberg,² and by the King of France.³ But there were around Frederic more ardent spirits, who vehemently espoused the contrary side. Ludwig Camerarius, one of his chief counsellors, Scultetus, his chaplain, the Prince Christian of Anhalt, the Duke of Bouillon, and last, though not the least potent pleader, his devoted and loving wife. Carried away by the brilliant prospects before her, consecrating her ambition in her own mind by the strong claims of religious toleration and civil liberty, and regarding her husband and herself as the deliverers of the oppressed Bohemians, Elizabeth used every argument that woman's wit could furnish, in favour of accepting the Crown; rallying her husband, half playfully, half reproachfully, with the remark, that he should not have married a King's daughter, if he had not the courage to become himself a King.⁴ Frederic hesitated: he knew that his adoption of this course would lay him open to the charge of ambition; and, on the other hand, that a negative decision, by leading the Bohemians to call in Turkish aid, would bring upon him the onus of occasioning a needless effusion of Christian blood.⁵ He foresaw that the step, if taken, would be irrevocable; that even under the most favourable circumstances, it must lead to long and arduous conflicts; that, if unfortunate, it would involve in ruin all that were dearest to him. All this he represented earnestly, and even tearfully, to his wife; but she assured him that she was prepared for any extremity, that she would rather eat sauer kraut at a King's table, than feast on luxuries

¹ Spanheim, "Vie de l'Electrice," p. 142.

² Johannes "Script. Rer. Mogunt." vol. i. p. 922; Johnston's "Rer. Brit. Hist." p. 533. The Elector of Saxony and Duke of Bavaria wrote him long dissuasive letters, which are printed in "Theatrum Europæum," vol. i. pp. 205, 213.

³ "Raccolta de Lettere del Cardinal Bentivoglio," 12mo, 1646, p. 158. Bentivoglio was at this time resident in Paris.

⁴ Puffendorf, lib. i. 27. [On this subject see Introduction.]

⁵ [In this, perhaps, Frederic deceived himself. Maximilian of Bavaria told him plainly that to accept the Crown of Bohemia, was, in effect, to go to the aid of the Turks (by weakening the power of Austria). But not only the Palatine and the Bohemian rebels, but the other Calvinist Princes of Germany and even the Dutch thought of the Turk as a possible support against the house of Hapsburg. "La Porte commençait à ne plus être considérée par toute l'Europe chrétienne comme l'ennemi héréditaire."—Charvériat, i. 161, 190. In the spring of 1620, Frederic made a direct application to the Sultan.—See p. 149 below.]

at that of an Elector; ¹ that she would part with every jewel she had, rather than not maintain so religious and righteous a cause; and that to reign was glorious, were it only for a moment. She pleaded with him day and night, showed him their children, and bade him reflect before he deprived them of a Crown.

In September Frederic, wishful to obtain the general advice of his friends, met an assembly of the Protestant Princes at Rothenburg. The Duke of Würtemberg, the Margrave of Culmbach and Duke Maurice of Hesse-Cassel advised him to decline, but the Calvinist Princes were unanimous in urging him to accept the proffered dignity. The States-General of Holland coincided in the opinion, and (Maurice,) Prince of Orange, sent him word that he was preparing fools'-coats for all who should dissuade him from accepting the Bohemian Crown. Frederic ordered prayers for divine guidance to be offered up in all the churches, and anxiously awaited a reply from England.

“Those who were in his court and councils at that time,” writes Spanheim, “know his shrinking, and his reasonings; his holding back and his opposition. Rashness has been imputed to him rashly, and ambition unjustly. He had too much judgment not to see that in accepting this crown he changed a tranquil for a hazardous condition, and endangered his own estates for the welfare of a foreign kingdom.” ²

In the meantime, two envoys from Bohemia, brothers, of the name of Müller, reached Heidelberg. They were presented to the Electress, who assured them that she had used her best efforts on their behalf, both with her husband and her father. They then followed the Elector to Rothenburg. He requested permission to defer his answer till the return of his messengers from England, but they declared that delays were most prejudicial to their cause, and that if Frederic could not at once decide in their favour, they must proceed to another election. Thus pressed on every side, the reluctant Palatine took the final step. With a firm hand, but a tearful eye, he signed a paper pledging himself to meet ambassadors from Bohemia on the confines of their kingdom, and should the conditions they offered him seem suitable, to accept the Crown and proceed at once to Prague. ³

Frederic's first anxiety was about his wife. He sent to request an interview with Lord Doncaster, to consult whether he should send her to pay her long-promised visit to England, leave

¹ “Sie wollte lieber mit einem König sauer Kraut als mit einem Churfürsten Gebraten essen,” is the emphatic expression quoted by a writer who dedicated his work to Elizabeth.—“Life of Louise Juliane,” p. 38. [Not in the B. Museum copy.]

² *Ibid.* p. 142.

³ MS. 2249, ff. 12-14, Supplement Français, Bibliothèque Nat. Paris; “Relazione dello stato di Germania,” by Carafa, 1623, Addit. MS. 10224; Johnston “*Rer. Brit. Hist.*” p. 533; “*Mémoires du Comte de Brienne*,” 12mo, Amsterdam, 1719; Puffendorf, “*Comment. de Rebus Suec.*” pp. 11-12; Muratori, “*Annali d'Italia*,” vol. xi. p. 69; “*Hist. d'Allemagne, 1520-1630*”; MS. St. Victor, 963, f. 65.

her at Heidelberg, or take her with him to Bohemia. Doncaster, having previously learned from the Princess that her "vehement inclination and almost inexorableness to the contrary, drew her to accompany him," moulded his opinion accordingly; and observed that to send her to England might argue apprehensions which would be injurious to his cause; and that to leave her at Heidelberg "took from her the occasion of that which she esteemed her greatest happiness—to express her love to him and her desire to participate all his fortunes". He therefore advised the Elector to yield to her urgent wishes and allow her to go with him. Doncaster reported that he found Frederic extremely anxious for the concurrence of the English King in the Bohemian election, but he told him plainly this was not likely to be speedily given, because, as the King had recently offered his services as mediator, he would shrink from the inconsistency of being supposed to be a party in the quarrel. The Ambassador now took his leave to proceed on his mission to the Emperor.¹

The Palatine family busied themselves in preparations for their journey, which was fixed to commence on the 27th of September. The Duke of Deuxponts was appointed to take charge of the civil government, and Count John of Nassau of the military; whilst the Electress-Dowager promised to remain at Heidelberg, in charge of the two younger children, Charles Louis and Elizabeth. The eldest Prince, now a boy of nearly six years old, was to accompany his parents.²

The Dukes of Würtemberg and Deuxponts, the Margraves of Ansbach and Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Bouillon, and other Princes, with their ladies, flocked to Heidelberg to pay their respects to Elizabeth, and offer their good

¹ Writing to Buckingham from Frankfort, 27th Sept., Doncaster says,—“I am, after Holyrood day, sent to hunt an emperor, stolen, God knows whither, in frost, whom I fear I shall find terribly discomposed, because before I can congratulate with him, the Prince Palatine will be crowned King of Bohemia, as the Prince of Transylvania is already, of Hungary; but my comfort is, that I may justly say unto him, with that humility and respect is due unto his quality, *perditio tuā ex te*, because he would not hearken to that noble and Christian mediation of my gracious master, which, if he had done, he might have possessed his imperial crown in peace.”—Tanner MS. 74, f. 255.

² Frederic to Duke of Bouillon, 27th Sept. 1619. This interesting letter, giving a full detail of the motives influencing his conduct, is printed in Neufville, “Mémoires d’Estat,” 12mo, Paris, 1665, vol. iii. p. 292; and in Ambassades du Duc d’Angoulême, etc., vers l’Empereur, fol. Paris, 1667, p. 95. MS. copies exist, in Du Puy MS. 10, f. 104, and in MS. St. Germain, 1171, f. 3, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. “I am going,” he wrote, “where I am wanted, and God calls me. I entreat you to believe that this resolution proceeds from no ambition or desire to aggrandize my house, but that my only aim is to serve God and his church. I can say, with truth, that I have not aspired to it, but always sought my happiness in what God has given me, and rather tried to impede than to advance this election. This makes me the more assured that it is a divine vocation, which I ought not to reject.” He wrote in the same strain to the Elector of Saxony, declaring that could peace be otherwise brought about, he would not accept the proposed dignity.—“Mereure François,” vol. vi. 1619, p. 135.

wishes for the success of the princely pair; and never had the Court over which they presided been more brilliant than at this juncture, when, for the last time, Frederic and Elizabeth were the centre of a circle of loving friends and subjects, honoured and happy in the present, hopeful of the future and yet not un-anxious. It was noted with what chastened humility of spirit, free from unseemly exultation, they both conducted themselves at this critical period. John Harrison, an attendant on the Electress, printed a small work containing a relation of the proceedings connected with the departure, as well as of subsequent ceremonials. After mentioning the 27th September as the day on which Frederic purposed to set out, he writes:—

“The day before, being the holy Sabbath, betimes in the morning, with the young prince and his whole household and train, he humbly made his repair to the public assembly and church in Heidelberg, there first to offer sacrifice to the God of heaven, and with the joint prayers and tears of his people, (of whom at that time he took his solemn leave,) with strong cries to beseech Almighty God for his good success; the day also all mournful and rainy, suitable thereunto. No less religious and devout was that worthy and virtuous lady in her private chapel, and with her private and religious family, where her zealous and godly chaplain, Dr. Chapman, taking a very fit text for that time and occasion,¹ handled the same so effectually, with so many good and godly admonitions, and in the end so fervent and zealous a prayer as moved much, whereunto all said, Amen;—which sermon I wished at the same time had been preached at Paul’s Cross, and in all the churches of Great Britain, that all the people, (even the whole church of God), might likewise have said, Amen.”

“In the afternoon again, this religious prince, with the young prince and the rest, in like humble manner as in the forenoon, repaired to church in his own palace, to sanctify the rest of the Sabbath; which ended, the next morning, about 8 of the clock, these princely personages, (after manifold visitations the days before), with their train, in their caroches, and some on horses and wagons, without any vain pomp or ostentation, but rather tears in their eyes lifted up to heaven, quietly departed; yet not without strong cries, prayers, well-wishes, and acclamations following them; whereunto let all true Christians, of all nations (especially of ours, as in duty more nearly bound), say Amen—and not only with their prayers and well-wishes, but otherwise also, as farther occasion shall be offered, aid and assist them.

“And to this service of Almighty God against the enemies of his church, this noble and religious young prince hath wholly devoted himself, having, before his departure, (as I was told,) given away his hounds and other things pertaining to his pleasure, minding (as it should seem,) to forbear even his ordinary and lawful recreations, till such time as he hath effected this great work, and fulfilled God’s will and pleasure, in those things whereunto it hath pleased God to call him. His demeanour so religious, humble, and mild, with such a cheerful assuredness in the faith and promises of Almighty God imprinted even in his countenance, as promiseth all good success. For God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. So likewise in the face and countenance of that hopeful young prince, Henry, methinks I observed

¹ Epistle of St. James, chap. iv. ver. 13, “Go to now, ye that say, to-day or to-morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy, and sell, and get gain; whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow. For what is your life? It is even a vapour that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away. For that ye ought to say, if the Lord will, we shall live and do this or that.”

some divine thing extraordinary, which ravished my heart, and may give the world to conceive he will one day make good all those great hopes which were dead in Prince Henry, but revived in him. And no heart but would have been ravished to have seen the sweet demeanour of that great lady, at her departure, with tears trickling down her cheeks, so mild, courteous, and affable, (yet with a princely reservation of state well becoming so great a majesty,) like another Queen Elizabeth, revived also again in her, the only Phoenix of the world.

"Gone is this sweet princess, with her now more than princely husband, (and more and more may they grow together in grace and favour, both with God and men), towards the place where his army attendeth, to march forward, another Queen Elizabeth, for so now she is, and what more she may be in time, or her royal issue, is in God's hands to dispose to his glory, and the good of his church. *Pro quâ quis pius dubitaret mortem oppetere?* What good man would not adventure his life, and run even in the face of death, such a lady going before, and marching in the front? It is the manner of the Moors, in their most deadly battles, to make choice of one of their chiefest and fairest virgins to go before them into the field: her to be surprised and taken from them they hold it an everlasting shame, and therefore will fight it out to the last man. And shall we suffer our sweet princess, our royal infanta, the only daughter of our sovereign lord and king, to go before us into the field, and not follow after her!—then, (I may say again,) we are worse than the very infidels, and they shall rise in judgment against us at that great day."¹

The enthusiasm of this magniloquent eulogist of our Princess was equalled, if not surpassed, by that of the generality of the English nation. When the tidings of Frederic's election arrived, they waited for no public orders, but rang the church bells, lighted bonfires, and prayed publicly for him in the churches; soldiers flocked to offer themselves as volunteers, contributions poured in from all quarters, and popular feeling embraced every mode of demonstration.²

"With what great and general love," writes a contemporary, "Britain burned towards Frederic and Queen Elizabeth I can scarcely describe. There was not a soldier, an officer, or a knight, that did not beg to be allowed to go to the help of Bohemia. As the exchequer was empty, and did not suffice for domestic expense, men and women even brought money, with most willing minds, to sustain the war."³

But there was one person who did not share in the general exhilaration, and that was King James himself. Politically absorbed with one leading passion, the wish to unite his son to the Spanish Infanta—he closed his eyes to other considerations, and allowed the Spanish Ambassador to persuade him that the Bohemian affair had been plotted with the express object of compelling him to abandon his alliance with Spain and draw the sword in defence of his daughter.⁴ Baron Dohna, the envoy of

¹ "A short relation of the departure," etc., Oct. 1619.

² Johnston's "Hist. Rer. Brit." p. 535; Plessen to Naunton, 26th Oct. 1619, Carleton Letters, p. 401.

³ Sanderson's "James VI." p. 481.

⁴ Chamberlain to Carleton, 11th Sept. 1619. "We hear the Palsgrave is crowned King of Bohemia, so that there is now no place left for deliberation, nor

Frederic, presented his letters, praying for advice, and begged a speedy answer; the King replied by requesting copies of the documents relating to the election, which being submitted,¹ after some days' delay he summoned his council. Before they assembled, the tidings came that Frederic had already consented to treat with the Bohemians with a view to accepting their crown; they therefore desired, writes a correspondent—

“to know his majesty's pleasure, whether they should consider now of it: but his majesty, having found the dispositions of them to tend to present assistance, on Sunday last, at Wanstead, sent for them; but it was but to tell them his opinion, and not to ask theirs, which in effect was, that the Palatine had rashly entered into a business without his consent; that he was young, and so there might be some excuse for him; but for him, he was an old king; it were not fit for him to enter rashly into so great business; he would first send and know and be assured that the election was lawful and good, and not done by some faction, &c., and then he would declare his mind; and, to prevent the lords, he told them it was in him to make peace and war,” &c.²

Not all the eagerness of the council, urged on by Archbishop Abbot, could infuse warmth into the royal breast.³ In spite of their efforts, and the urgency of the States-General, who wrote pressing to request him to favour the Bohemian cause,⁴ James dismissed Dohna with a refusal to countenance the election, declaring that he deemed it the work of a faction;—that his subjects were as dear to him as his daughter, and therefore he could not consent to embroil them in an unjust war.⁵ This answer was felt to be so cold, that the Earl of Pembroke privately apologised for it, and tried to palliate its sternness by giving hopes that the King would awake to a sense of his own honour, and by assurances of the good-will of the council.⁶ Contrary to the eager wish of the clergy and the nation, the King refused to allow the Elector Palatine to be prayed for in the churches as the King of Bohemia, and even severely reproved those who were bold enough to do so without orders.⁷ It was at first hoped that this conduct was a mere *ruse*, proceeding from “the inscrutable depths of his majesty's incomparable wisdom, to amuse his son's enemies”;⁸ but this hope proved delusive.

for mediation of peace, till one side be utterly ruined; God send him good success; but surely it was a venturous part, and likely to set all Christendom by the ears. The world thinks it was a plot of the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Bouillon, to draw in our King, *volens volens*, but how he is every way provided for such a business, you know, or may easily guess.”—*S. P. Dom.*

¹ Dohna to Buckingham, Harl. MS. 1583, ff. 210-12.

² Harwood to Carleton, 14th Sept. 1619, *S. P. Dom.*

³ “Court and Times of James I.” vol. ii. p. 191.

⁴ 11th-21st Sept. *S. P. Holland.*

⁵ Nichols, vol. iii. p. 569.

⁶ See Appendix B.

⁷ Carleton to Naunton, 6th May, 1620, *S. P. Holland*; Nethersole to Carleton, 8th Jan. 1620, *S. P. Dom.*; Johnston, p. 535; Goodman, p. 236.

⁸ Nethersole to Carleton, 8th Jan. 1620, *ut supra.*

The Princess and her husband, meanwhile, were on their eventful journey; with a numerous Court, and a train of 153 baggage wagons, they proceeded in the direction of Ansbach.¹ They were invited by the Margrave of Ansbach, whose domains lay in the route, to pay him a visit; as they approached his capital, descending rapidly a steep hill, the road being rough, the wheel of the Princess's carriage struck against a large stone, which, rebounding, flew into the carriage and struck her on the leg so violently that she swooned with the severity of the pain. But when they reached the small inn at the foot of the hill, she was so far recovered as to be able to resume the journey, in a recumbent position; and on arriving at Ansbach, declared herself perfectly well, and mingled cheerfully in the social circle.² The journey was soon renewed, and on the 4th of October the party reached Amberg, in the Upper Palatinate. They were here met by Count Fürstenberg, an Imperial envoy sent to the Elector, to exhort him once again to agree to a diet for the composing of their differences and to dissuade him from accepting the Bohemian Crown. His reply was calm but firm; he said his word was pledged to meet the Bohemian deputies and he must keep his faith.³ The train was now swelled by 1,000 of the troops of the Upper Palatinate, who thronged to accompany their lord; and after a little time spent in preliminary arrangements, on the 13th of October, the party advanced to Waldsassen, a frontier town, distant only a mile from Eger, in Bohemia, where the deputies had already arrived, and impatiently waited their coming.⁴ At Waldsassen they were joined by Baron Dohna, who, on his return from England, had followed them thither. He strove to veil King James's coolness under the guise of prudence and circumspection, and dwelt so warmly on the excessive love and zeal of the English nation, that the impression left by his report was not on the whole unfavourable.⁵ He had several interviews with the Bohemian leaders, and having gained from them such information of the genuineness of the election as was demanded by James, he returned in December to England, hoping to obtain a decisive and cordial approval.⁶

The momentous meeting now took place between the deputies and their chosen King and his council. They assured him that not only were the Protestants resolved to throw off the despotism of Austria, but that even the Popish lords generally had sworn

¹ Trumbull's Despatch, 6th Oct. *S. P. Flanders*.

² News Letter from Nuremberg, *S. P. Foreign News Letters*.

³ Morton to Carleton, 8th Oct. 1619, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ News Letter, 9th and 10th Oct. 1619, MS. 2249, Sup. Franc. Bibliothèque Nationale; "Mercurie Français," vi. p. 142.

⁵ News Letter, 14 Oct. Heid., *S. P. Foreign News Letters*, Plessen to Naunton, 26th Oct., Carleton Letters, p. 401; Dohna to Carleton, 27th Sept. *S. P. Holland*.

⁶ Bethune MS. 9774, f. 18.

to stand firm to their country, and not hereafter to shelter themselves under the excuse that no oaths need be kept to a heretic King.¹ The next day, October 14th, was appointed for the formal audience. On that day, coach after coach, to the number of eighteen, slowly drove up, and deposited its charge at the gates of the Castle of Waldsassen; the first three contained the deputies of Bohemia, the fourth, those of Moravia, the fifth, of Silesia, the sixth, of Lusatia; the other carriages were filled with officers and gentlemen. Frederic received them bare-headed, attended by his brother and son, and Prince Christian of Anhalt. Andreas, Count Schlick, pronounced a formal declaration of the deposition of Ferdinand, and the election of Frederic as King of Bohemia, Margrave of Moravia and Lusatia, Duke of Silesia, etc., and requested his acceptance of these titles, and his immediate presence amongst his new subjects. Frederic replied in few words, but with such frankness, and yet seriousness of manner, that some of the assembly were moved to tears.² The scope of his speech was, that never having aspired to the election, he was convinced it proceeded from God, and accepted it, with a pledge to govern in right and equity, as became a Christian Prince. His subjects then kissed his hand, and the hands of his brother and his little son; after which they requested an interview with their Queen.

To Elizabeth this audience was fraught with exciting interest. For the first time in her life she was to be saluted as Queen, and was to take part in what her imagination depicted as the opening scene of a long and brilliant pageantry. After the ceremony of kissing hands, Wenceslas William, Baron Rupa, addressed her in French, expressing warm gratitude for the influence she had exerted with her husband, in inducing him to accept the Crown, praying that she might long live to reign over and amongst them, and commending her future subjects to her favourable regard. The Queen replied, also in French,—“Sir, what I have done for the honour of God and the good of our religion has been done with hearty good-will, and in future my favour and affection shall never be wanting.”³ This ceremony concluded, the new-made King and Queen, with their whole train, and the deputies, with their suite, adjourned to the church, passing through files of troops lining the streets, and there prayers were read, and a sermon was preached⁴ from the twentieth Psalm. They then returned to the Castle, where dinner

¹ News Letter, Prague, 13th Oct., *S. P. Foreign News Letters*.

² Kurze Beschreibung der Krönung, etc. Friedrich. Some of the authorities cited represent the 14th of October (old style), some the 15th and others the 16th, as the day on which this scene took place. The 14th is probably correct, as one of the writers who gives it follows out the daily progress of the party from Eger to Prague, and therefore his testimony seems the most trustworthy.

³ Abelin, “*Theatrum Europ.*” vol. i. p. 242.

⁴ [By the Elector's Court Chaplain, Scultetus (*Häusser*, ii. 314).]

was served; the King and Queen having taken their places, the deputies, twenty-one in number, were honoured with permission to dine at their table. The King entertained them in long and friendly conversation; and after dinner, his letters, accepting the election and confirming the rights and privileges of his new subjects, were sealed and delivered by the Grand-Master, the Count Albert von Solms, to the deputies, who thereupon took their leave.¹

The following day was appointed for the entrance of Frederic and Elizabeth into their new kingdom. Attended by the Bohemian deputies, they proceeded to Falkenau, where they were met by a Bohemian nobleman, near whose domains they passed, and found a dinner prepared for them in the open fields; after partaking of which, and listening to a sermon preached out of doors by Frederic Salmuth, Field-Chaplain of the Prince of Anhalt, they went on towards Saatz. On their approach, which was hailed by the ringing of bells and firing of guns, the council of the town waited upon them with a Latin oration, and the ceremony of delivering the keys was performed by the chief magistrate. Before the gate were grouped the principal ladies and maidens of the place, who presented their respects to their Queen, and then falling into procession with the council, escorted them through files of soldiers, in uniforms of blue and white, to their lodging. The following night they slept at Laun, and on the 20th reached Busserat, where they were received in a beautiful mansion, belonging to a young Bohemian nobleman.²

October $\frac{2}{3}$ 1st was the day fixed for the entry into Prague. Arrived at the royal country house in the Thiergarten, or *parc de l'étoile*, half a mile distant from the city, they were saluted by the Count Falkenberg, Grand Chamberlain of Bohemia, who appeared at the head of the chief nobles of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, with the burgesses of Prague, all in their best attire, and in handsome equipages. The chamberlain addressed them in the Bohemian tongue, Baron Rupa acting as interpreter; the King replied in person to their salutations, to the "great contentment" of the Lords and States, who approaching him, paid their reverence to him on bended knee, and did the same also to the Queen. Frederic now exchanged his coach for a charger, giving leisure for the nobles and gentry to defile in order before him, and the procession moved onwards. It consisted first of the nobles, the Dukes of Würtemberg and Mecklenburg, the Princes of Anhalt, and Louis Philip, the King's brother. After them rode the King, alone, in order that he might be more conspicuously seen, followed by a train of

¹ "Mercure Français," vol. vi. p. 144, "Merc. Gallo Belg." vol. xiii. p. 71.

² "Theatrum Europ." vol. i. p. 433.

bareheaded pages and lacqueys ; and then the Queen, also alone, in a carriage, the linings, draperies, and horse trappings of which were covered with gold and silver embroidery, with liveries of violet-coloured velvet ; another carriage conveyed her ladies, and in the third was seated her young son, with his attendants.

As they approached the battlements of Prague, they were met by a battalion of armed peasantry, four hundred in number, descendants of those who had fought for religion and freedom in the time of Ziska, the Hussite leader : they bore the ancient Bohemian banner, and were armed with—

“scythes, flails, hatchets, and targets, like those of the time of the wars maintained by Ziska ; and their colonel, going towards the king, made a brave speech in Latin, which being finished all the clowns cried out, with a loud voice, ‘Vivat Rex Fredericus,’ and made such a tintamarre in clattering of their weapons together, that their majesties could not abstain from laughing. And, beside all this, these soldiers thus armed after the rustical manner, showed many other simple and pretty pastimes.”¹

Further on, the regular troops were marshalled in the streets. The throng of spectators was so great—not a foot of ground appearing to be vacant—that Frederic forbade the firing of cannon, which had been pre-arranged, lest any accident should take place. The excitement was not merely caused by the splendour of a procession unequalled in Prague within the memory of man ; it was the heartfelt burst of a people freed from their oppressors ; and amidst the crowd might be seen clasped hands and tearful faces, turned to heaven with unutterable emotions of gratitude. Thus, with ringing of bells and enthusiastic acclamations, the King and Queen rode up to the Palace of Prague. This was about five o'clock in the afternoon, the entry having occupied three hours. At the Palace doors the Queen was received by the chief ladies of Bohemia, who crowded round her, reverently kissing the hem of her robe, whilst one of their number delivered an eloquent harangue of welcome ; they then conducted her to the part of the castle where her apartments were prepared.²

The Palace of Prague, situated in the more modern part of the town, or the “new city,” is a princely pile of buildings, so extensive as to be in itself almost a town.³ Its commanding position and the lovely prospects it afforded, excited the admiration of the new inmates. The day but one after their arrival, the royal pair were conducted over the principal apartments of the castle ; a room of curiosities, collected by the Emperor Rudolf II., attracted the Queen's attention, for she was extremely fond of objects of taste and *vertu*, and she smilingly observed that Ferdinand had really left them many very beautiful

¹ “*Mercuré Français*,” vi. p. 150.

² *Ibid.* ; Harl. MS. 6815, 64, 65.

³ Harl. MS. 4045, f. 20.

things.¹ The frank and cheerful manners of their young Queen are said to have pleased the citizens, and won for her as much love as the Austrian ladies had lost by their haughtiness and reserve.²

Public attention was now engrossed by the approaching ceremony of the coronation. It was attended with some minor difficulties: a Catholic priest, of course, was not to be tolerated to crown a Calvinistic King; yet the Calvinists were accustomed to mock at anointings and the use of holy oils; the administrator of the Utraquist Consistory was therefore deputed to perform the ceremony.³ Grand officers of the crown were elected to supply the place of those deposed in the recent troubles, and all preliminaries being completed, on the ^{25th October}/_{4th November} Frederic solemnly received the crown, amidst the enthusiastic rejoicings of the people. The Queen, with her ladies, was present at the ceremony, in a private gallery erected for their use. At the conclusion, she retired, and putting on her royal robes, dined with her husband in the great hall of the palace,—a magnificent apartment, then one of the largest in the world, two hundred and twelve feet in length by sixty in width.⁴ They sat alone at their table; fourteen boards were spread for the attendant nobility; whilst during the repast, which lasted four hours, a fountain of red and white wine poured forth its bounties in the Court to all comers, and coins were scattered amongst the people, the emblem on which was five hands, supporting a crown, and the legend signified the free election of the King to his five dignities.⁵

¹ News Letter from Prague, 4th Nov. *S. P. Foreign News Letters*; Carleton Letters, p. 408.

² News Letter from Nuremberg, 4th Nov. *S. P. Foreign News Letters*; Carleton Letters, p. 419, Dutch Political Tracts, 1619. [This was of course the English view of the case, to be presented to King James. But it was not altogether the true one. The amiability and graciousness of the Queen, united with a certain impressive dignity, pleased the Bohemians, but both Frederic and Elizabeth were strangers to the national customs; and ancient usages—beloved by the people—appeared to them antiquated and absurd. When the wives of the citizens, according to old custom, brought a certain form of pastry as their first offering, the good people found it received by the giddy Court with undignified mockery, and although when, a little later, they brought a splendid cradle, the Queen gave them her hand and thanked them in their own tongue, yet the painful recollections remained. To the careful Bohemians, the splendour of the Court seemed strange, and they viewed with disapproval the light, gallant Court manners, and the freedom in dress and behaviour of the foreign ladies. See Häusser, "Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz," ii. 318, 319.]

³[George Dicastus Merzcootin. The *Mercure Français* calls him "Administrator of the College of the Hussites". He was accompanied by his vicar, a Bohemian brother, the "senior" or "ancien pasteur" as he is called in different accounts of the ceremony. Charvériat expressly states that the unction was omitted—"Tout ce qui aurait pu rappeler le culte catholique avait été retranché des prières. L'onction et la consecration furent supprimées comme contraires à l'Écriture sainte" (i. 164), but in this he is certainly mistaken. See (*inter alia*) "*Mercure Français*," vi. 147.]

⁴Schottky, "Prag geschildert," vol. ii. p. 93; Pöllnitz, "Mémoires," vol. ii. p. 215.

⁵News Letter, 5th and 6th Nov., Van Loon, vol. ii. p. 120. [And see "*Mercure Français*," vi. 151, 155.]

Elizabeth was crowned three days subsequently, on ^{28th October} ~~7th November~~, the ceremonies employed being similar to those at her husband's coronation, but curtailed, in order to spare her fatigue. The raised daïs in the church, the rich carpets covering the path along which she was to walk, the throne of embroidered velvet, the candlesticks on the altar, from which all popish relics had been removed, remained in the same state in which they had been prepared for the King. The clergy of the Bohemian (Utraquist) Church, were early assembled: they wore robes of violet colour, the Bohemian brothers being distinguished by blue mantles and large blue hats.¹ The chief nobility and ladies of the kingdom then waited upon the Queen, to conduct her in state to the church. Elizabeth was richly, but not as yet regally attired. They accompanied her first to the private chapel of St. Wenceslaus, where her royal robes were put on; after which, proceeding into the church, she was met by the administrator of the Consistory, an old man, whose hair and beard of snowy whiteness gave great venerableness to his appearance. With uplifted hands he invoked a benediction upon her:—

“Lord God omnipotent, grant thy blessing to this our Queen Elizabeth, that going in and out in thy ways, as prescribed in thy word, she may persevere faithfully and constantly in her vocation, through our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Preceded by the clergy and the officers of state bearing the regal insignia, Elizabeth walked to the altar, where, after kneeling a few minutes in silent prayer, the solemn voice of the old priest again pronounced:—

“Eternal and most gracious God, creator of heaven and earth, king of kings, lord of lords, in whose power and disposal are all the kingdoms of the world, who by thy wisdom and free will directest them, and bestowest and givest to whom thou wilt—bless this Princess Elizabeth, by thy providence and grace lawful wife of our King Frederic, that, never departing from the truth of thy law, she may through the whole course of her life and vocation walk in thy ways, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

At this moment King Frederic, advancing to the altar, thus addressed the administrator:—

“O reverend father, we request that thou wilt deign to bless this our consort, joined to us by God; and to decorate her with the crown royal, to the praise and glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ.”

The music then struck up, and the Queen was led to the throne; after which a sermon was preached by a reformed German minister, from the 72nd Psalm; the Litany was chanted, a lesson read from 1 Timothy, chapter ii. to verse 7, and a long prayer offered for the divine blessing, that the King might become a nursing father, and the Queen a nursing mother, to the Church, and enjoy a long and tranquil reign. Then, amidst

¹[Merc. Franç., in account of the King's coronation. No doubt at that of the Queen also.]

the ringing out of triumphal music, the chief burgrave¹ took from the altar the royal insignia, and the administrator, advancing to the Queen, with the sacred oil, thus addressed her:—

“Most gracious queen, since sacred unction, both in the Old and New Testaments, is a symbol both of the lawful calling of God, and of that internal unction by which God marks out the pious and faithful, without distinction of sex, for the life prepared for us in Christ, we pray for thee, now about to receive it, that he may anoint thee with his holy Spirit, that as the true anointed of God, thou mayest follow his counsel and divine will, through our Lord Jesus Christ.”

He then touched her brow with the oil, and placing the sceptre in her hand, bade her remember, that her rule was to be exerted in maintaining righteous laws, protecting the fatherless and widows, and supporting the Church of Christ. With the presentation of the ball, he used the following significant words:—

“Receive also this golden ball, which truly, as it denotes the power of kings and queens in the world, so it also betokens the changefulness of kingdoms and empires, whereby all kings and queens of this world are admonished to aspire from these fleeting and frail possessions to those that are eternal and immoveable.”

The crown was next placed on her head, with a fervent prayer that it might prove a fore-shadowing of the crown of immortality in the heavens. Bearing the royal emblems, Elizabeth returned to her throne; *Te Deum* was chanted, and then a further prayer offered, that she might prove a worthy follower of all holy women recorded in Scripture,—Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, Esther, etc.—and that through a long life she might aid her pious King to reign in justice and judgment, over a steadfast and obedient people. The administrator then proclaimed aloud:—

“Long life to our Queen Elizabeth, with our most potent and gracious King Frederic, and all their children, and all their princely family, through thy grace and mercy, O Lord our God, celestial Father, who with the Son and the Holy Ghost, reignest one God, world without end, Amen.”

Amidst the acclamations of the people, the firing of cannon, and the ringing of bells, the Queen was led back in state to the castle, where a magnificent repast was prepared, at which, with royal courtesy, Elizabeth entertained all the chief ladies of the kingdom; though etiquette prevented their eating at her own table. Instead of scattering coronation coins among the populace, as was done by her husband, she ordered rations of bread and wine to be dealt out to all comers.² An eye-witness

¹ His name is given in Merc. Franç. (vi. 148) as Bohuslau Burka.

² News Letter, Prague, 10th Nov., *S. P. Foreign News Letters*; “Merc. Gallo Belg.” 1619, pp. 97-104. This latter work contains perhaps the best account extant of Elizabeth’s coronation.

records that:—

“the queen appeared very joyous in going to the church and in the street leading from the palace, having the crown on her head, as she was also at table, and at the royal banquet in the great chamber of the palace; where, instead of the great lords, the great ladies filled the offices worthily, and in such fine order, that never before had anything more fine or magnificent been seen; for all was done according to the degree and quality of the persons, the ladies keeping their rank and order according to the estate of their husbands, who also have received the highest offices and employments of the crown, in reward for their pains and labours in the common defence during the directoral government. Their majesties,” he adds, “conduct themselves altogether with such amiable grace, that they gain and attract the hearts of all, so that they know not how to praise them enough, even such Papists as are not altogether envenomed with political poison.”¹

A portrait of Elizabeth in her coronation robes is preserved, but shows a harsh, unpleasing cast of features, resulting from the process of the engraving. Her hair is frizzed all round her head, at the back of which she wears a small spray of pear-shaped pearls, and others form her ear-rings; her neck is covered with an enormous ruff, and the body of her dress is loaded with pearls.²

On the day of his Queen’s coronation, Frederic issued a circular letter to all foreign Princes, detailing, clearly and fully, his reasons for accepting the Crown, and requesting their neutrality, coincidence, or support, according to circumstances.³ On the return to England of Sir Albertus Morton, whom he had detained to witness the coronation, he also wrote to his father-in-law, announcing formally the prosperous success that had hitherto attended himself and his “dearest wife”.

Frederic now left Prague to attend an assembly of the Union at Nuremberg, where he concluded with them such engagements as promised well for the general cause.⁴ The following letter, addressed to his wife, from Amberg, where he paused, *en route*, to attend a baptismal ceremony, is a pleasing specimen of confidential correspondence:—

“Madam,

“This is to inform you of my happy arrival in this place. The Prince of Anhalt remained behind yesterday, on account of the gout in his feet; I think he will only come here to-morrow, and he will not arrive without great difficulty at Nuremberg, where I hope to be to-morrow. The Landgrave Maurice, the Margrave of Anspach and the Duke of Würtemberg are already

¹ News Letter, *ut supra*.

² “Theatrum Europ.” vol. i. p. 247.

³ Bethune MS. 9774, f. 33; St. Germain MS. 828, Bibliothèque Nationale, “Theatrum Europ.” vol. i. p. 248. The tract was also published in 4to, 1619.

⁴ [A curious tale is told of this assembly. The Emperor sent the Count of Hohenzollern to represent him, though he had really no business there and no one knew what he had come to say. The Elector Palatine was seated under a daïs; by his side was a seat destined for the Imperial Ambassador. When he entered, all rose to meet him; by an adroit movement, he gained and seated himself in the place vacated by the Elector, and opened the séance, no one venturing to interfere (Hurter, “Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II.” i. 181).]

there. The baptism will take place in an hour or two. I have not yet seen the Princess of Anhalt. I beg you to send me, by an express, and well packed up in a tin or wooden box, the bond which the States have given me for the money I have lent them, with some writings attached thereto. I do not know if you will be able to find it; I believe that I put it in the gold box, with the bond which the States gave the little one, which is with the gold plate. You will keep the gold box and also the bond which belongs to the child.¹ I received letters yesterday from my mother, who humbly kisses your hands. I send you, with this, a letter from my sister, the margravine. I shall hasten my return as much as possible. I will write to you more fully from Nuremberg, and will end for the present, but shall never cease to be, my dear heart,

"Your very faithful friend and affectionate servant,
"FREDERIC.

"I beg you to remember me to my brother and to kiss the little one for me.

"From Amberg, this 8th of November, 1619."²

The bond here referred to was one for 40,000*l.*, the amount of Elizabeth's dower, which had remained on interest in the keeping of the States-General, and was now reclaimed in order to furnish means for providing against the impending struggle.³

On his return, the King applied himself to the internal government of his kingdom. He investigated those scenes of crime and distress which pervade a large metropolis, made regulations against the one, and, by founding hospitals for the poor and the aged, provided a remedy for the other.⁴

One of the most marked features in the brief reign of Frederic, was his association of religion with politics, and his devout recognition of the ruling hand of Providence. He prescribed a more rigid observance of the Sabbath throughout Bohemia, and ordered a general fast and prayers for the divine blessing. Accompanied by the Queen, he attended a service, which was held to celebrate the proclamation of a confederation recently formed between the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. Scultetus preached an elaborate discourse, founded on the alliance between Hiram and Solomon; the articles of the treaty were then read aloud in the church; after which Frederic descended from his seat, and shook hands with the chief Hungarian Ambassador, in token of amity. The King and Queen dined in public, with the Hungarian Ambassadors, the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Holstein, and other German Princes then at their court.⁵

¹ Referring to the life pension of 400*l.* granted by the States General to Prince Frederic Henry.

² In French, "Bromley Letters," p. 3.

³ Schomberg to James I. 9th Oct. 1613, *S. P. Germ. States*; Carleton Letters, pp. 393, 425. The Dutch not only returned this sum, but paid 50,000 florins a month, for the support of troops. Carleton to Naunton, 3rd Sept., *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Carpenter to Naunton, 6th May, 1620, *S. P. Germ. Empire*; "Theat. Europ." vol. i. p. 224.

⁵ MS. St. Germain, 1171, f. 29.

Though recognising, both in principle and in practice, the exercise of religious toleration, to a degree rare in the age in which he lived, the King's predilections for Calvinism were too prominently manifested, in a city in which two-thirds of the Protestants were Lutherans; and his injudicious zeal, and that of his Calvinist chaplain, Scultetus, at first operated against him.¹

Under the influence of Scultetus, he removed from the cathedral all the pictures and statues it contained, on the ground that the adoration paid to them was offensive to him.² His next step was still less popular. He commanded the removal of the crucifix, with its attendant figures of the Holy Mother and St. John, which from a remote period had guarded the bridge over the Moldau, between the old and new city.³ The people, Romanists and Lutherans alike, were thrown into a state of exasperation, and rushed to arms to rescue their images, not on religious grounds merely, but because they venerated objects which had been spared amidst the convulsions, religious and political, of two centuries, and which, they declared, no new King should disturb. Count Andreas Schlick, who knew the temper of the people, ran in trepidation to the palace, and besought the King to permit him, in his name, to recall the obnoxious order, and to assure the people that their King would ever be willing, in such matters, to consult their wishes. This proclamation calmed the tumult, and the people were induced quietly to return home, though not without a sense of irritation against the King, and still more against the Queen, who had been heard to declare, that whilst those monuments of Popery remained, she would never cross the bridge of Prague. This declaration was remembered against Elizabeth, when, but a few months later, her brief dream of royalty ended, she was compelled to fly for her life over that very bridge.⁴

¹Du Puy MS. 10, f. 89. MS. St. Victor, 693, f. 67. [Of Scultetus, the Lutherans are said to have declared that he did more harm to the Reformed religion in six months, than the Jesuits in fifty years. See Klopp's "Tilly," i. 49.]

²"Merc. Gallo Belg." p. 205. [For a picture of the terrible sacrilege and vandalism by which these proceedings were marked, see Häusser, "Rheinische Pfalz," ii. 318, 319; Hurter, "Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II." i. 107; Charvériat, i. 168, and Schottky, "Prag geschildert," ii. 171, where the description of the sacking of the Domkirche is taken from the deposition of an eye-witness (still in the Bohemian National Museum) printed in 1668. When Count Thurn warned Frederic of the danger of these proceedings, he is said to have replied, "Ich hab's vor mit selbst weder gethan noch gehülffen; die eurigen haben's gethan und also haben wollen, hab's geschehen lassen".]

³[Probably the actual images were not extremely ancient, but had replaced earlier ones. A decree of 1623 speaks of them as "not very old," but they were old enough to be so much injured by the weather that it was necessary to renew the cross and to give the images a coat of oil paint to preserve them. At this time they were of wood. Some eighty years later they were replaced by a stately series in stone and brass, erected as a thank-offering for the victory of the Catholic faith in Bohemia.—Schottky, "Prag geschildert," ii. 16.]

⁴Riccus, "de Bellis Germ." 4to, Venis, 1649, p. 14. "Theat. Europ." vol. i. p. 280.

The shadow that darkened for a moment the popularity of the Queen speedily disappeared. The citizens of Prague gave her a congratulatory present of 150 pieces of gold, in a silver bowl; the Jews offered a separate gift of a silver alms-dish in the form of a ship; and now the ladies of the city were busily occupied in the preparation of a present, well timed and equally splendid—a magnificent cradle of ivory, with ornaments of silver-gilt, studded with gems, and a chest of the same costly material, filled with a complete infant's trousseau.¹

On the 26th of November, old style, the little one, for whose reception these costly preparations were made, was ushered into the world—a Prince, whose after career, stormy and changeful, corresponded well with the times in which he saw the light; and whose reckless daring long made the name of Rupert the pride or the dread of Cavaliers and Roundheads in England.² The day following his birth, the chief officers of state paid a visit of congratulation to the palace, and were admitted to see the royal child. On the Sunday, cannon were fired, and *Te Deum* was sung in all the churches. On the 27th of Jan., 1620, the Queen being fully recovered, her husband left her, and set out on a progress to other parts of his dominions, to receive the homage of his subjects: he was attended by a splendid train of nobles and guards, and on the 5th of February reached Brünn, in Moravia, where the nobility of the province received him under a royal canopy, and attended him, through triumphal arches, to their principal church. A solemn service was performed, and the next day he received their oaths of homage. Thence he went on to Breslau, the capital of Silesia, where equal honours awaited him.³ The people of Lusatia, to whom he sent messengers, requiring their homage, refused to swear to any save the King in person; but the miserable state of the

¹ Gottfried, "Hist. Chron." vol. ii. p. 42.

² An envoy was sent off to announce the tidings at Heidelberg, and thence was ordered to pass into England.—News Letter, 29th Dec. *S. P. Foreign News Letters, Germany*. But though the messenger received a medal and chain of gold for his reward, the child's birth was not celebrated with the usual thanksgivings. James I. feared to commit himself, and was railed on as a "strange king, who would neither fight for his children, nor pray for them".—Carleton Letters, p. 327. The King sent his daughter a present of a diamond set in a ring, value 800*l*.—Devon's Pell Records, p. 237. [He also sent profuse promises of future help and protection for the child; promises which read as one of the ironies of history in the light of the after events of Rupert's life.]

³ A German account of these ceremonies, containing descriptions of the triumphs, the manifold allegories on arches and shields, and a droll display of ingenuity in laudatory acrostics, were published at the time; also another poem, in Latin, printed at Breslau by Sagittarius, vindicatory of King Frederic's free election, fol. 1620. [But at Breslau, in spite of their homage and jubilation, the nobles steadily refused Frederic's demand for a settled contribution, and offered him only a present of 64,000 thaler, less than earlier Kings had received in time of peace, and quite insignificant compared with the tax which they levied for themselves.—Häusser, ii. 322].

roads, which were also infested with swarms of banditti, induced him, for the present, to postpone that journey.¹

Shortly after the return of Frederic, on the 31st of March, the royal infant was baptised in the chapel of the palace. The King and his brother, with the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and other Princes and nobles, entered first, followed by the proxies of the Duke of Würtemberg, Bethlen Gabor, Prince-Elect of Hungary, and the Estates of Bohemia, Silesia, and Upper and Lower Lusatia, who were the sponsors. A sermon was then preached, at the close of which Prince Louis Philip and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar went for the Queen. She came in royal attire, followed by the wife of the Chief Burgrave of Prague, bearing the infant, who was placed in the arms of Count Turzo, Gabor's representative, and when the ceremony was performed, and the name RUPERT pronounced, the child was transferred successively to each of the other proxies. The King and Queen, with their guests and train, then proceeded to the new saloon in the palace, where a beautiful collation was spread out, and this was succeeded by pastimes of all sorts.²

From the commencement of their regal career, the King and Queen had brought their eldest boy prominently forward, evidently with regard to his future succession to the throne; and when the Estates of Bohemia assembled, on the 28th of April, the King, in his opening speech, represented to them that, though he had expended in their support large sums of money, amounting, he declared, to 10,000 golden pieces, he had as yet received no revenue from them, and considering the uncertainty of life and the precarious tenure of an elective crown, he asked, as sole compensation for these sacrifices, that the kingdom should be settled on his son. He reminded the States, that the health of the Prince of Wales was very feeble, that Queen Elizabeth was the next heir to the British Crown, and that should she succeed to it, he should then be much absent in England with her, and on that ground, disorders might accrue; whereas, were the succession settled on his sons, one of them could always be present to exercise regal authority, and thus his own dignity among the confederate Princes would be increased. He then retired, and a lively discussion ensued. Some of the deputies concurring in general with the King, yet preferred their own-born and favourite Prince, the infant Rupert, as successor; but

¹ "Nieuwe Tydinge Bohem." Feb. and March, 1620, a Dutch newspaper, published at Antwerp. Riccius "de Bell. Germ." p. 19. [Also, the news of the movements of the Imperial army compelled him to return to Prague.—Charvériat, i. 164.]

² The presents of the States alone amounted to more than 70,000 dollars, but as the greater part was given in bonds drawn at a year's credit, it is more than probable that the sums were never realised. Prince Egenfurt and Count Turzo, the deputies for the Duke of Würtemberg and Bethlen Gabor, gave jewels of great value, not only to the child, but to the royal mother.—Carpenter to Naunton, 28th April, *S. P. Germ. Empire*.

the royal wish prevailed, and a number of deputies waited on the King to announce the decision, which was accepted by him and the Queen with warm expressions of thanks. After the ceremony of asking three times the common consent, Frederic Henry was publicly proclaimed as Crown Prince of Bohemia. The instant of the proclamation was signalled by three loud thunder-claps, which, of course, were construed into a favourable omen; and the King, in his exhilaration, ordered all the cannon in Prague to be fired. The deputies then presented their congratulations to the young Prince, who received them standing by his father's side; after which the royal party adjourned to attend a service in the church, appointed for the occasion.¹ The deputies, in their subsequent deliberations, settled upon the Queen, as her dower revenue, the lordship of Arlingen and domain of Kinsky, of which they humbly entreated her acceptance.²

At Prague, as previously at Heidelberg, Elizabeth received the Sacrament publicly with her husband, in order to still the popular rumours of their difference in religion; but she addressed to her father a long letter of apology and explanation on the subject.

"I hope your majesty will be satisfied," she wrote, "for before, all the people firmly believed that I was a Lutheran; but all that had never made me do it, if Baron Dohna had not sworn that your majesty had told him that you were satisfied about it. I most humbly entreat you to send me word whether I may continue to receive the Lord's Supper sometimes with the king, and sometimes with my own minister; or whether I should not take it any more with the king, but consider this once that I have done so enough."³

Amidst external marks of prosperity, flattered by the homage of a loving people, their Court thronged with friendly Princes and nobles, Frederic and Elizabeth were still painfully aware that a conflict was impending—a life and death conflict—with the powerful House of Austria, which would not tamely submit to the loss of the fair dominion and crown of Bohemia, without straining every nerve to regain it. Gradually the force of the different parties was concentrating, and from all quarters missives and manifestoes were issued. The Emperor opened the campaign by a proclamation issued

¹ Carpenter to Naunton, 28th April, *S. P. Germ. Empire*. Riccius "de Bell. Germ." p. 22; Noris, "Guerre di Germania," translated 4to, Venice, 1633, p. 123; "Mercure Français," 1620, p. 134; "Theat. Europ." vol. i. p. 453.

² Histoire de ce qui est passé en Allemagne depuis Avril jusque à Août, 1619, p. 12. Other important regulations passed at this diet, among which were, a grant to the King of one half, and to the Queen of one quarter, of the revenues on tin and other natural produce for their private use; and also to each the grant of lands to considerable value, for their table expenses.

³ Elizabeth to James I. $\frac{1}{3}$ April, 1620, Scotch Letters, vol. ii. No. 68, in the library of Dawson Turner, Esq.

on the 19-29th January, 1620, declaring the election of the Palatine null and void, and calling upon the Estates of Bohemia to fulfil their oaths to himself. This he followed up by writing a monitory letter to Frederic [20-30th April], exhorting him under penalty of the ban of the Empire to surrender the Bohemian Crown within a month.¹ He next issued a pamphlet, entitled "Secretissima instructio," addressed to Frederic, in terms courteous though strong, reminding him how numerous and potent were the enemies he was creating; how few and uncertain his friends; whilst even the Bohemians, for whose cause he risked so much, were too fickle in their attachments to be relied upon.² The Catholic Electors held a meeting at Mühlhausen, whence they wrote to Frederic an urgent entreaty to resign his Crown and return to his allegiance to the Emperor.³ To all such proposals a calm silence gave the negative.

One point of great importance to Frederic was to secure the adherence of the French monarch. Large sums of money were due to him from France;—a loan made many years previously by his father to the French King, the return of which he had before vainly solicited,⁴ and which, at this emergency, would be of twofold value. He wrote to request its repayment, and to assure the French King that his quarrel was not against Roman Catholics as such;⁵ that it was a war in behalf of political liberty; and he earnestly besought his assistance against the formidable powers of Austria and Spain, now closely leagued together.⁶ Louis XIII. hesitated and temporised.⁷ His feelings towards the Palatine family were not unfriendly, but he learned from the English Ambassador that James I. was not prepared to act decisively;⁸ the recollection that the party of which Frederic took the lead was essentially the Protestant party, whose success could not fail to add vigour to the struggles of the

¹Bethune MS. 9774, f. 98, "Mercure Français," 1620, p. 119. [Frederic replied by a manifesto in which he maintained that it was for him, Count Palatine, to judge the Emperor, not for the Emperor to judge him. It was true that the Counts Palatine decided causes in which the Emperor was personally interested, but they could certainly not claim to judge those in which they were interested themselves.—Charvériat, i. 184.]

²Secret. Inst. 4to, 1620.

³This letter, dated 15th May, was immediately published; MS. St. Victor, 963, f. 69, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

⁴Frederic to James I. 24th June, and King of France to James I. 24th Aug. 1614, *S. P. Germ. States*; also French Correspondence of this date. The sum was 618,440 crowns.

⁵At the beginning of the struggle, Richelieu wrote to Frederic, urging him to show, by toleration to Catholics, that it was not a war of religion.—"Vie de Du Plessis," 4to, Leyden, 1647, p. 506.

⁶Dated 24th March, 1620, and published in Carleton Letters, p. 402. A letter from the Duke of Bouillon to the French King, urging this plea, is in "Amb. du Duc d'Angouleme," p. 99.

⁷Chatillon to Carleton, 31st March, 1620.

⁸Herbert to Buckingham, 1st Oct. 1619, Harl. MS. 1581, f. 11.

French Huguenots, decided him, and he determined on sending an embassy into Germany to try to reconcile the two parties—if this failed, he would assist the Emperor in his war.¹ The Elector of Saxony, a Protestant, but with no love for Calvinism, refused to join the cause of Frederic. He was united by close bonds of interest to the Emperor, and declared his intention to support him, thus forfeiting the lands he held under the Bohemian Crown.²

On the other hand, the Protestant Princes of the Union, the States-General of Holland, and Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania and elect King of Hungary, were steady in their adherence to Frederic. His Moravian and Silesian subjects cordially responded to his summons for help;³ and the Sultan of Turkey favourably received an embassy sent to him.⁴

Meanwhile, slowly but surely a net-work of antagonistic forces was gathering round in various directions, and their energies were evidently bearing upon one point—the city of Prague. “Questo principe e intrato in un bello labyrintho!” was the exclamation of the Pontiff, Paul V., when he first heard of Frederic’s acceptance of the Bohemian Crown;⁵ and his remark was prophetic. Four armies were now concentrating against him—under the celebrated Imperialist leader Bucquoy, the Duke of Bavaria,⁶ the Marquis Spinola, and the Elector of Saxony.⁷

In Bohemia military preparations were the general employment. Frederic visited several parts of his kingdom to confirm the allegiance of the people; coined large sums of money, towards which some of the subjects gave their plate; raised new levies, by claiming, as recruits,⁸ one in ten of the peasantry and one in eight of the burghers; and widely circulated a spirited response to the imperial proscription against him.⁹ The Lower Palatinate and Heidelberg, so long the happy home of Frederic and Elizabeth, and still the residence of their two younger children, were threatened by Spinola’s army. The Princes of the Union had a gallant army on foot for its defence, and were aided by the Prince of Orange.

But all eyes were turned to England as the leading power in a

¹ “Mémoires de Pontchartrain,” Recueil Petitot, 2nd series, vol. xvii. p. 294; Myron’s Desp. 26th Dec. 1619; Egerton. MS. 624, f. 38; Bentivoglio’s Letters, pp. 164, 170-7.

² Newton to Puckering, 25th Oct., Harl. MS. 7004; Nieuwe Tydinge, 7th Sept.; Eyre’s Despatches, 3rd Aug. 13th Sept. 13th Nov. *S. P. Turkey.*

³ Lundorpius Suppletus, pp. 213-16.

⁴ Fred. to the Grand Seigneur, 9th May and 12th July; Chmela Josef, “Handschriften der k-k. Bibliothek in Wien,” 8vo, Vienna, 1840, p. 37.

⁵ Carleton Letters, p. 402.

⁶ He wrote to Frederic on 20th Aug., warning him that he was coming down upon him with fire and sword to fulfil the imperial decree against him. [But this was after many friendly attempts to persuade him to give up the Bohemian Crown.]

⁷ MS. St. Victor, 963, f. 70; Bentivoglio’s Letters, 188, 192.

⁸ Nieuwe Tydinge, 27th June, 2nd Oct.

⁹ Harl. MS. 7015, f. 58 b.

cause so nearly concerning the daughter of its sovereign. Baron Dohna, the envoy whom Frederic sent over a few months previously, had exerted his utmost efforts to procure a favourable decision, without success.¹ The King was not to be convinced. The part he was called upon to act would involve three important points: it would necessitate a rupture with Spain, then in alliance with the Emperor, and the consequent breach of his most cherished project, a Spanish match for Prince Charles. It would favour the wishes of the obnoxious Puritan party in England, by whom their Princess and her husband were idolised. And it would compel him to throw himself upon the liberality of his Parliament for means to make war, and thus put it into their power to exact conditions which he might be unwilling to grant. He would therefore only promise to use his utmost influence with Spain, the Emperor, the Elector of Saxony and Duke of Bavaria, etc., to negotiate terms of accommodation.

It was surmised in confidential quarters, that at least the King was not displeased with the enthusiasm of his subjects. He complied with the request of his son-in-law in permitting him to raise, at his own expense,² a regiment of volunteers, designed especially to guard the person of the Queen, and wearing her liveries of red and white;³ and it was even conjectured that his Ambassadors in Turkey, Denmark, and Poland, had instructions to forward the Bohemian cause.⁴ James was careful, however, not to commit himself publicly. He told the German Princes that the alliance only bound him to aid in a war in defence of religion, which the present was not;⁵ and he wrote to Frederic, formally refusing to support him in his ambitious projects, but expressing kindly feelings towards him personally, and the determination to show his friendship in the most efficient

¹ At his first greeting, the King abruptly said to him, "Can you show me a good ground for the Palatine's invasion of the property of another?" Dohna explained that it was not invasion, but possession of that which a free people had offered. "So you are of opinion that subjects can dispossess their kings? You are come in good time to England, to spread these principles among the people, that my subjects may drive me away, and place another in my room." Dohna respectfully pointed out the difference between dispossessing an hereditary and an elective sovereign.—Tillière's Despatch, 22nd Feb. 1620; Raumer, "Geschichte Europas," vol. iii. p. 238.

² By Sir Andrew Gray, recently come from Bohemia with a commission from Frederic. He raised 2,000 men.—Fred. to James I. 16th Jan. 1620, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Trumbull's Despatch, 20th May, *S. P. Flanders*. "Hist. Veritable de ce qui s'est passé en Allemagne," 18mo, Frank. 1620.

⁴ Raumer, "Geschichte," vol. iii. pp. 240, 242.

⁵ Chamberlain to Carleton, 26th Feb. 1619-20, *S. P. Dom.*; "Hist. Veritable de ce qui s'est passé," etc., p. 10. A full statement made by Dohna of the King's reasons, and of his reply, is in *S. P. Holland*, 10th Oct. 1620. [James's hesitancy is well shown in a letter from Nethersole to Carleton at the beginning of the year. The King, he says, rebuked Bishop Bayly for praying for the King of Bohemia, and yet does not like Dohna to meet the Spanish Ambassador, lest he should call the King of Bohemia only Prince Palatine. *S. P. Dom.* under date 8th Jan. 1619-20.]

way by preserving for him his hereditary States of the Palatinate in case of attack.¹

Dohna, on the part of their majesties of Bohemia, presented a request to the City of London, for a loan of 100,000*l.*; which the magistrates were willing to grant, provided the King would afford them any guarantee authorising their so doing. James refused either to ask or to command the loan, and they consequently postponed their decision till they saw the course which should be pursued by the Court and nobles.² Dohna next appealed, and more successfully, to the bishops and clergy, the nobility, and the provincial magistrates.³

"That which I so earnestly entreat," he said, "is on the behalf of the king my master, and of his queen, the only daughter of the king your sovereign, the most glorious mother and fruitful nursery of the royal plants, the only consideration whereof, and of those heavenly blessings which do so clearly appear in her, will invite you to this holy enterprize."⁴

The contributions were granted at once and liberally; the trade-companies of London went far to redeem the honour of the city, by cordially responding to an appeal made to their several bodies, and the enthusiastic populace greeted Dohna wherever he went with cries of "Long live Frederic, King of Bohemia".⁵

One of the Queen's warmest assistants and supporters was Sir Thomas Roe, a gentleman of good family, who had been groom of the chamber to the late Queen Elizabeth, and from the period of the Princess Elizabeth's arrival in England, had held a place in her household. He had accompanied her on her journey into Germany, but had returned to England, still cherishing a strong and genuine attachment to his royal mistress, which was reciprocated by her; and with no other person did she maintain a correspondence so free, lengthened, and intimate.⁶ Writing to her at this crisis, Sir Thomas informed her that he had written and published a tract in defence of the Bohemian cause, and he assured her, that though the King of Bohemia ranked high in English estimation, yet affectionate admiration

¹ James I. to Frederic, 29th June, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Nethersole to Carleton, 24th Feb. and 21st March, 1619-20, *S. P. Dom.*

³ Among the Addit. rolls in the British Museum, No. 6291, is the list of sums lent by inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, amounting to 210*l.*, and varying in individual contributions from 30*l.* to 6*d.*!

⁴ 31st May, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Chamberlain to Carleton, 1st April, *S. P. Dom.*, Nethersole to Carleton, 21st March, *ibid.*; Riccius "de Bell. Germ." p. 21.

⁶ The voluminous correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe, in his diplomatic capacity, is preserved, for the most part entire, in the Public Record Office; one volume was lent to Harley, Earl of Oxford, and shared the fate of many another loan to that far-famed book collector. It now forms the Harley MS. 1901. A selection from his early correspondence was printed, fol. London, 1765; but the work was not continued. [The letters relating to his mission to Gustavus Adolphus in 1629 were edited by Dr. S. R. Gardiner for the Camden Society in 1875, Camden Miscellany, new series, vii.]

for herself was the leading spring of the popular movement, and that she had raised herself more friends than she had conquered enemies, or obtained new subjects.¹ The Queen, in reply, expressed her grateful estimation of his devotion to her cause,² and this elicited still warmer protestations from the zealous knight.

“If it shall be yet necessary that I humbly offer up new vows, I do it with all gladness, that I am ready to serve your majesty to death, to poverty, and that if you shall ever please to command, I will be converted to dust and ashes for your majesty’s sake.”

“It is, even to princes, not the least happiness to be beloved, and that I may assure your majesty a joyful truth, I never shall see any so beloved here that dwells not here, nor any cause so affected as yours; I have laboured a little in the way of contributions, and I am now confident they will exceed our hopes.”³

Frederic and Elizabeth felt it important to maintain at least a semblance of tranquillity and cheerfulness.

“From Prague,” writes a correspondent, “we hear only that the king was in very good health, always amusing himself with the queen, the young prince, and other dukes, in the chase, being noways troubled with the prescriptions, imperial, Bavarian, nor Saxon, confiding in his right and just cause.”⁴

Another writer speaks of their visiting a pleasure-house of the Kings of Bohemia, called Bunditz, nine or ten miles from Prague. During a few brief months they had leisure to exercise their regal state, and Elizabeth, with the quick instincts of her nature, needed few lessons to teach her how to act the Queen in becoming style. Many of their German friends visited them, and amongst others, Duke John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar, who was a suitor for the hand of the Princess Catherine.⁵ She, with the Dowager-Electress, also came to Prague, and it was said that the marriage would be celebrated there; but more serious affairs prevented. A rumour was afloat, that the King of Bohemia was to wear a double diadem; that the Hungarians, failing to persuade Bethlen to accept their Crown, would offer it to Frederic or to his son; but the Transylvanian prince at length decided on assuming the title of King elect, and a thanksgiving was celebrated at Prague, on his taking a step, which, by precluding a reconciliation with the Emperor, committed him fully to the Protestant cause of Germany.⁶

¹ Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 7th June, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² The Queen to Roe, 9th June, *ibid.*

³ Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 30th June, *ibid.*

⁴ News Letter, 23rd May, Harl. MS. 7015, f. 33 b.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 52.

⁶ Harl. MS. 7015, News Letter, 26th Sept. [But before this happened, a fatal blow had been struck at Frederic’s cause. The Duke of Bavaria offered, on behalf of the Catholics of the League, to attack neither the Princes of the Union nor the hereditary dominions of the Palatine, if the Union would agree not to attack the

Frederic called a Diet at Prague, in order to raise supplies for the war; and there it was arranged what proportions of the army should be paid by the different States of the Kingdom. The popularity of the King seemed not at all diminished; some papists, who used threatening language about him were imprisoned, and loyalty was the prevailing temper of the people.

This was the state of affairs when the news of the Spanish invasion of the Palatinate reached England. The Electress-Dowager, who had returned to Heidelberg, wrote a letter of earnest supplication to King James, dated 17th August.

“ My Lord,

“ I should believe, seeing the necessity to which my children, who are also those of your majesty, are reduced, you might attribute my silence to some want of affection towards them. This is the reason why I have at length resolved to trouble you with my letters, to shew you the sympathy I feel for the misfortunes which will overwhelm them, if God and your majesty do not shew your paternal love towards them. It is now too late to doubt whether Spinola's large army is designed against the Palatinate; it is already at our door.

“ It is impossible that this should not touch your majesty's heart, mine being so smitten with grief at seeing them so unjustly oppressed, that I confess myself unable to say what I ought; but supplicate you most humbly to look at the peril in which they are, and to hasten a signal aid, by money or some diversion; otherwise it will be impossible for us to subsist, or to preserve your dear children from the bloody hand of our enemies. Your majesty will know also in what pain is the queen your daughter, and that she is about to be entirely surrounded with enemies; indeed the state in which I lately left her, makes me doubly pity her—it is then at this juncture that your majesty may shew himself a good father, as you have always been, and this by efforts worthy of your grandeur.”²

Elizabeth, having found appeals to her father fruitless, wrote a letter to her beloved brother, in a tone how different from the sportive notes of happy childhood, before she entered upon the “ life in earnest ” struggles, which now gave painful intensity to her existence.

League or to aid the Bohemians. The terms were accepted, and by the treaty of Ulm, signed on 3rd July, the Princes of the Union gave up the unhappy Frederic into the hands of his enemies. He was completely isolated. Mansfeld remained neutral at Pilsen; Bethlen had signed an armistice with the Emperor; the Sultan was busy in a war with Poland, and Holland had obtained her desire by the withdrawal of Spinola from her borders. James I. and the Union only guaranteed the Palatinate, but in the treaty of Ulm was no proviso that the Spaniards should be kept out of Germany; no guarantee that the King of Bohemia should not be attacked by them in his own Palatine inheritance. And the troops of the Union were utterly incapable of resisting the 25,000 Spaniards of Spinola. On 12th August, new style, Max of Bavaria and his army had swept through Upper Austria and reached the Bohemian frontier. On 8th September they had joined the Imperial army under Bucquoy. And on 18th-28th August, Spinola entered the Palatinate.—See Charvériat, i. 200, 218, 242; Häusser, ii. 328, 329.]

¹[The Rhenish Palatinate at this time, like most of the Protestant States (Holland and Zealand being notable exceptions), still used the Julian Calendar, *i.e.* old style as regards the day of the month, but the year date beginning on 1st Jan.]

²Balfour MS. A. 433, f. 56, Holog. Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

“ My only dear brother,

“ I am sure you have heard before this, that Spinola hath taken some towns in the lower Palatinate, which makes me to trouble you with these lines, to beseech you earnestly to move his majesty that now he would assist us ; for he may easily see how little his embassages are regarded. Dear brother, be most earnest with him ; for, to speak freely to you, his slackness to assist us doth make the Princes of the Union slack too, who do nothing with their army ; the king hath ever said that he would not suffer the Palatinate to be taken ; it was never in hazard but now, and I beseech you again, dear brother, to solicit as much as you can, for her that loves you more than all the world. I doubt not but you will do it, since you have hitherto solicited his majesty for us, where you do shew your affection to me, which I beseech you to continue to her that is ever, my only dear brother,

“ Your most affectionate sister to serve you,

“ Prague, this ½ of September.

ELIZABETH.”¹

She wrote in the same strain to the Duke of Buckingham. Dohna pronounced her letter most *à propos*, and seconded her efforts by entreating the King seriously to consider the matter, declaring that he knew not whether his master had a foot of ground left in the Palatinate. Before Elizabeth's letter arrived, the King had sent a small body of troops to the Palatinate. On June 8th, Sir Horace Vere was appointed their leader, with the Earls of Oxford and Essex amongst his captains. The number was fixed at 4,000 men, but it seems doubtful whether they were so many, as recruits came in slowly, and one writer declared that there would not be more than 2,000. They sailed early in July. James also sent a pecuniary supply of 5,000*l.* ; and borrowed the sum of 50,000*l.* from the King of Denmark.² He remonstrated with the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, a man of great ability and tact, recently sent over to England, upon the conduct of his master in attacking his children's inheritance ; but the wily diplomatist only expressed his regret that the whole Palatinate was not in the hands of his master, in order that he might have the pleasure of surrendering it to the King!³

James had materially lessened the value of the assistance he afforded, by his rigid injunctions to his generals that they should not attack Spinola, but act solely in defence of the Palatinate ;⁴ and by his declarations, that though he thus aided his son-in-law to bear the first shock of his enemies, he did not

¹ Copied by Roger Baldwin from the original in the possession of Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bart.

² Harl. MS. 7015, News Letter, Prague, 19th Sept. ; Anstruther to Carleton, 10th Aug. *S. P. Holland*.

³ Carleton Letters, p. 617. Gondomar exultingly assured the Spanish Court that they had nothing to fear, as he had so lulled the King of England that neither the cries of his daughter nor the clamours of his subjects would be able to rouse him. On the 25th of June, Philip III. of Spain wrote a letter to the Emperor, in behalf of Frederic, requesting that the Elector might be taken into favour, but on the terms of submission and implicit obedience.—Lunig, “*Epistolæ procerum Europæ*,” vol. i. p. 127.

⁴ Lingelsheim's Despatch, 1st June, Lamarre MS. 9291¹², Bibliothèque Nationale.

thereby commit himself to the war; but should endeavour to compose it by mediation.¹ The assistance came too late to prevent the taking of several important places by the Spanish army; and the Electress-Dowager, in spite of the remonstrances of the Princes of the Union, who doubted lest her "faint-heartedness and fear" should injure the cause, left Heidelberg, in company with the royal children, and threw herself upon the protection of the Duke of Würtemberg.²

The army of Spinola proceeded rapidly, driving before it all opposition; and the Princes, disconcerted and paralysed by the coldness of James I., made but little effort to resist him.³ The people of England were roused to a state of high excitement. Buckingham wrote in decisive terms to Gondomar, stating, that although King James had never approved the assumption of the Crown of Bohemia by his son-in-law, he would not calmly see his grandchildren's inheritance taken from them, nor abandon Frederic, provided he followed his advice, and did not refuse reasonable overtures of peace. He ordered letters of the same purport to be sent to the Emperor and the King of Spain; and the King wrote to the Princes of the Union, exhorting them to present vigour, and promising to support them royally in the spring, if in the meantime peace was not made.⁴

"There was never so joyful a court here," notes an English letter writer of the time, "as this declaration hath made; I see men's hearts risen into their faces." "All that I can contribute are my confident prayers for the best cause and queen in the world."⁵

Prince Charles gave 2,000*l.* from his private purse towards the good cause, and the lords of the Council taxed themselves liberally.

Every month rendered the Queen's position increasingly critical, as it became more clearly evident that Bohemia was the destined theatre of war, and that Prague itself, large, rambling, ill-fortified, and with a population excited by a sense of danger to discontent, would be attacked.⁶ The pages of

¹ Nethersole's Despatch, 11th Aug. 1620, *S. P. Germ. States*; James I. to Fred. 29th June, *ibid.* Chmela, Josef, "Handschriften der k. k. Bibliothek in Wien," p. 48.

² Nieuwe Tydinge, 18th and 28th Sept.; Brederode to States of Holland, 19th Sept. 1620, *S. P. Holland*. The Duke received her with kindness; he was preparing to join the army of her son in Bohemia. Frederic to Duke of Würtemberg, 30th July, 1st Sept., 10th Oct., in the Library at Munich; Cooper's Appendix A.

³ Sir E. Cecil to Secretary, 14th Sept. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Wotton to James I. 8th Aug. Reliq. Wotton, p. 18; Naunton to Nethersole, 2nd Oct. Précis de l'Hist. MS. 900, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris; Harl. MS. 3786, f. 52; Lambeth MS. 930, f. 93; "Mercure Français," vol. vi. p. 401.

⁵ Rudyard to Nethersole, 27th Sept. 1620, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁶ The Elector of Saxony, Duke of Bavaria and Spinola, had, in bravado, expressed their intention of dining at Prague on Michaelmas Day, "but by God's blessings," writes a patriotic Bohemian, "they shall find good resistance; and it may be, if they dine with us, they shall pay sorely for their dinner."—"Present State of Affairs," 31st Aug. 1620.

history contain few more beautiful pictures of love and fortitude than that presented by Queen Elizabeth at this period. Her secretary, Sir Francis Nethersole, who had received from King James the appointment of agent to the King of Bohemia and Princes of the Union, arrived at Prague in the middle of August. He was struck with the perils which encompassed his royal mistress, and thus wrote to the English Secretary of State:—

“Considering those dangers which threaten us from all parts, the indefensibility of this town against any enemy that shall be master of the field, and the great number of persons ill-affected within it (one-fourth, by the best intimation, being Catholic, and at the least, two more Lutheran), I have presumed, *ex officio*, to solicit all this king’s counsellors who came from the palace, to provide in time for the safety of the queen, my master’s daughter, and the prince her son, by removing them hence to some place of surety. I must bear them this record, that they have all showed as much care hereof as myself; and I am assured that the king himself hath this thought both in his heart and head, day and night, and is more troubled therewith, than with all the other thorns of his crown.”¹

Long consultations were held as to the place to which the Queen and Prince should withdraw. In the propriety of sending away her son Elizabeth fully coincided; and under the charge of his uncle, Duke Louis Philip, the boy travelled secretly, and with such precaution, that Nethersole, in his despatches, did not even venture to name the places through which his course was to lie, lest the letter should be intercepted and the young Prince seized. He journeyed in the countries occupied by hostile troops, through which he had to pass, safely, though with a very slight escort, by Gorlitz, in Lusatia, on to Berlin, and thence to Holland, where he remained, in charge of his cousin, Ernest of Nassau.² With their son, the King and Queen sent away such of their jewels and precious things as were the most easily portable, to be secured for them in case of misfortune.

In reference to her own movements Elizabeth insisted upon deciding for herself. She had been firm in her resolution to accompany her husband to Bohemia, and she was equally firm in resolving to share his critical fortunes.

“Her majesty,” wrote Nethersole, “out of her rare and admirable love to the king her husband, to whom she feareth that her removing for her own safety might be the occasion of much danger, by discouraging the hearts of this people when his majesty goeth to the army, and, it might be, by other worse effects; her majesty, I say, only and merely in this consideration, is irremovably resolved to abide still in this town, which God bless. It were a pleasant thing, if it were not in so sharp a point, and, I trust in God, will be, hereafter, when the danger is overpast, to recount the loving conflicts that have been between their majesties on this occasion. In the meantime, I am bound in conscience and by truth, to acquit both this king and his council, if any inconvenience may befall her majesty by this her resolution,

¹ Nethersole’s Despatch, 5th Sept. *S. P. Germ. States.*

² Nethersole’s Despatches, 5th and 22nd Sept., *ibid.*; News Letter, Prague, 4th Nov., Harl. MS. 7015, f. 87.

for I do understand that they had, long before I thought of it, taken it often into their most especial consideration and most tender care. I have not been wanting, for my own part, to use all the persuasions that both my duty and affections could suggest to me; but her majesty hath at last silenced me, not so much by the settledness of her determination, as by the reply she made me yesterday:—that as things now stand, I could not tell in what place her majesty should be safer than she is here, nor which way to stir her, without more danger than she abideth within this place; unless I supposed (as I did) that the Marquis Spinola would not dare to attempt anything against her, and for that, her majesty told me plainly she would not believe me; for that since Spinola is not afraid (as it now appeareth) to invade the Palatinate, for fear of offending the king our master, who hath sufficiently showed his good will to maintain it, her majesty doubteth he will be less afraid to seize upon her person, which he may think and say her father hath in a sort abandoned, by excluding this place where she is, from the benefit of the aid he hath given and procured; or at least that I would be less able to draw any assurance of security from him, for her majesty, than my lords ambassadors, Sir Edward Conway and Sir Richard Weston, have been, for the Palatinate. I could have distinguished upon this objection of her majesty's, but thought it unsafe and unwise for me to persuade further in a doubtful matter, without warrant, and therefore only craved leave of her majesty to discharge myself from all blame to the king my master, by acquainting your honour with what I had moved her unto; which her majesty granted me, upon this condition, that I should also relate what reasons she hath not to be moved with my ungrounded¹ persuasions, which I could not deny to be such, having no instructions in this business; and I have, therefore, esteemed it high time to advertise your honour hereof, in diligence, leaving the rest to your wisdom, and love to this queen my most gracious mistress, of whom, though I can hardly write more for tears, yet I may not omit to add this, that her majesty hath, by her goodness, made already so entire a conquest of all the hearts of this people, that have come near her, (the more by the comparison of the behaviour of her predecessors,) that if they were all as fully subdued to the king as I hope to see them, in time, by his valour, their majesties would be in as little danger as they are now in fear, of their enemies."²

The late conduct of Spinola, in the Palatinate, had convinced Elizabeth that Nethersole was wrong in supposing he would have held her person sacred; and she rallied her secretary on his having given advice so indiscreet. It was impossible to conceal the fact that her father's perpetual mediations damaged rather than aided her cause. The German Princes laid it to the blame of the King's advice, that they had acted only on the defensive in the Palatinate, and not attacked Spinola in the first instance, when they might have done it to advantage; and Nethersole, unable to defend his master's conduct, wrote to England that the reputation of the King must suffer if he did not come forward vigorously to his daughter's help.³ But no; James had sent Sir Henry Wotton to negotiate with Archduke Leopold and the Emperor; and Sir Edward Conway and Sir Richard Weston to the Princes of the Union, the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Bavaria, to propose the terms of a peace; and

¹ Meaning, not officially authorised.

² Nethersole's Despatch, 5th Sept. *S. P. Germ. States.*

³ *Ibid.* 15th Sept.

Nethersole received instructions to obtain from King Frederic, definitely in writing, a statement of the ultimatum to which he was willing to consent.¹ Dohna keenly felt the mischief of this policy.

"The assembly of united princes," he writes to Calvert, "is now taking place at Worms. If such a letter of his majesty's as you have read to me, appears there, still talking of neutrality, amidst the fire that consumes the Palatinate, we are done for; it is the true way of finishing us entirely, from top to bottom. God soften his majesty's heart and dispose it to a more salutary resolution."²

The feelings of Elizabeth on this subject were equally strong, though prudence forbade the full expression of them. She wrote to her brother's tutor, Mr. Murray:—

"Spinola is still in the low Palatinate, fortifying those places he hath taken, and the Union looks on and doth nothing. The king is gone to the army: it is but seven miles hence, and the enemy's army is but two miles beyond them. You see we have enough to do, but I hope still well, in spite of all."³

Before leaving Prague, Frederic took every precaution for the safety of his capital and his Queen. He disarmed all those Papists who had refused their oaths of allegiance; left behind him the chief officers of state, in order that the functions of government might not suffer in his absence; sent for two companies of troops from the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, to defend the city; and charged his own life-guard, whose services he did not relinquish without serious inconvenience, to remain in attendance upon Elizabeth.

These measures duly taken, the King and Queen and the whole Court solemnly partook of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper;⁴ after which, on September 18th, Frederic bade adieu to his wife, and set out amidst cordial farewells from his people, to join the army.⁵ The roads were dangerous, being partially

¹ Naunton to Nethersole, 13th Sept., *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Dohna to Calvert, 22nd Sept., *ibid.*

³ Hearne's "Sylloge Epist.," printed at the end of Titus Livius Henry V. p. 213.

⁴ "Present State of Affairs," 4to, 1620.

⁵ "This king," wrote Nethersole, "went hence toward his great army on Monday the 18th, with as cheerful a face and as resolved a heart as, it may be, prince of his age ever bare, so near the end of a game, wherein his honour, fortune, and all worldly contentments were at stake. His way lying through all the length of this large city, I had a curiosity to see what countenance the people would make him, at his parting; and having, to that purpose, under other pretences, attended his majesty to the town's end, can produce my eyes for witnesses, that the confluence of all sorts was as great, and their affection (so far as can be judged by outward expressions) as sincere and as much as, I suppose, might have made a native, hereditary, aged king think himself very happy; sure I am, it was much more than I expected to have found, or your highness will I fear believe upon my report, who protest, notwithstanding, I neither do in this, nor I hope shall ever in ought else, willingly offend the God of truth, to please any prince living, and much less one of whom I can expect no thanks."—22nd Sept., *S. P. Germ. States*.

occupied with hostile troops, and Frederic was slenderly attended; Elizabeth was therefore in great anxiety about him, until September 25th, when she received the tidings of his safe arrival at the army. His presence in the camp was the occasion of much joy, and created hopes that something decisive would shortly be accomplished. Though anxious to hasten the crisis which must terminate the contest, Frederic drew up a code of articles of war, distinguished for humanity, and issued the strictest regulations in reference to the orderly conduct of his troops, the safety of the peasantry, the management of finances, etc., so as to lessen, as far as possible, the horrors inseparable from war.¹

Nethersole took the opportunity of the King's absence to urge again upon the Queen the advisability of removing from Prague, but she continued resolute as before,² though the anxieties of her position were increased by the circumstance that she was expecting the birth of another infant. Still she preserved her dignified fortitude and cheerfulness, and only to her husband confessed the depression under which at times she laboured. He endeavoured to cheer her.

"I have had to-day two of your letters," he writes; "I entreat you not to be melancholy, and to be assured that I love you entirely. . . . I hope God will long preserve us together; but for God's sake, take care of your health; if not out of regard to yourself, at least for the love of me and of our dear children; and do not give way to melancholy. I often wish myself with you, but my calling leading me here, I hope you will not, on that account, think I love you the less."³

The Queen's comparative solitude was cheered by the arrival of the nephew of Bethlen Gabor, King of Hungary, a promising youth, who had been educated under Frederic's auspices at Heidelberg, and whose presence, at this juncture, was doubly welcome, as he brought the tidings that Bethlen's troops, long delayed, were now on their march to join the King's army.⁴ Elizabeth was still more gratified by the arrival of her father's Ambassadors, Conway and Weston. They had been first to Brussels, to remonstrate against the threatened invasion of the Palatinate; the Archduke Albert had protested that he was merely arming to assist the Emperor, and was ignorant how his troops were to be employed, though it was afterwards clear that

¹Bethune MS. 9774, f. 100, Lancelot MS. 8853⁴. [His army, however, was in a most disorganised condition. All the officers wished to become colonels and generals; the generals demanded to be made field-marschals. The arms, clothes and provisions of the troops were in a deplorable state; the soldiers unpaid, and therefore inclined to be mutinous. The chiefs hardly dared to give orders, and if they gave them, they were probably not executed. See Hurter, "Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II.," i. 87 *et seq.*]

²Nethersole's Despatch, 1st Oct. *S. P. Germ. States*.

³In French, "Bromley Letters," p. 8.

⁴Nethersole to Secretary, 24th Sept. *S. P. Germ. States*.

they were, even then, marching upon the Palatinate.¹ The Ambassadors had next proceeded to the Courts of Saxony and Bavaria, to urge pacific measures, and were finally commissioned to try their skill in persuading Frederic to a compromise.² Before their arrival, Nethersole had anticipated the result of their mission.

“Although this king,” he wrote to Doncaster, “be this year much disabled to maintain the cause another, yet his courage and resolution is such, that he will never hearken to peace, upon other conditions than such as may stand with his honour and the safety of the evangelic party, both in this kingdom and in the empire, and to such will be as willing to yield, as any friend of his and of the religion can wish.”

He added, that Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador at Vienna, pronounced the Emperor to be equally firm, and that Wotton suggested, as a compromise, the cession of the Crown of Bohemia to Ferdinand for life, with a reversion in favour of Frederic and his son;—a proposition deemed not only offensive but ridiculous.³

“Both the king and queen,” writes another authority, “seem to be much offended with Sir Henry Wotton, not only because of this which he adviseth them to, but likewise because the inscription of his private letters to them gives them but the title of prince and princess palatine, and his letter to the queen beginneth thus, ‘May it please your majesty (but with a solemn protestation that I give you this title not as an ambassador)’.”⁴

¹ “Brief Information of Affairs Pal.,” 4to, 1624, p. 44; Cottington’s and Aston’s Despatches from Spain contained assurances that Spain would certainly and decidedly take the part of Austria, but would, after the war, restore any countries that might be taken from the son-in-law of their ally the King of England.—*S. P. Spain*.

² Conway and Weston to Calvert, 7th Sept. *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Nieuwe Tydinge, 7th Oct.

⁴ Balcanquall to Doncaster, 14th Oct. *S. P. Germ. States*. See also Wotton’s despatch, 7th Sept. [Printed by the Roxburgh Club.] To avoid giving offence to either party, Wotton devised the epithet of the “Crowned Elector” for King Frederic. In spite of his obnoxious proposition, Wotton was sincerely and chivalrously attached to the cause and person of Elizabeth. He addressed to her, before leaving England on his hopeless mission, the following well-known verses:—

“You meaner beauties of the night,
That poorly satisfy our eyes,
More by your number than your light;
You common people of the skies,
What are you when the moon shall rise?”

“You curious chanters of the wood,
That warble forth dame Nature’s lays,
Thinking your passions understood
By your weak accents, what’s your praise,
When Philomel his voice shall raise?”

“You violets that first appear,
By your pure purple mantle known,
Like the proud virgins of the year,
As if the spring were all your own;
What are you, when the rose is blown?”

The English Ambassadors arrived at Prague on October 10th. The King was absent, but they were welcomed in his name by a deputation of noble personages, and the Queen sent her state coach to conduct them to their lodgings. They were introduced to her presence the following afternoon, and though forbidden to give her the title of Queen, accorded by all those who surrounded her,¹ they met with a very gracious reception.² She conversed with them at length; detailed some recent encouragements received by their party; gave them the particulars of the defeat and death of Colonel Dampierre, an Imperial officer, and showed them a portrait of the dead colonel, sent her by her husband. She was anxious to have entertained them as her guests, and had written to the King on the subject, but he advised her, considering the pressure of their affairs, not to incur such an expense, but to be satisfied with frequently inviting them to dine with her.

"I beg you," he adds, "to give my compliments to the ambassadors, and to tell them that I am very glad of their arrival; that there is no one who desires peace more than I, provided it be honourable to their master and to me; but my quitting the kingdom could not be so to either of us."³

On the 14th of October, Frederic returned to Prague, to meet the ambassadors; and on the 15th, after attending the Queen at her English service in the morning, they waited upon his majesty. They found him quite as resolute as he had been represented. He would consent that the Emperor should be titular King of Bohemia for life, and would allow him a handsome pension from the revenues of the kingdom, but absolutely re-

"So when my mistress shall be seen,
In form and beauty of her mind;
By virtue first, then choice, a queen,
Tell me, if she were not design'd
Th' eclipse and glory of her kind?"

"Poems of Wotton and Raleigh," edited
by Rev. J. Hannah, 12mo, Lond. 1845, p. 14.

At the close of his fruitless negotiation at Vienna, the Emperor presented him with a magnificent jewel of the value of more than 1,000*l.*, as a token of personal esteem. He did not decline the gift, but he immediately presented it to the wife of the nobleman in whose house he had been lodged; and when the Emperor, in some displeasure, sent a messenger to inquire the cause of such a proceeding, he replied that it was not from disrespect or ingratitude, but that he could not bring himself to keep any gift that came from an enemy of his royal mistress. This was the title by which the Queen permitted him to address her; and her portrait, in her regal robes, was esteemed by him among his choicest treasures. He bequeathed it in his will to Prince Charles, her nephew. "Lodge's Portraits," vol. ii.; "Reliquæ Bohemianæ," 18mo, Lond. 1650; Isaac Walton's "Life," pp. 236-77. [The refusal of a parting gift was not unusual when a mission had failed. See p. 318 *n.* below.

¹ Harl. MS. 1580, Amb. du Duc d'Angoul. etc. p. 339.

² Ambas. Despatch, 13th Oct.; Balcanquall to Doncaster, 14th Oct. *S. P. Germ. States.*

³ In French, "Bromley Letters," p. 9.

fused to relinquish either his own title or possession. The following day he returned to his camp.¹

The hostile armies were now in close juxtaposition; yet the event of a battle was felt to be so important, that neither party was forward in pushing on the crisis; frequent collisions, however, took place between the advanced guards.

"Meantime there are these daily skirmishes," writes Nethersole, "and we can in this town hear the cannon play, day and night, which were enough to fright another queen. Her majesty is nothing troubled therewith; but would be, if she should hear how often there have been men killed very near the king, with the cannon, and how much he adventureth his person, further than he is commended for. His majesty, on the other side, is afraid only for the queen; and, to prevent the danger she might be in here, if his army should receive any disgrace, he hath commanded her necessaries to be put up in a readiness to be removed upon any sudden occasion, and a part of her stuff and other furniture to be sent away beforehand, toward the place mentioned in my despatch of the 1st of September; whither her majesty is like to be removed, howsoever, for her lying-in, if the enemy winter in this country, which will put us into perpetual alarms here. Meantime the bruit of her majesty's removal doth so much trouble this town, whither all the country is fled for safety, that it appeareth her removing indeed would breed a great alteration in this town, and, it may be, dangerous one at this time; and, therefore, I'de neither persuade nor dissuade it now."²

The Queen's determination to remain in the city was strengthened by the extreme anxiety of the people to detain her. All felt that in the person of their Queen, they had the strongest possible pledge of protection; the officers and garrison were zealous in guarding the walls day and night; and she was resolved to keep up her courage, so as to allow no symptom of fear or dismay to be traced by the people.³ Frederic, however, was full of anxiety about her. On the 1st of November he wrote to her as follows:—

"Madam,

"I wrote you two letters yesterday: believe me that what I said proceeds from my perfect love. God grant it may not be needful for you to leave Prague! Still it ought to be prepared for, since else, if necessity required it, all would get into too great confusion. Be assured I shall be much rejoiced when I receive letters from you, which show me that you are resolved to submit without impatience, fully and in everything, to what God wills: certainly if I did not do so, I should give way under the afflictions God sends me. Give me freely your opinion whether you do not think it more fitting that you should leave Prague in good order, than wait till the enemy come nearer, for then it would more resemble a flight." "I beg of you, be not distressed, and believe that I do not wish to force you to go, but only tell you my own opinion." "I send you herewith a letter that the duke of Bavaria wrote to his wife; I am sure you will laugh at it: I have had many intercepted letters, by which it is seen that their intention is upon Prague."⁴

¹ Conway's and Weston's Despatch, 17th Oct., *S. P. Germ. States*; Nieuwe Tydinge, 28th Oct.

² Nethersole's Despatch, 26th Oct., *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Conway and Weston's Despatch, 14th Oct. *ibid.*

⁴ In French, "Bromley Letters," p. 10.

The tidings in the intercepted letter were, that the Bavarian Duke hoped speedily to enrich his wife with the regal spoils of Prague. The perils of Frederic's position were increased by the backwardness of the Bohemians in paying their soldiery: the quota for which the King engaged to provide was well clothed and well paid; but those less fortunate mutinied, and, had not timely exertion secured for them a temporary supply, the consequences might have been serious. On Nov. 5th, the imperial army secretly left its quarters at Rakonitz, and an attempt was made to post it between the King's army and Prague; as soon as the *ruse* was discovered, Anhalt marched with rapidity, and succeeded in throwing his troops between the city and the enemy.¹ The events of the important ensuing days are given from the reports of the English Ambassadors and other eye-witnesses.

"His majesty, coming to court on the Saturday,² at 3 of the clock, with a countenance of glee, told his queen that the enemy was come within two Dutch miles of the city, which is eight English, but his army of 28,000 was betwixt them and it. That night we slept securely, as free from doubt, as we supposed ourselves quit from danger. On the Sunday, the lords dined at court, with whom the queen had taken resolution to go into the army; but while we were at our cups, the enemy was upon a march towards us."³

"On the Sunday morning, news came that the horse of the Bohemian army had lain all night in the Star Park, which is about three miles from Prague, on the south side; and that the horse upon the outflanks of the army did skirmish. We were invited to dine with the king, where, for aught we could discover, there was confidence enough, and opinion that both the armies were apter to decline than give a battle. After dinner, the king resolved to go to horse, to see his army; but before the king could get out of the gate, the news came of the loss of the Bohemian cannon, and the disorder of all the squadrons, both of horse and foot."⁴

Outside the gates, the King was met by his general, the Prince of Anhalt, who, bathed in perspiration, galloped up to him, exclaiming, "Your Majesty must look to your own safety: the Imperialists have the victory; our forces are terribly slaughtered—the Bavarian is raging amongst them—all is lost and undone". At these dreadful words, Frederic at once turned his horse's head, and rode back to the palace. His first care was for the opening of the city gates, to admit the fugitives;⁵ his next, to hasten his wife and child from the new to the old city, in order that by throwing the river between them and the enemy, they might gain some reprieve. It was in this flight that Elizabeth was compelled to pass over the bridge of Prague, which she had

¹ Nethersole's Despatches, 6th Oct. and 16th Nov., *S. P. Germ. States*.

² 28th Oct.-7th Nov.

³ "A relation of the manner of the loss of Prague, by an English gentleman there and then present," dated 21st Nov. 1620, Harl. MS. 389, f. 1. [The numbers given here are too high. Modern authorities compute them (variously) as from 21,000 to 24,000, including the Hungarian contingent.]

⁴ Conway's Despatch, 18th Nov. Harl. MS. 1580.

⁵ Ein Tag aus der Böhmischen Geschichte, 8vo, Leipz. 1845.

vowed not to cross till the symbols of a false faith were removed.¹

The loss of the battle of Prague has been attributed to the avarice and the cowardice of King Frederic; his avarice in discouraging his soldiers by not paying up the arrears of their wages; and his cowardice in absenting himself from his army at the critical moment of the battle. The preceding account fully exculpates him from both these charges, though hardly from that of bad generalship, in permitting the enemy to dislodge unperceived.² (But the Prince of Anhalt, who was generalissimo, seems to have deserved more blame than the young and inexperienced King.) The young Prince of Anhalt, son of the general, made a daring charge, and for a time beat back the enemy, but was stayed by the Walloons under their great leader Verdugo. These stood firm as a rock, and gave time for some Hungarian cavalry to come up. (They dispersed the Bohemian horse and took young Anhalt prisoner.) His father, seeing his

¹ It was noted by the Roman Catholics, that the place where Frederic's empire was ended, by this battle, was the *parc de l'étoile*, the very arena on which the populace first greeted him as King; that the battle fell on the octave of All Saint's Day, the day consecrated to those saints whose images he had displaced; and that the gospel for the day contained the significant text, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."—Riccicus "de Bell. Germ." p. 45; News Letter, 21st Nov. *S. P. Foreign News Letters*, vol. 28.

² Nethersole regarded the circumstance of the King's absence in a favourable light:—

"The king the night before had made an escapade to see the queen with a few of his chamber and all the English volunteers. By this means, going forth the next day, immediately after dinner, he came to the end of the fray, (it deserveth no other name,) whether fortunately or not is hard to determine. For as there is no question but that his presence would have had much power to make his men stand better than they did, so, since they were to be overthrown, it may seem a happiness that his majesty was absent, considering the hazard his too great adventurousness must needs have put his person unto, whereas now there is hope that God hath preserved him for a miracle of his power, in raising him again, and the rather because the enemies were, it seemeth, withheld by His mighty hand from following and consummating their victory, which if they had adventured, they might, in all appearance, have entered Prague that night, without resistance," 16th Nov. *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ "The unanswerable and unparalleled unworthiness of the Prince of Anhalt, general of the foot, and of Count Hollock [Hohenlo], general of the horse, must not, to their perpetual shame, be left untold; who, at the first appearance of danger, left the field, and came running into the city, more pale than death could have made them, and never returned to try if they could again rally their troops, which were but disordered."—Relation of the loss of Prague, Harl. MS. 389, f. 1. [For modern accounts of the battle, see Charvériat, i. 227; Häusser, ii. 330. There does not appear to have been the slightest foundation for the above violent attack upon Anhalt and Hollock. If they had left the field "at the first appearance of danger" the battle would not have been over and lost when Anhalt met Frederic at the city gates. Neither Charvériat nor Häusser even hint at any cowardice on the part of the general, although they think he made mistakes in the disposition of his troops. But counsels were divided, their numbers only about two-thirds of those of the enemy, and their men so ill-disciplined and discontented that an English officer who was present wondered how Anhalt held them together at all. Part of the horse took to flight at once, one regiment shot in the air, another was without officers, and the wild Hungarian hordes demoralised the rest. If he could have got his men to stand firm, Anhalt believed that the advantage of their position would have fully compensated for their lack of numbers.]

straits, sent some troops to his assistance, but they proceeded in so leisurely a fashion that they arrived too late.¹

One cause of the loss of the battle appears to have been the cowardice of the Hungarians, who fled at the first attack, whilst a relay of 8,000 troops of that nation, who might have turned the scale, were so tardy in their march, that they were not in action at all. It has been said, that after the battle, Frederic demanded from the Duke of Bavaria a respite of twenty-four hours, to decide what course to pursue in reference to Prague; but that he obtained only eight.² The incorrectness of this statement is disproved by the following account from the English Ambassadors:—³

“The king and queen hasted to the old town”.—“About two hours after, the king sent for us; pressing through a confused multitude, we found him in a principal citizen’s house, accompanied with his blessed, undaunted lady, and all the chiefs of his army and council.”

The Ambassadors were asked their advice on what was to be done, and they suggested a careful consideration of the forces and stores that remained, and then a resolve to fight or treat accordingly. They wrote to the Duke of Bavaria and General Bucquoy, to desire an interview for the proposal of overtures;

“Which overtures,” they add, “were then unconceived; but time was to be won, for the better fashioning and assuring the blessed lady’s retreat. No answer coming that night, we wrote again the next morning by the same consents and by another trumpeter of the king’s. No answer coming, by 9 of the clock in the morning, as many things compared as that time would permit, the best resolution appeared to be that the queen should retire, with a strong guard of horse, and the best countenance made that could be then formed; and that the king and the chiefs would try the fortune of resistance in the town.”

There was one sacrifice, and one only, that Elizabeth refused to make. She would not save herself and leave her husband in peril; and she was quite decided either to remain with him, or to persuade him to accompany her flight. At first the Bohemian nobles urged the King to stand firm: they reminded him of his oath when he assumed the kingdom, that he would adhere to it to his latest breath; they argued that Prague was well garrisoned, and that numerous troops still remained, by whose aid the city might be defended, or even an incursion made upon the enemy,—rendered incautious by success,—and thus the scale of victory might be turned. But where the safety of Elizabeth

¹ Twenty baggage wagons of the King were seized, in one of which were his garter insignia, which were sent in triumph to the Duke of Bavaria.—*Erzählung des Haupt-treffens*, Nov. 1620.

² *Nieuwe Tydinge*, Nov. 1620.

³ Conway and Weston’s *Desp.* 18th Nov. Harl. MS. 1580.

was at stake, Frederic was not to be deluded by false hopes. He felt that he had not wherewith to struggle against the forces opposed to him, and that by prolonging his stay, he should involve the city in a siege, and expose his wife to imminent peril.¹

“They assure me,” wrote Sir Dudley Diggs, whose information was gathered from Elizabeth’s servants, that “but for her, the king would not have gone from Prague, professing himself very sorry for his absence from the army, the day of the battle, which fell out by his going to see her, and in the meantime the enemy marching away in a mist toward Prague.”²

The nobles next suggested that he should retire no further than the Castle of Glatz, and there endeavour to rally his troops,³ but Frederic resolved to withdraw altogether, and seek to repair his forces in the lands of the neighbouring Princes. He therefore made such hasty preparations as the brief space of time could allow, and before many hours were past, accompanied by his Queen, he had taken his sorrowful departure from the scene of his short-lived regality.⁴ He was attended by the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Counts Hollock and Solms, and all the proscribed Bohemians, whose lives would be in peril for their adherence to his cause, should they fall into the enemy’s hands. They occupied, with their trains and baggage, 300 chariots, and multitudes followed on horseback and on foot. The young Count Thurn gallantly offered to defend the bridge a whole day against the enemy, in order to secure their retreat. In the haste of the flight, many valuable things were left behind, including not only a large portion of the wardrobe and personal property of Elizabeth, but the royal crown and ornaments, and all Frederic’s private papers.⁵

“We, his majesty’s ambassadors,” continue Conway and Weston, “found duty and counsel to be with the person of our master’s daughter, until she was in some condition of safety; if peradventure our interpositions upon accidents might do her service. When we were a mile from the town, the young Count de Tour was returned back, to assure the soldiers, and to dispute the passage of the bridge, to secure the queen’s retreat. He embraced the charge cheerfully, and speaking to the queen in French, he recommended her to God, prayed that her journey might be safe, and her return to that

¹[Frederic has been very severely criticised by some modern writers, but Häusser judges him with more fairness and charity. It is true, he says, that a commanding mind might have saved much, but it is equally true that the difficulties were so great that they were enough to overpower a more than ordinary spirit. For the proposed fortifications for Prague not a spade had yet been touched; no defence was possible before the town, and still less in it. Of the few troops gathered together, the most part declared their determination to surrender as soon as the enemy appeared, and it was not at all improbable that the burgers would seek forgiveness for their proceedings by delivering up their unfortunate young King to the victor. He was deeply anxious for the safety of his wife; and all those whom he trusted unreservedly advised him to fly.—“Rheinische Pfalz,” p. 232.]

²Diggs to Carleton, 11th Dec. *S. P. Holland*.

³Lundorpius Suppletus, p. 315.

⁴Riccus, “de Bell. Germ.” p. 46; *Nieuwe Tydinge*, 10th Nov.

⁵“*Mercure Français*,” 1620, p. 428, and 1621, vol. vii. p. 1; Riccius, p. 47.

town triumphant, assured her that he would do the work he went for, or die to do it : and he did it, and lives, and honour live with him as his portion, for it.

“That day’s journey was long, of six great leagues, to a town called Limberge ; by the way were many rumours and vain alarums. Truly the king bare himself through all the passages of this disaster with more clearness of judgment, constancy, and assurance, than any of the chiefs of his army, and indeed as well as could be looked for in such an unexpected change, and, a man may say, total disorder. But his incomparable lady, who truly saw the state she was in, did not let fall herself below the dignity of a queen, and kept the freedom of her countenance and discourse, with such an unchangeable temper, as at once did raise in all capable men this one thought—that her mind could not be brought under fortune.”¹

“Their majesties,” wrote Nethersole, “the queen especially, (in whom it was most remarkable,) shewing so little change in themselves, after so great a one in their fortune, that their retreat out of this kingdom was no less truly glorious than their entrance into it.”²

Taking leave of their royal charge, the Ambassadors returned to Prague, in order to see and treat with the Duke of Bavaria ; and the Queen permitted Nethersole to return with them, to secure his books and papers, which in the haste of flight, he had left behind. She pressed upon them the care of those of her servants who remained in Prague, and expressed her hopes that the King her father would now *do* for them, and not *treat*.

The royal pair resumed their journey, but not without danger : troops of Cossack horse were hovering in their rear ; the convoy of attendants was neither steadfast nor faithful ; they pillaged several of the Queen’s baggage wagons ; yet she bore up with “brave and cheerful patience”. She travelled principally in a coach, but when the badness of the roads, or the necessity for speed rendered that impossible, she mounted horse, behind a young British volunteer, named Hopton, whose life-long boast was the service he had thus rendered her. At length they arrived at Breslau, in Silesia, where, less than a year before, Frederic had been received with regal triumph. From this place Elizabeth wrote to her father, to solicit the aid which alone could preserve them from ruin ;³ assuring him that, next to God, he was their only ground of hope. She remained some days to recover from her fatigue, whilst plans were devised for her future safety, especially during her approaching *accouchement*. It was decided that she should be placed under the protection either of Frederic Ulric Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, her cousin, or of the young Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic’s brother-in-law, who had recently succeeded his father, the choice to be influenced by the degree of cordiality with which the offer of her visit was received. The King sent an express

¹ Conway and Weston’s Despatch, 18th Nov. Harley MS. 1580.

² Nethersole’s Despatch, 16th Nov., *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Ellis, series i. vol. 3, 112.

to Brandenburg on the subject, but the Elector being absent, the council plainly declared that they could not advise the Queen's reception, as it might offend the Emperor and induce him to refuse the investiture of the Duchy of Prussia to the young Elector.¹ As, however, no time was to be lost, and as Brandenburg was in the direct route towards Wolfenbüttel, the capital of the Duke of Brunswick,—whither Plessen and Camerarius, two of the King's agents, had been despatched to request a welcome,—Elizabeth set out at once. She was attended by Baron Dohna, and an escort of only sixty horse, though her road lay by the borders of Lower Lusatia, where the Elector of Saxony had many troops of cavalry. On the 25th of November, she wrote to her husband, to announce her safe arrival at Frankfort-on-Oder, and two days later addressed a spirited letter to Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague, in which, after recapitulating her movements, she says:—

“I am not yet so out of heart, though I confess we are in an evil estate, but that (as I hope,) God will give us again the victory, for the wars are not ended with one battle, and I hope we shall have better luck in the next.”²

After but one day's repose, the Queen started for Berlin. As neither the Elector of Brandenburg nor his wife was there to give her the meeting, she betook herself to the fortress of Cüstrin, a princely residence, forty-eight miles from Berlin, there to await, in loneliness and anxiety, the result of the deputation to Wolfenbüttel.³ The Duke of Brunswick professed his willingness to receive the Queen, but the Dowager-Duchess was first to be consulted,⁴ and the negotiations were so tedious that, before their termination, it was considered no longer safe for the Queen to undertake another journey, and she therefore remained at Cüstrin, in expectation of her “good hour,” as it was called in the quaint parlance of the day.

Meanwhile, the enemies of her husband pursued their relentless course in Prague, pillaging on every hand,⁵ and showing their wit by sarcastic *jeux d'esprit* played off against the

¹ Nethersole's Despatch, 4th Dec. *S. P. Germ. States*.

² *S. P. Holland*, 27th Nov. 1620. [See also her letter to the Duchess of Bouillon: “the war is not yet ended; and I hope that God has allowed this misfortune only to prove us, and that in the end he will give us success, for the sake of his church”—“*Archæologia*,” xxxix. p. 160.]

³ Lingelsheim to Ste. Catherine, 18th Dec. Lamarre MS. 9291¹²; Conway's Despatch, 3rd Dec., *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Nethersole to Secretary, 6th Dec. 1620, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ *Ibid.* 4th Dec. [Maximilian forbade pillage, but with the important exception, of the houses of those who had fled. “*Environ six cents maisons*,” writes Charvériat, “*ce qui était déjà bien assez*.” But the soldiers were not content with this limited permission; they attacked and robbed the burghers, pillaged the villages, and maltreated the Protestant clergy, the severity of their commanders being without effect in establishing discipline. See also Hurter, “*Geschichte Kaiser Ferd. II.*,” i. 585.]

Winter-könig, *roi de neige*, or King of a year, as they styled Frederic.¹

He did not, however, lose his courage amidst his misfortunes. There was no talk of treaty or peace, save on the part of the English Ambassadors, who were laughed at for their pains.² Frederic wrote to the celebrated Count Ernest of Mansfeld, a soldier of fortune, who, with a body of gallant troops, had entered his service, exhorting him to keep to the last Pilsen and the other places in which he held garrisons. He bestowed a month's pay on the troops who had conducted him to Breslau, and gave them their choice, either to remain with him or to disband; most of them preferred the former. Fresh levies were raised in Moravia and Silesia, which still continued firm, though the people of Prague were compelled to abjure Frederic, and take oath anew to the emperor.³ The King appealed for assistance to

¹ A Dutch poem, printed at Antwerp, entitled, "The Lamentation of the Palsgrave over his pretended crown of Bohemia," represents him as regretting that he had ever accepted it, and that his wife, the daughter of a king, should thus be brought to shame for loving her kingly title too well. "The Palsgrave," it continues "sets off, possessed of a staff; his wife wearily drags a cradle with her."—*Nieuwe Tydinge*, Nov. 1620. They affixed a placard on the walls, offering a reward to any one who would find and bring home a King, run away a few days before on account of some misfortune, in the prime of life, rosy colour, somewhat squint-eyed, of middle height, with the first down on his cheeks; not of a bad disposition, but affecting a kingdom at the instigation of others, and whose name was Frederic.—*Riccicus*, "de Bell. Germ." p. 46; *Noris*, "Guerre di Germania," p. 159. Another effusion was a German song of a postillion, a "hue and cry after the lost Prince Palatine," to this effect:—

"I must go round and round about,
In every corner to pry him out."

Each stanza ending with a strophe—

"Oh, if you know, now tell to me,
Where the lost Palatine can be."

The appeal is made to all classes—to the Princes who counselled him to his ruin, the citizens of Prague, the soldiers, peasants, pilgrims, preachers, couriers, inn-keepers,—even to the owls and ravens—whether a young king and his wife and child have not passed them. At length with a halloo, he is hunted up, and promised a return to the Rhine when he ceases to rebel.—From a printed copy in *S. P. Germ. States*. "The queen," said one of the fugitive songs, "who first urged on her husband to hunt the papists and the emperor out of Bohemia, soon found, amidst the howling and lamenting of her ladies, that there was no repose for her in Prague, and though the people of Prague put on long faces at her leaving them in their misfortune and misery—off she set, on a wild chase for safety, in which he who could not ride with her must be left to his fate. On English steeds the lady rode; happy were the swift who could trot her pace, and still above all things they kept close to her bridle."

² Wotten to Carleton, 18th Dec., *S. P. Holland*; Conway's Despatch, 3rd Dec., *S. P. Germ. States*; *Nieuwe Tydinge*, 9th Nov.

³ *Nieuwe Tydinge*, 9th Dec.; Frederic to Mansfeld, 20th Nov., *S. P. Germ. States*, "Sure I am," wrote Nethersole, "by what I heard and saw ever since the disaster, that his majesty is king of more hearts than the emperor."—Despatch, 4th Dec. [But, as has been already said, it was only the Calvinists who clung to Frederic's cause. On the day of the entry of the allies into Prague, the *Te Deum* was chanted in all the churches, Lutheran as well as Roman, and on the following day, when the Lutheran nobles came before Maximilian, they declared that they had nothing in common with the Calvinists, had altogether disapproved of the revolt, and willingly renewed their allegiance to the Emperor. Indeed the Lutherans

Bethlen Gabor, who, supported by Turkey, promised adhesion to the cause;¹ and much was hoped from the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the Duke of Brunswick. Frederic paid a short visit to Moravia, in order to encourage his friends there: they made strong professions of attachment, but scarcely had he departed, when Bucquoy, the Imperial general, arrived, and taking them unprepared, as it was the depth of winter, mastered several towns; the Estates, alarmed at the impending danger, and disconcerted by the non-appearance of Count Thurn, who was gone to Hungary for succours, abandoned the cause of their King, and made a secret peace with the Emperor. This was a terrible blow to Frederic. "I have not constrained them to choose me as their king," he exclaimed; "I could have lived contentedly in my own lands; yet after all the pains and trouble I have taken, those for whom I risked my life and my all forsake me!"²

The defection of Moravia threw Silesia into imminent peril, for there was now no obstacle to the onward march of Bucquoy. The Silesians advised their King to retire to a place of safety, and gave him a parting present of 80,000 florins.³ He told them, that although prudent regard to them, as well as to himself, necessitated a present retreat, he hoped to return to them with fresh troops.⁴ The Elector of Saxony, however, urged them to come to immediate terms with the Emperor; they sent a messenger to consult the King, who acknowledged that there was no way open for them but to temporise by treating;

"concluding his speech with David's saying, when he fled from Absalom, 'If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, He will bring me again; but if He say, I have no delight in thee; let Him do to me as seemeth good unto Him;'⁵ and so, weeping, took leave of them our 13th of December, and went his way to Custrin Castle, unto the queen, who is said to have been for some days more affected with that disaster than with all that had before fallen out."⁶

Great as were the misfortunes of the Queen, they were exaggerated by rumour. It was reported very widely and confidently, that overcome by the fatigues she had endured, she had expired, after giving premature birth to a dead infant.⁷ At

everywhere rejoiced in the success of Ferdinand. All the Princes of North Germany, even including the King of Denmark, Elizabeth's uncle, congratulated the Emperor on his victory, for it was Calvinism, not Lutheranism, which had been defeated.—Charvériat, i. 236, 248.]

¹ Dickenson to Nethersole, 18th Dec., *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Courante uyt Italien, Duytsland, etc., Feb. 1621.

³ Lingelsheim's Despatch, 1st Jan., Lamarre MS. 9291¹²; "Mercure Français," 1621, pp. 45-53.

⁴ "Merc. Gall. Belg." p. 42.

⁵ 2 Samuel, chap. xv. ver. 25.

⁶ Harl. MS. 389, f. 2.

⁷ Diggs to Carleton, 24th Dec.; Carleton to Nethersole, 25th Dec., *S. P. Holland*; Carpenter to Secretary, 11th Dec., *S. P. Germ. Empire*. The report was so current that Sir Edward Villiers, then coming from England to the King and Queen, hesitated whether to turn back.—Trumbull's Desp. 18th Jan. 1621, *S. P. Flanders*.

Antwerp, pictures of her hearse and funeral procession were to be seen in the public prints, and great uneasiness was excited amongst her friends, till the arrival of happier tidings reassured them. In spite of all her disasters, Elizabeth had continued well in health, and on the 21st of December she had the delight of welcoming her husband, who surprised her at table,¹ and whose return, after so many perils, was the cause of deep gratitude; Dr. Burgess, an English clergyman, writes:—

“The king and queen of Bohemia do bear their afflictions with such patience and piety as have added to them more true honour than a victory could have done, and makes me to hope that God, in his time, will lift them up again, to astonishment of their enemies, and joy of his people. From them came lately a command for a solemn day of fasting and prayer, beside the monthly bid (prayer) days and daily church prayers, which we accordingly performed.”²

On the $\frac{6}{11}$ of January, “the feast of Kings,” Elizabeth gave birth to “a large and goodly son”. She wished him to be called Maurice, after the brave Prince of Orange; because, she said, the boy would have to be a warrior.³ The baptism took place on the 10th. Duke John Ernest of Weimar, one of the sponsors, was present in person; the others, Duke Ulric of Holstein and the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse, sent deputies, and their ladies were the godmothers, according to the fashion of the country.⁴ Frederic announced the child’s birth to James I., and in touching terms commended his little family to his fatherly protection, entreating that he would not allow them to be deprived of their all.⁵

Two days later, the King set forth, with an escort of 500 horse, to Wolfenbüttel, to visit the Duke of Brunswick. His reception there being cool, he went on to Zell, and thence to Hamburg, where a settlement of English merchants entertained him most cordially for eight days, and furnished him with a loan of 8,000 rix dollars.⁶

The tidings of the disaster of Prague aroused King James to the necessity of making efforts in behalf of his son and daughter; but he did it in his own way, by sending four ambassadors:—Sir Albertus Morton to the Princes of the German Union, to exhort them to constancy, and to carry them pecuni-

¹ Lingelsheim to Ste. Catherine, $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan., Lamarre MS. 9291¹². Bilderbeck to Secretary, 18th Jan., *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Lansdowne MS. 498, f. 80.

³ Lingelsheim’s Desp. 29th Jan.; “Courante,” Feb. 1621. Harl. MS. 389, f. 2.

⁴ Nethersole’s Despatch, 19th Jan. 1621, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Fred. to James I., 6th Jan. 1621, *ibid.*

⁶ Carleton to Calvert, 8th March, *S. P. Holland*; Lingelsheim’s Desp. 8th and 13th Feb., and 1st March, Lamarre MS. 9291¹². Whilst at Hamburg, Frederic attended the English service, and the minister prayed for him very affectionately; Frederic expressed his gratitude, and bestowed upon him a chain of gold, with his likeness appended to it.—“Court and Times of James I.,” vol. ii. p. 241.

ary aid ;¹ Sir Robert Anstruther to the King of Denmark, to borrow more money ; Lord Digby to the Archduke Albert and the Emperor ; and Sir Edward Villiers² to the King and Queen of Bohemia,³ with a promise of 20,000*l.* (to be sent from Denmark) as a New Year's gift to the Queen. James next assembled a Parliament ; announced to them the steps already taken, the present state of the Prince Palatine, and the necessity of immediate supplies.

"And now," he said, "I am to provide ways that my son-in-law may be restored to his ancient possession, but nothing is to be expected from you but by begging, as if one should beg an alms ; but now to recover that which is lost, I declare unto you that if I cannot get it by peace, my crown and my blood, and the blood of my son, shall not be spared for it, but I can do nothing without sustenance from my people.—*Qui cito dat, bis dat.*"⁴

The Commons responded by most cordial assurances of goodwill, and expressing their hopes that the treaties would not be long spun out, voted two subsidies for the support of the Palatinate.⁵

Villiers arrived at Cüstrin at a time when the King, depressed by the defection of his subjects, and the coldness of his allies, was in a mood to listen to propositions which a few months before would have been indignantly rejected. In a spirit of forced resignation, he signed a document, pledging himself to implicit obedience to the wishes of his royal father-in-law, and wrote to him to say that he had hoped, by his means, to recover all he had lost ; but that since he wished a treaty, he would not withhold his submission to the terms proposed by Villiers.⁶ These required his consent to a frank and full resignation of the Crown of Bohemia, on condition that his hereditary possessions might be restored to him, and the Imperial ban, which had been hurled against himself and his principal followers, be removed.⁷ Had these conditions been accepted, what years of misery and torrents of blood had been spared to the unfortunate Germans ! But the Emperor was stern and unyielding : he resolved to improve the advantage he had gained ; and in behalf of himself and his partizans, renewed claims, long dormant, to certain portions of the Palatinate. He also issued a mandate to the Elector of Brandenburg, requesting him not to allow the residence of the Princess Palatine in his country to be prolonged beyond the period necessary for her to regain strength for travelling.⁸ No Im-

¹Thos. Locke to Carleton, 10th Dec. 1620, *S. P. Dom.*

²Brother to the Marquis of Buckingham.

³Commons Journals, vol. i. p. 644. Murray to Morton, 11th Jan. *S. P. Dom.*

⁴Birch MS. 4155, f. 109.

⁵*Ibid.* f. 112.

⁶Fred. to James I., 31st Jan. 1621, Harl. MS. 1583, f. 219.

⁷Bethune MS. 9776, f. 29 ; Courante uyt Italien, 29th Jan.

⁸Nethersole's Despatch, 24th Feb. *S. P. Germ. States.*

perial mandate, however, could prevail with the German Princes to show discourtesy to the unfortunate Queen, who had been compelled to throw herself on their generosity.

Nethersole, who was again in attendance on his royal mistress, had thus written on this matter :—

“ This Elector in whose country we lie, will needs put himself to more charge by that occasion than was either expected or desired of him. Of the Duke of Brunswick his willingness to entertain her majesty in his country, I have formerly advertised your honour. The old duchess exceedeth in kindness, for she hath twice already sent express servants hither, to inquire of her majesty's health, before she had the news of her being so happily brought to bed, for the congratulation whereof there is certainly, ere this, a third on the way.”¹

On more than one ground, Frederic was anxious to leave Brandenburg. He feared to involve his friends in trouble, and he was embarrassed by the vicinity of several Bohemian nobles, who had found their way to Frankfort, and who, having risked and lost their all in his behalf, expected relief from him, at a time when, far from being able to afford it, he was even compelled to dismiss some of his own servants for want of funds.² At the end of February, he proceeded to Segeberg, where he had an interview with his wife's uncle, the King of Denmark.³ An assembly of the Protestant powers was held, headed by the Danish monarch and attended by the Ambassadors of England, Holland, Sweden, etc., and by the Princes of Lower Saxony, who all coincided in a manifesto to the Emperor, declaring that they would not consent to publish the ban against Frederic; but, if the Palatinate were restored, they would induce him to relinquish Bohemia; if not, they would arm in his defence, and drive Spinola from the Palatinate. The Bohemian King wrote to Gabor and to Mansfeld, exhorting them to constancy in the great cause of European freedom;⁴ and he received a pledge from the Dutch, that they would still continue a monthly contribution for the payment of troops, which they had granted at the commencement of the war.⁵

Frederic had arranged for the Queen to meet him at Wolfenbüttel, on his return from Segeberg, and for this purpose she removed, with her children, on February 19th, from Cüstrin to Berlin, where her sister-in-law, the Electress of Brandenburg, received her lovingly and accepted the charge of her infant son,

¹ Nethersole's Despatch, 19th Jan.

² *Ibid.* 24th Feb.

³ Preuscher, “ Geschichte Denmark;” p. 96.

⁴ Nethersole's Desp. 16th March, *S. P. Germ. Stâtes*; “ *Mercure Français*,” vol. vii. p. 49; Riccius “ *de Bell. Germ.*” p. 51; “ *Theatrum Europ.*” p. 467. The Sultan had sent men and money to Gabor, and would have afforded help more effectual, if England had set the example.—Eyre's Despatches, Nov. 1620, March 1621, *S. P. Turkey*.

⁵ Sir D. Carleton to Queen of Bohemia, 25th Dec. 1620, *S. P. Holland*.

Maurice, who was too young to undertake a lengthened journey at such a season. The Elbe was partially frozen, and as it was not considered safe for Elizabeth to go down to Magdeburg, to cross the river by the bridge, she was detained some time till the thaw allowed the passage of ferry-boats.¹ Arriving at Wolfenbüttel, she was joined by the greater part of her husband's train, who were sent thither from Hamburg to secure her safety. Thus escorted, and still attended by her father's Ambassador, Sir Edward Villiers, she resumed her journey, and on the 16th of March, met the King at Stolzenau, in Westphalia, whence they proceeded to Bielefeld. Here Villiers took his leave; he was intrusted with a letter from the Queen to her father, in which she acknowledged the faithful services of his Ambassador and congratulated herself on the favourable disposition of his majesty towards their cause.²

The next tidings from England were chilling enough. Elizabeth heard, with mortified regret, that her father was greatly perturbed lest either the King or herself might wish to come into England; a false rumour having arisen that Sir Edward Villiers's errand was to invite them over.³ Well did James know that they would be received with enthusiasm were they to visit his kingdom; and that the tide of popular feeling would rise still more strongly against himself for not having given them prompt and effectual help. The presence of Elizabeth would give strength and consistency to the powerful party with whom her name was a watchword, and who, underhand, sent her pressing entreaties to come over, urging that she would be better even behind the Tower walls, were her father sternly to punish her unpermitted entrance, than wandering in misery round the world. On the other hand, Buckingham opposed her coming, because he hated the Puritans, who were Elizabeth's firmest friends. The Spanish party also strongly represented that it would precipitate a breach with Spain.⁴

[In reference to a rumour of Frederic's intended journey, James I. wrote the following private instructions to Sir Dudley Carleton, his Ambassador in Holland:—

“So great is our dislike of such a course, if he should determine it, (which God forbid) as we do hereby command you, in case he pass by that way with an intention to repair to this place, to address yourself unto him with all diligence, and earnestly, in our name, to divert him by good persuasions from proceeding any further in that journey, with this assurance, that considering the reproach and dishonour which will fall upon him for abandon-

¹ Nethersole's Despatch, 24th Feb. *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Tanner MS. No. 73, pt. 2, f. 293, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Holograph. [Perhaps Frederic's answer to Villiers' propositions was sent at the same time. It is placed at the end of February, *S. P. Holland*, but from internal evidence was written in March.]

³ Memorandum Dec. 1620, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Tillière's Deps. 20th March and 29th May, Raumer, pp. 252-53.

ing his own country, at this time, in the state wherein it is, there can be nothing more displeasing unto us, than his coming hither now. And therefore dissuade him from it, by all the means you can, wherein we hope he will give us contentment by accommodating himself to our desires herein, as he expects to find our care and endeavour in other things which may highly concern him."¹

With respect to Elizabeth, the King, writing a few months later, commanded that:—

“if our daughter also do come into those parts, with any intention to transport herself hither, you do use all possible means at this time to divert her; and rather than fail, to charge her, in our name and upon our blessing, that she do not come, without our good liking and pleasure first signified unto her; for that her being here now would, for many reasons well known unto us, be very prejudicial unto the proceeding of that business, which we have now in hand for her husband’s good; howsoever otherwise, out of our dear and fatherly affection, we should take great comfort to see her”.

The Secretary of State, on whom it devolved to convey these unwelcome despatches, added on his own behalf:—

“I have sent this away unto you with all speed, according to his majesty’s express charge and commandment, being sorry, I must confess, that I am of necessity become the conveyor of so unwelcome tidings to that princely and unmatched pattern of virtue, to whom I owe so much duty and service”.²

However secretly these instructions were given, rumours of them transpired in England, and were known, not only to the French, but to the Dutch Ambassador; and by means of the latter, they reached the ears of Frederic and Elizabeth.³ Such a rebuff, from such a quarter, was keenly felt by both; but Elizabeth, with great tact and promptness, gave it out among her attendants, that she had no wish to go into England; and this was believed even by those in constant intercourse with her.

“I hear it is generally spoken and believed,” wrote Nethersole, “that her majesty shall go into England, and it is true that the king her husband doth much desire it, but the queen herself hath no inclination to it, and hath given Sir Edward Villiers commission to make her answers known to the king her father; who, I presume, will not send for her against her will, wherein neither her majesty’s friends nor enemies will importune him.”⁴

But the hospitality refused by her father was generously manifested in another quarter. [The Prince of Orange gave the royal pair a courteous invitation to the Hague; the proximity of that place, alike to Germany and to England, and the cordiality with which the States sympathised in the Bohemian cause, pointed it out as a suitable retreat; the States of Holland even sent a convoy of nineteen troops of horse to Bielefeld, in order to

¹ James I. to Carleton, 25th Jan. *S. P. Holland*.

² *S. P. Holland*, James and Calvert to Carleton, 13th and 16th March, 1621.

³ Tillière’s Desp. 20th March, 1621; Raumer, “Geschichte Europas,” vol. i. p. 252; News Letter, Hague, 5th May, Harl. MS. 389, f. 67.

⁴ Nethersole’s Despatch, 24th March, *S. P. Holland*.

escort the King and Queen to Holland. Frederic at first proposed to leave the Queen either at Cleves or Arnhem, whilst he himself went into the Palatinate; a step which, he was informed, would be agreeable to King James.¹ But on learning this resolve, the Prince of Orange sent to remonstrate: he pointed out the danger of delaying their journey, both because their enemies were becoming daily more alert as to their movements, and because the States already deemed the detention of their convoy discourteous. He also represented that Cleves was by no means a safe residence, being a weak town and situated in the midst of their foes,² and cordially urged their coming at once to the Hague, where he was already preparing for them a town residence; he further offered his seat at Breda, for the summer resort of the Queen, when her husband should again take the field.

[The King and Queen hesitated whether they should go to the Hague, lest their reception by the States should give offence to King James, till Carleton's letters assured them that the King rather desired than deprecated that step.³ Their decision was therefore taken to accept the invitation of the Prince of Orange; and they sent him, at his request, a list of their retinue, in order that he might make suitable preparations.]

Attended by Duke John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar, by forty knights and their Dutch escort, the royal party passed through the district of Münster, the dominion of the Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, and even under the walls of the city. Their course thenceforward was almost identical with that which Elizabeth had traversed in pomp and splendour, as a young and happy bride. She now retraced her steps, an outcast and an exile, with only her long-coveted title to compensate for the loss of home, and country, and friends.

¹ Nethersole's Despatch, 10th Feb. 1621, *S. P. Holland*.

² Carleton to Duplessis, 8th and 13th March; to Calvert, 24th, 26th and 28th March; and to Nethersole, 5th and 27th March; Nethersole to Carleton, 27th and 29th March, *ibid.*

³ Carleton to Calvert, 31st March, *ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

[Sir Dudley Carleton, English Ambassador at the Hague,] welcomes the King and Queen—Public entrance—Queen's cheerfulness—James I. urges Frederic to submission—Elizabeth remonstrates in vain—Her private life—Melancholy state of Palatinate—Frederic's depression—He joins the Dutch army—James compels his return—Disasters in his dominions—James I. vainly treats for peace—Sends Elizabeth money—English enthusiasm in her favour—Distrust between King and Parliament—Frederic goes in disguise to Palatinate—Count Mansfeld—Elizabeth's domestic life—Pleads for Van der Myle—Obtains money from England—Birth and baptism of Princess Louise—Christian of Brunswick—Campaign in the Palatinate—James urges Frederic to cease from war—He hesitates—Retires to Sedan—Correspondence with Elizabeth—Duke Christian loses an arm—Heidelberg lost—Frederic returns to Hague—James I. promises to arm—Spanish diplomacy—Loss of Mannheim—Frankenthal given to the Infanta by James—Dismay of Frederic and Elizabeth—Prince Charles's visit to Spain—Elizabeth's anxiety for him—King and Queen visit Breda, etc.—Establish their children at Leyden—Duke Christian refuses imperial pardon—James compels Frederic to accept a truce—Spanish marriage broken by refusal to restore Palatinate—Prince Louis born—*Fêtes* at the Hague—Visit to Culenborg—Spain proposes terms of peace—Frederic objects—Parliament votes money for Palatinate—General rejoicing—Elizabeth accused of colleaguery with Buckingham against James I.—Defends herself—Domestic particulars—Want of money—Elizabeth beloved by Puritans—*Faux-pas* of Duke Christian—Mansfeld levies troops in England—Death of Prince of Orange and of James I.

TRAVELLING by Emmerich and Cleves, the royal party reached Arnhem on March 28th; there they embarked on the Rhine, and on Easter Monday, April 2nd, pushed on towards Rotterdam; the wind failing, they were obliged to stop short at Vianen, where they passed the night. At two o'clock on the following day they reached Rotterdam; and the first persons to welcome them on landing were [Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador, and his lady.¹ They were already well known to Frederic and Elizabeth, for in happier days, Carleton had visited the Court at Heidelberg on his return from a mission in Venice.] He was a man of refined tastes, a scholar, and a virtuoso, and warmly attached to the King and Queen, in whose history, during several succeeding years, he took an influential part. Their arrival at Rotterdam shall be recounted in his own words:—

“Yesterday, about 2 of the clock, they came well to this town, with the young child born at Prague, the Duke of Simmeren, brother to the king, who met them at Arnheim, the Duke of Saxe Weimar, the Count and Countess

¹ Couldwell to Calvert, 3rd April, *S. P. Holland*. [Very curiously, the letter is dated 23rd, and says, “this day, the 23rd,” the King and Queen landed, as if the writer thought that Monday, April 2, was New Style, which it was not.]

of Solms, and the rest of their train; all in good disposition, (thanks be to God,) and received here with much demonstration of affection; the burghers, with the whole garrison, having been these two days in arms to do them honour, and they are lodged and defrayed by the town."

Two days later, from the Hague, he says:—

"The king and queen, with their whole train, having been lodged and defrayed in Rotterdam, and honoured by all could be done, either by the burghers or the garrison, passed in boats from thence to the halfway betwixt this and Delft, where they were met by the Prince of Orange and all his court, and so conducted to this town in coaches; the whole way, as well by water as land, betwixt this and the entrance into Delft, by reason of a great concourse of people coming from all parts, being like a continued street; and their being saluted here, since their coming, by all the councils and assemblies, is an argument the affection of this state, from the highest to the lowest, is not changed by the change of these princes' fortune."¹

At the Hague, the foreign Ambassadors and the chief magistrates and citizens met them in state coaches; and the people were moved to tears by the spectacle of the royal lady who had so bravely shared her husband's perils, and was now called to share his misfortunes.² The Queen bore ample testimony to the cordiality of her reception in her letters to her father³ and to Sir Thomas Roe.⁴

The residence first prepared for the exiled Princes was that of Count Henry of Nassau, the brother of the Prince of Orange, which they had occupied on their bridal progress; but as their visit might be indefinitely prolonged, it was resolved to fit up a house expressly for them, and the States of Holland selected a splendid mansion, situated next to that inhabited by Count Henry, the owner of which, Cornelius Van der Myle, was in banishment, owing to his being detected in secret intrigues with France. His wife still remained in occupation of the house, but she gladly consented to accommodate her illustrious guests, reserving only a few rooms for her own use. The States, on consultation, decided that it would be unbecoming in them to pay less regard to their royal visitors on this occasion, than during their prosperity; they therefore gave orders that the house should be furnished at their expense; some of the rooms with regal magnificence.⁵

On the $\frac{17}{27}$ th of April, Frederic had a formal audience of the States-General; he thanked them for all their past kindness to him and his, and begged its continuance. They courteously responded, by assigning a pension of 10,000 florins a month, for the present support of his family.⁶ The Prince of Orange openly

¹ Carleton to Calvert, 4th, 6th April, *S. P. Holland*.

² Johnston, "Rer. Brit. Hist.," p. 556; "Mercure Franç." vol. vii. p. 92.

³ Holograph, French, 7th-17th April, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ *S. P. Holland*.

⁵ Riemer, "Beschryving van's Graven-Hage," fol. Delft, 1730, vol. ii. p. 729.

⁶ "Merc. Franç." vol. vii. p. 734.

expressed his warm admiration of the Queen's magnanimous conduct,¹ and her own compatriots were equally lavish in their praises.

"Thinkest thou," writes Carleton, in a familiar letter to a friend, "there is such another in the world for discretion and all things laudable in her sex and rank?" "His majesty's most royal daughter," writes another, "is, to use her godmother's impress, '*semper eadem*,' full of princely courage, and therefore, as well for that as her other admirable and royally shining virtues, justly honoured, even by the enemies of her cause."²

Her enemies, indeed, showed their confidence in her goodness, by applying to her, within a few days of her arrival at the Hague, to intercede with the States-General in behalf of three Popish priests, condemned to death for endeavouring to surrender a place in Holland into the hands of the Spaniards; but Elizabeth declined to interfere in a cause so entirely political, where her influence would have hardly a chance of success with her justly indignant hosts. She procured, however, for the relatives of the unfortunate men, permission to inter their bodies, after the execution of the law.³

The Queen had now the society of two of her children,—her eldest son, who preceded her to Holland, and young Rupert;—her second son, Charles Louis, and her daughter, Elizabeth, were with their grandmother, the Dowager-Electress, and the infant Maurice was left at Berlin. Notwithstanding her misfortunes, the spirit of Elizabeth was high and hopeful. The buoyant energy of youth still bore her up, and she possessed naturally the facility of bending, willow-like, before the blasts which broke down hearts of sterner make. Politically, her position was discouraging. In spite of his declaration that he would protect the Palatinate, James I. took no vigorous steps. His treasury was low: he had sent to the King of Denmark to borrow 50,000*l.* for his son-in-law, but had not as yet succeeded;⁴ and though the Houses of Parliament were warm in the cause of German Protestantism, and declared themselves ready, if needful, to die in the quarrel for their Princess,⁵ yet they were dissatisfied with the small results of the subsidies previously voted, and disposed to couple with their future grants demands for the redress of grievances, which the King was not inclined to grant; and he dreaded involving himself in a war whose continuance would make him dependent upon his subjects.

In Germany, there were still the elements of vigorous resis-

¹ Rushworth's "Hist. Collect." vol. i. p. 23.

² Carleton to Chamberlain, 7th April; Dickenson's Despatch, 7th April, *S. P. Holland*.

³ Harl. MS. 389, f. 69.

⁴ James I. to Duke of Deuxponts, 26th April, *S. P. Germ. States*. See also *S. P. Dom.*, under date 11th Jan.

⁵ Whiteway's Diary, Egerton MS. 784, f. 26; Commons' Journals, vol. i. p. 639.

tance to the arbitrary measures of the house of Austria,¹ but they needed to be blended into a whole before they could become effective. All looked to England, and as that power held back, each party grew timid, in the fear of being left alone to bear the brunt of war. Imperial policy did not fail to take advantage of this timidity. The Princes of the Union had already made a truce with the enemy, and it was suggested to them that it would be most unwise to renew the war, as, on condition of their withholding assistance from the Palatine Prince, the Emperor was willing to overlook their delinquencies and restore them to his favour. After some scruples, they accepted these overtures, and concluded a permanent peace, from which Frederic, by name, was excepted.²

This unexpected blow was deeply felt by Frederic and Elizabeth; but still one chance remained. The joint army of the Protestant Princes, which was numerous and well conditioned, consisted chiefly of hired troops, and was not therefore obliged to lay down arms; and they eagerly hoped that King James would enable them to retain in their service this army, at the head of which Frederic might march into the Palatinate, where his subjects impatiently anticipated his appearance as their deliverer. The King and Queen both wrote on the subject in the most earnest terms to King James and his council.³ The Queen's letter informed her father that her greatest distress was, that the Princes of the Union laid the blame of their conduct upon him, and she earnestly entreated him to show by his acts that he would not abandon them.

Nethersole, in his eagerness to convey the despatches, crossed the stormy channel in an open boat, when no larger vessel dared attempt the passage.⁴ He hastened to Court. His first audience, which was on the 24th of April, opened propitiously: the King expressed vehement displeasure at the conduct of the German Princes, and taxed them with gross duplicity, for receiving his money to keep up the defence and then abandoning it;⁵ on which Nethersole cautiously opened out the scheme of Frederic's heading their army and leading it into the Palatinate; observing, that though the King of Bohemia was a pattern of submission to the will of his royal father, still entire obedience could not prevent his having a wish of his own, which, on this point, was very strong. The King, without disapproving the proposal, referred to the low state of his own exchequer. Buckingham, who

¹ Harl. MS. 389, ff. 43, 69, 72.

² Treaty between Spinola and Princes, 2nd-12th April, Brienne MS. 87, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Lingelsheim's Desp. 30th April, Lamarre MS. 9291¹²; *ibid.*

³ 12th-22nd April, *S. P. Germ. States* (both letters).

⁴ 29th April, *S. P. Holland.*

⁵ He wrote to them to that effect, 2nd May, 1621, Brienne MS. 87, f. 367, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

was present, suggested that the army being already on foot, the expense would not be very serious, and that it would afford a plea to ask the Parliament for fresh subsidies, out of which the King might make a profit. Nethersole urged that James would ultimately be a gainer by granting a timely assistance, which might relieve him from the onerous charge of supporting his son-in-law, his daughter, the five children they already had, and the five or ten more which they might have! From the King, Nethersole went to the Prince of Wales, to gain his influence, and represented that in spite of his affection to his sister, it would be very embarrassing to him should she and her husband and children be compelled to come to England as paupers.¹

After these hopeful efforts, the indefatigable agent was bitterly disappointed to receive ultimately an unfavourable answer. The proposal to retain the army was refused, on the ground that it would cause jealousies which might hinder the progress of the treaty, and would encourage the enemy to keep up their forces also.² The only troops that were retained were 2,000 English and a few Dutch. Sir Horace Vere was appointed their general, and instructed to garrison, and if possible to hold, the towns of Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal, the principal places of the Palatinate which had not been subdued by Spinola's Spanish forces.

At this resolution Frederic could not refrain from giving vent to his disappointment in terms stronger than he usually allowed himself to adopt towards his royal father-in-law.

"I see," he writes, "by this treaty, that the truce being over, I shall be abandoned by every body, and the rest of my territory given in prey to my enemies. I cannot but be astonished to be abandoned by those who had so often promised me to defend the Palatinate, without which promise, I should never have entered Bohemia. They cover all their faults by your majesty, that you did not assist them, and they had no hopes of aid from you, perhaps for a long time. I would hope that your majesty will shew the world that you neither lack means nor good will to assist me."³

Yet, whilst adopting a line of policy that crushed their hopes, the King continued to profess the strongest personal regard for his daughter and her husband. He wrote to Frederic in the most friendly terms, declaring that though allies and neighbours had proved unfaithful, he would still adhere to his interests and stand or fall with him; promising to spend, in his behalf, all the parliamentary subsidies and all the money he could borrow from Denmark, and exhorting him to await patiently the result of the negotiations in his favour for which Lord Digby was about to start for Vienna.⁴ This task, though difficult, was

¹ Nethersole to Carleton, 1st and 2nd May, *S. P. Holland*.

² Answer to Nethersole's proposals, 7th May, 1621, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ James I. to Frederic, 13th May, *ibid*.

performed. Encouraged by the positive assurances he had received, Frederic withstood all overtures from Bohemia and Moravia, and all entreaties from Count Mansfeld and his oppressed subjects to take up arms, and endeavoured to school himself to the part required of him and wait the issue of the embassy.¹

The King's reluctance to engage himself in war was a fertile subject for the wits and satirists of the age. At one time they represented him with a scabbard without a sword; at another with a sword which no one could draw out, though many were pulling at it. At Brussels, he was pictured with empty pockets hanging out, and his purse turned upside down. In Antwerp, the Queen of Bohemia was represented like an Irish beggar-woman, with her hair hanging about her ears and her child at her back, whilst her father carried the cradle behind her.² The Jesuits got up a play, in which they feigned a post to come puffing upon the stage; and being asked what news, he answered, that the Palsgrave was like to have shortly a huge formidable army; for the King of Denmark was to send one hundred thousand, the Hollanders one hundred thousand, and the King of Great Britain one hundred thousand. But being asked thousands of what, he replied, the first would send him one hundred thousand red herrings; the second, one hundred thousand cheeses; and the last, one hundred thousand Ambassadors; alluding to Sir Richard Weston and Sir Edward Conway, Lord Carlisle, Sir Arthur Chichester, and lastly, Lord Digby, who were all employed as Ambassadors in less than two years, since the beginning of these German wars.³

Lord Digby now set out for Vienna, primed with instructions to obtain the restoration of the Palatinate, as Frederic had possessed it before the Bohemian struggle, and, if possible, to procure toleration for Bohemian Protestants.⁴ Rusdorf, one of Frederic's counsellors, attended him in a private capacity, and Digby assured the unfortunate King and Queen that no effort should be wanting on his part to accomplish the object of his mission.⁵ He even wished to travel by way of the Hague, that he might personally receive their commands, but this was thought inadvisable.⁶ Elizabeth sent him a request to secure the restitution of the numerous articles of personal property which she had left at Prague; observing that, in courtesy, ladies' gear should be restored to them; and that though it behoved not a

¹ Carleton to Calvert, 23rd May, *S. P. Holland*; same to Digby, 7th June, *S. P. Germ. Empire*; Pal. Council to King of Bohemia, 25th May, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Wilson's "Hist." p. 192.

³ Mead to Stuteville, 17th March, 1621, Harl. MS. 389.

⁴ Digby's Instructions, 23rd May, *S. P. Germ. Empire*.

⁵ Digby to Carleton, 28th May, *ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 23rd March.

lady of her quality to sue for such trifles, still, their delivery would afford her much pleasure.¹

In the meantime the King and Queen whiled away their anxious hours as they best might. Elizabeth was very sedulous in her attendance upon divine service in the English Church at the Hague,² and her husband frequently accompanied her, though the Ambassador, Carleton, does not give a very flattering account of the suitability of the discourses prepared for delivery before these illustrious personages. Speaking of a Scottish minister, Mr. Forbes, as a man of excellent learning and utterance, he adds:—

“The king and queen of Bohemia heard him twice here in our English church, with much good liking of him; but he and all others they have heard, since their coming into these parts, still beat their ears with so many arguments and persuasions to support with patience their afflictions, that (though they are in hard state enough) they make them think they are worse than they are; and, in place of comfort, augment their sorrow. Mr. Paget of Amsterdam went so far as to make affliction an argument of happiness,—saying that therein we were more happy than angels, and concluding with a prayer to God to increase our afflictions, that thereby we might be known to be his children; to which none but his own parish said, Amen.”

This sermon was preached during a trip which they made, attended by Carleton, to Amsterdam, “to pass away three or four melancholy days.”³ The newspaper account records that “on Thursday, the King and Queen of Bohemia, with all their court, being a great number of princes, counts, Bohemian and other noblemen, rode to Amsterdam, to see the said town and the singularities thereof, where they were most stately welcomed and feasted by the lords of the town.”⁴ Elizabeth held a drawing-room, at which all the “Englishwomen of fashion,” resident in Amsterdam, were presented and graciously received.

On her return to the Hague, the Queen endeavoured to obtain from England some royal furniture, which should enable her to return certain appendages of state, borrowed from Count Henry, and Nethersole applied to the Lord Chamberlain.

“I have delivered the contents of your letter,” writes his agent, “into my lord chamberlain’s hands, who is always exceeding careful in whatsoever con-

¹ Carleton to Digby, 10th June, *S. P. Germ. Empire*. It was said that at the time of the escape from Prague, all the Queen’s goods, even to her night-clothes, were left behind.—Trumbull’s Desp. 12th Dec. 1620, *S. P. Flanders*.

² Harl. MS, 389, f. 67; News Letter, May, 1621.

³ Carleton to Chamberlain, 7th July. “The King and Queen of Bohemia,” writes another correspondent, “were lately royally entertained at Amsterdam, where all the Englishwomen of fashion came to the queen, and were graciously accepted. One Mr. Paget, an English preacher, preached before them; his text—that of the revelation to the angel of the church of Smyrna,—‘Be [thou] faithful unto death, and I shall give thee a crown of life’; which he argued, as they say he can well do, according to the present occasion bravely.”—“Court and Times of James I.” vol. ii. p. 263.

⁴ “Courante,” 6th June.

cerns that best of queens, and compassionately sensible of the estate her majesty is now in. His lordship tells me it shall be effected, one way or other, and with all speed. I hope her majesty being so near England, will honour this country, and glad the hearts of many thousands, with the favour of her presence. In my opinion, if her majesty pleased to come, sitting the parliament, (which is likely to hold till midsummer, at least till Whitsunday), it might have a good operation upon her affairs."¹

Elizabeth knew better than to take such a hint, however well meant, although it came in corroboration of frequent and urgent entreaties from other quarters. Carleton strengthened her in her resolution of not going to England, without giving her the mortification of telling her that in so doing he was acting according to orders.² He was evidently unconscious that she already knew it too well, and that that knowledge was one cause of her refusal of the tempting and seductive persuasions addressed to her.

The Queen commissioned an artist, one Michael of Delft, to paint a full-length portrait of her eldest son, a sprightly boy of seven years, and sent it as a present to her father; hoping that such a remembrance, constantly before his eyes, might enkindle his affections towards the boy.³ In return, the King sent her a miniature of himself, set in a ring, which she acknowledged with expressions of the highest satisfaction.⁴

The sorrowful depression under which her husband struggled was a constant check upon Elizabeth's elasticity of mind. It was not merely his own misfortunes that oppressed him; imperial vengeance weighed heavily, for his sake, upon his friends and adherents: several Bohemian nobles, who had been most forward in his cause, were brought to the block, others scourged or imprisoned for life. The remnant, fearing a like fate, contrived to escape, and join the Court, already too numerous, of their exiled King, who had neither the money to support them, nor the heart to dismiss them.⁵ The troubles of his hereditary dominions also weighed upon him. The country had been seriously damaged by Spinola's troops; now a great part of the army dismissed by the Princes of the Union had joined Mansfeld, who had been appointed by Frederic his commander in Bohemia, and these forces, holding the passes between that country and the Higher Palatinate, did as much harm as those of an enemy, for the bands of this reckless soldier of fortune were accustomed to summary dealing in procuring their supplies, and though the King wished him success, he heard with regret that he was raising fresh troops, which, under pretence

¹ Rudyard to Nethersole, 13th April, 1621, *S. P. Dom.*

² Carleton's Despatch, 4th April, *S. P. Holland.*

³ Carleton's Despatch, 21st June, *ibid.*

⁴ Elizabeth to James I. 23rd July, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁵ Carleton to Chamberlain, 7th July, *S. P. Holland*; "Mercure Français," vol.

of defending it, would overrun the Palatinate. Frederic was intensely mortified, therefore, when informed that the proceedings of Mansfeld were made a pretext at Vienna for refusing a renewal of the truce;¹ that for them, as well as for the hostilities committed in Bohemia by the still insurgent party, under the Margrave of Jägerndorf, he was held personally responsible;² and that, in retaliation, the Duke of Bavaria was marching to invade the Higher Palatinate.

The Prince of Orange now interceded for his royal guests; he wrote to James I., assuring him that since their arrival in his territories their affairs had grown daily worse, and that, without effectual help, they would be irretrievably lost. The King and Queen themselves made an appeal to their royal father.

"Your majesty," wrote Elizabeth, "will understand by the king's letters how the Palatinate is in danger of being utterly lost, if your majesty give us not some aid. I am sorry we are obliged to trouble your majesty so much with our affairs, but their urgency is so great that we cannot do otherwise. I entreat you then, most humbly, to pardon me if I importune your majesty to continue the care you have ever been pleased to take of us, and to assist us in this necessity in which we are placed, and also to continue me in your good favour."³

Frederic, also, in the bitterness of his spirit, wrote a long and moving letter to his ally, Bethlen Gabor, titular King of Hungary, detailing a list of his miseries: that his friends forsake him; his few remaining towns in Bohemia surrender; the Emperor prospers; and that surely the wrath of God is upon him.⁴

Elizabeth, conscious of the part she had taken in persuading her husband to the step which was plunging him into ruin, was anxious to prove to those by whom she was now surrounded, that she had not acted from impetuous rashness; but deliberately and advisedly. She took care, therefore, on a day when visitors were expected, to leave open in the window of her reception-room a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed to herself, in answer to one soliciting his advice on the question of the Bohemian Crown; in which he strongly urged her to promote its acceptance, even without her father's approval, in the confidence that what James might not choose to advise, he would afterwards, if needful, support.⁵ This letter,

¹ Carleton to Calvert, 31st July, *S. P. Holland*. [And see Elizabeth's letter to Buckingham, dated 29th July, Appendix B.]

² Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 21 and 37. A commission was printed under his name, and dated 23rd May, 1621, appointing Jägerndorf his general for the defence of Bohemia, which Frederic solemnly declared to be a forgery; and Carleton avers that he is "a prince so religious of his word," that he dares guarantee his truth.—Carleton's Despatch, 16th July, *S. P. Holland*.

³ *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Goodman's "Court of James I." vol. i. p. 236.

by preconcerted arrangement, was read to some of the company in order to convince them that the Queen was completely unprepared for the dilatory policy of her royal sire.

The negotiation of Lord Digby at Vienna was spinning out its weary length, and becoming each month less and less promising in its results; and though James I. still tried to keep up the hopes of his son-in-law, he succeeded very indifferently. Knowing that a treaty, if secured, would only end in compelling him to degrading terms, Frederic was inclined to repent of his former promise of implicit obedience to the King's wishes, and, at times, felt disposed to press actively his pretensions to the Bohemian Crown, and gain or lose all.¹ Though unable to raise forces in his own behalf, he resolved to mingle in the conflict of parties, by joining, as a volunteer, the army which the Prince of Orange was gathering together against the Spaniards, a step which was sure to cause the greatest indignation in Spain and Brussels. Both Carleton and Nethersole did their utmost to stop him, but in vain they remonstrated that such a step was inconsistent with the pledge of obedience to his father-in-law; in vain was it opposed on the ground of expense. Frederic replied, that he would by no means reduce the income of his wife, but by selling to the States a small park of artillery, and by calling in a debt of 600*l.*, due to him from the Duke of Bouillon, he should be able to meet the additional outlay. Elizabeth expressed unwillingness to part with him, and seconded the Ambassador in endeavouring to change his resolution; but they could not prevail against the determination of the Prince, and on the 16th of August he set out, with a slight retinue, for the army.

Elizabeth beguiled her lonely hours by familiar intercourse with Sir Dudley Carleton and his family, and also with the friend of her girlhood, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, daughter of Lord Harrington, who came over to the Hague with the express purpose of visiting the Queen, and was a guest at the Ambassador's house.² But these social pleasures were greatly marred by contests for precedence. Lady Carleton, as English Ambassador, had hitherto carefully maintained her right to the post of honour, but on the ground of personal regard, she now ceded it to the Countess of Bedford; whereupon hosts of Dutch countesses and ladies claimed similar compliments, which were stoutly refused; and tranquillity was only restored among the irritated dames by the Queen's impatient censures of those

¹ The Queen's faithful secretary, Nethersole, who was in the interests of James I., and yet strongly attached to his master and mistress, says his own head and heart were well-nigh broken in coping with these conflicting interests. He speaks of Frederic as less yielding than heretofore, not so much that he was allured by any hope of recovering his Crown, as that he deprecated the miserable state into which he should fall, if the present conjunctures were neglected.—Nethersole's *Desp.* 13th Aug. *S. P. Germ. States.*

² Carleton's *Despatch*, 13th, 16th, and 17th August, *S. P. Holland.*

who first raised the disputes, and her strong declaration that she would not allow their continuance. A few days afterwards, Lady Bedford returned to England, whence she wrote long and frequent letters to her royal friend, giving her all the news of the English Court.¹ Elizabeth missed her society greatly.

“We have much ado,” writes Carleton, “to give the Queen of Bohemia any entertainment, yet I am beholden to our neighbours of Delft, who invited me the last week and my wife to a dinner, and desired us to bring our guests, which were the queen and the Countess of Nassau, with the Countess of Solms and her two fair daughters.”

The Queen’s cheerfulness of temper much facilitated the efforts made for her amusement, as her willingness to be pleased was not combined with hyper-fastidiousness about the modes of pleasure. We find her, without notice or ceremony, dropping in to dinner with the Ambassador, and taking him and a large English company on an excursion of six miles, to see an enormous fish which had been washed up on the coast of Holland.² She was occasionally a sufferer from maternal anxieties.

“The young Prince Rupert,” again writes Carleton, “hath been this last week for a day and a night troubled with much bleeding at the nose, with which the queen is less molested than others, because she was in her childhood subject to the same indisposition, but the young prince, with that and a cold which hath followed, is grown very sickly.”³

A letter written by the Queen to Sir Thomas Roe, just appointed Ambassador to Constantinople, shows her sentiments at this juncture:—

“Good Sir Thomas Roe,—By your letters I have understood of your journey; I wish it a happy one for you: the king, before his going to the army, desired me to wish you the same from him, and we both desire you to do us all the good offices you can, as far as you go not beyond my father’s will, which shall ever be a law to us both, as long as it toucheth not our honour. I am sorry you go so far, but you say you have yet done me no service: I will not yield to that, for I have had good testimony of your love, by the good service you did me in England, which I shall never forget.⁴ Our affairs in Bohemia begin to mend; the King of Hungary is master of the field; Mansfeld and Jagerndorf do daily prosper. The king is with the Prince of Orange at the army. I will send you my picture as soon as I can have it done, for you know I am sure that Michel of Delft is very long in his work: let me hear from you sometimes, and be ever assured that I am constantly,

“Your most assured friend, ELIZABETH.”

“The Hague, this $\frac{3}{4}$ of August.

“I find your commendations of Williams very true.”⁵

¹ Carleton’s Despatch, 5th Sept. *S. P. Holland*; Lady Bedford to Carleton, 30th Aug. *S. P. Dom.*

² Nethersole’s Desp. 22nd Aug. *S. P. Germ. States.*

³ Carleton to Calvert, 17th Sept. *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ This refers particularly to the liberality of the county for which Roe was parliamentary representative, in responding, under his influence, to the appeal for a contribution to the relief of the Palatinate.—Frederic to Roe, 8th May, 1621, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁵ *Ibid.* under date.

The perplexities of the King, however, increased with the very circumstances which, in themselves, were favourable to him. Spinola refused, though often solicited, to renew the truce in the Palatinate; ¹ Frankenthal and Mannheim were besieged by Spanish troops. Vere, with his handful of brave and determined men, was struggling almost hopelessly, and yet a slight reinforcement, sent to him by Frederic, excited the displeasure of King James, as likely to impede the treaty at Vienna. ² The Duke of Deuxponts, lieutenant in the Palatinate, declared his resolution to retire and abandon the useless contest, unless prompt assistance could be sent him. ³ Mansfeld, Jägerndorf and the Bohemian baron Rupa, were all urgent in pressing Frederic to action; ⁴ whilst Digby complained that the exertions of his friends, in saving the wreck of his dominions from the invading Spaniard, were the great obstacle to the success of the negotiations for peace. ⁵ James I. willingly believed a testimony so fully in accordance with his views; and to check the symptoms of self-will in his son-in-law, he again sent over Sir Edward Villiers, to bring him back to the paths of obedience, which he represented as alone those of safety. ⁶ His arrival was anticipated by letters of solemn remonstrance from the King to Frederic, for venturing, against his wishes, to join the army of the Prince of Orange. ⁷ Frederic replied, that he was sorry his ill-wishers should misrepresent him to the King; that it was not usual for German Princes to be blamed for joining a friendly army: as, however, the King disapproved the step, he was willing not only to return from the army, but to decline a gallant offer made by Prince Christian of Brunswick, to place him at the head of 1,000 horse, with whom he might march to the relief of the Palatinate. ⁸

This compulsory abandonment of effort was most galling to the spirit of the fallen King. Patient under misfortune, but morbidly alive to censure, he could not brook the reflections cast upon him for his seeming desertion of his own cause at the battle of Prague. He bitterly exclaimed, that were it not for the love with which, above all others in the world, he regarded his wife it had been better for him to have married the daughter of a

¹ Deuxponts' and the council's petition, 8th June, *S. P. Germ. States*; Digby to Spinola, 4th June, and to Calvert, 14th June, *S. P. Germ. Empire*.

² Frederic to Carleton, 1st Sept. *S. P. Holland*.

³ Deuxponts to King of Bohemia, 1st June, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Mansfeld to same, 2nd and 15th Aug.; Nethersole to Secretary, 13th Aug., 17th and 22nd Sept. *ibid*.

⁵ Digby to King of Bohemia, and to Secretary, 20th July, 3rd Oct. *S. P. Germ. Empire*; Trumbull's Despatch, 10th Aug. *S. P. Flanders*.

⁶ Locke to Carleton, 8th Sept. *S. P. Dom*.

⁷ Dates 28th and 30th Aug. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁸ Frederic to James I. 3rd Oct.; Nethersole's Despatch, 22nd Sept. 1621; *S. P. Germ. States*; Carleton's Despatch, 17th Sept. *S. P. Holland*.

beggar than of the King of England.¹ To Carleton and Villiers he declared, that since his implicit obedience to King James subjected himself and his wife to scorn and obloquy in Holland, they must and would seek refuge in England, and were that shelter denied them, he would at once resort to desperate measures—throw himself into the arms of his German friends, and dare all for the salvation of his oppressed country.² His spirit of so-called insubordination greatly disturbed the English King: he wrote to him a letter full of irritation, charging him with being the sole hindrance to the treaty; and directed Calvert, the Secretary of State, to address Carleton on the subject.

“The commandment I have from his majesty is this, that I should presently let your lordship know that it is his pleasure you deal roundly with his son-in-law there, (if you find him any ways puffed up, that is the word is given me, with this news of Count Mansfeld’s arrival at Heidelberg, and by that means to cross his majesty’s settled intention of peace) giving him to understand that his majesty will not only quit him absolutely, but give direct assistance against him, unless he continue constant to all his majesty’s desires, according to his former promises, howsoever fortune may seem to smile on him now; for, otherwise, he would plainly discover that what obedience soever he pretended before, it only proceeded out of mere necessity, and not from that filial respect he owed unto his majesty. This is, *in ipsissimis verbis*, as I have received it, the managing whereof I leave to your lordship’s wisdom.”³

The arrival of Count Mansfeld at Heidelberg was the result of circumstances which promised a favourable reaction for the unhappy Frederic, at the very crisis when his affairs were at so low an ebb. Lord Digby, weary with the delays and equivocations of the Imperial Court, gave up the treaty in despair, and obtained his recall. On his way home he passed through the Upper Palatinate, where Mansfeld, having vainly struggled with a force of 12,000 to make head against an army of 20,000, under the Duke of Bavaria, was on the point of coming to terms.⁴ Digby, meeting him by chance, and learning what he was about, protested strongly, but his words did not seem to have any effect, and Mansfeld went on his way to sign the treaty. In some way, however, he had fallen out of love with his new scheme. On the 30th of September he engaged to disband his forces (whose arrears had been paid by the Emperor while the treaty was pending). Directly afterwards, some say the very next day in the early morning, he marched for the Lower Palatinate and was cheerfully followed by the whole of his army.⁵

¹ Mead to Stuteville, Harl. MS. 389, f. 67.

² Carleton’s Despatch, 2nd Oct. *S. P. Holland*.

³ Calvert to Carleton, 29th Oct. *ibid*.

⁴ Nethersole to Calvert, 9th Oct. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Digby to the Commissioners for German Affairs, 2nd Oct. *ibid*.; Council of Heidelberg to Digby, 8th Oct. Harl. MS. 1581, f. 172; “*Mercure Français*,” vol. 8, p. 13. [Hurter offers as an explanation of Mansfeld’s conduct that 40,000 ducats were given him by Digby, but this certainly is not true. Digby managed with great difficulty (see text below) to raise about a fourth of this sum,

Their approach caused the Spaniards to raise the siege of Frankenthal, the Queen's dower-town, which had been defended for her with such indomitable bravery by her German subjects, that their courage raised admiration even in the enemy, and won for its governor the present of a scarf from the hands of the Queen.¹

Lord Digby, having obtained leave of neutrality for Neustadt, as part of the Queen's jointure still remaining,² proceeded to Heidelberg, which was in daily expectation of a siege by Tilly's troops.³ He summoned Mansfeld to their aid, and finding the citizens in a deplorable condition, pawned his own plate to raise money for their relief; declaring that, if King James would not authorise and repay the loan, he had rather lose it all than see so many subjects of his master's daughter perish.⁴ This noble deed procured him the warmest gratitude of the royal exiles.⁵

On Digby's arrival in England, his representations of the treachery of Austria carried all before them.⁶ The King confessed that his treaty was a failure, that resource must now be had to arms; ordered a present supply of 30,000*l.* and an immediate levy of forces for the Palatinate, and summoned a Parliament to take up the war in good earnest.⁷ The joy which these resolutions created at the Hague was soon damped by the astute policy of Austria and Spain, in availing themselves of the well-known foible of the English King.

The Emperor's design with Lord Digby had been to delay a reply to his propositions, till the truce was expired and the Duke of Bavaria ready to march into the Higher Palatinate; whilst the hopes he gave of its renewal precluded the preparations for a vigorous resistance. Having accomplished his point, instead of giving a definite reply, he referred the question of the Electorate to the Diet at Ratisbon⁸ and that of the truce to the Duke of Bavaria and the Infanta Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, the Regent of Flanders, and made use of the advantageous terms of peace offered by James only to send them to Bethlehem Gabor, and thus encourage him to make a separate peace for himself. The Infanta, when appealed to, made loud professions of regard to King James and to the Queen of

which he gave to the Council of Heidelberg. The origin of the assertion seems to be a statement of Gondomar, who evidently misunderstood something said to him by Windebank.]

¹ J. Dineley to Carleton, 24th Jan. 1622, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Carleton Letters, p. 173.

³ "Relatio Obsidionis Heid." 4to, Frankf. 1622.

⁴ Digby's Despatch, 3rd Oct. *S. P. Germ. Empire*.

⁵ Elizabeth sent him a letter of thanks; Frankland's "James I." p. 124.

⁶ See letter from Lady Bedford to Carleton, 5th Nov. *S. P. Holland*.

⁷ Calvert to Carleton, 5th Nov. *ibid.*, Digby to Carleton, 6th Nov. *ibid.*; James I. to Frederic, 12th Nov. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁸ Frederic to Digby, 13th Aug. *S. P. Germ. Empire*, and to Carleton, 24th Aug. *S. P. Holland*; Lingelsheim's Desp. 11th Sept. Lamarre MS. 9291¹².

Bohemia,¹ but referred the truce wholly to the decision of the Duke of Bavaria. He threw it back again upon the Infanta, and she then said that she could not consent to any truce, unless the English agent were in possession of pledges, signed anew and expressly by Frederic, to abide by the proposals of his father-in-law.² An instrument was therefore drawn up and forwarded to Frederic, requiring his signature to terms of which the principal were, that he should first, renounce Bohemia and all its dependent countries; secondly, be henceforth obedient to the Emperor; thirdly, crave pardon from him on the knee;³ fourthly, reconcile himself with the other Princes of the Empire.⁴

Frederic struggled hard against this measure, despite all the efforts of Carleton and Nethersole to persuade him to "drink his cup off roundly and cheerfully"; he felt the required submission to be most revolting.⁵ Very earnestly did he solicit leave to stipulate for an amnesty for his friends and freedom of religion in Bohemia;⁶ but James was firm, and he had an additional hold upon the Prince, on account of his pecuniary difficulties.

"In one thing," wrote Carleton to Villiers,⁷ both himself and the queen have desired me to remember (remind) you: that is of their hard condition here, where the cash is empty, and not one penny remaining of those monies his majesty sent the queen for a present by you, when you found her at Custrin, which, though it was designed for her private use, she hath been content should supply her husband's necessities, and thereupon they have sustained themselves until now. My Lord Digby hath done well for the troops in the Palatinate; now, this garrison in the Hague (the household), which is 200 foot and 100 horse, is recommended to your particular solicitation to his majesty, for supply against a hard time of winter, when forage will fail, and vivanders follow them no longer than money is stirring."

The allowance received from the friendly Hollanders was already anticipated. A considerable debt was owing to Carleton; and James I. refused to send any part of the 30,000*l.* ordered for the King and Queen till the instrument of acquiescence should be signed. Thus entangled in the meshes of a diplomatic net, from which he found it impossible to extricate himself,

¹ Trumbull's Desp. 7th Sept. *S. P. Flanders.*

² "Brief Information of Affairs of the Palatinate," 4to, 1624, p. 50.

³ The Emperor considered that Frederic might think himself privileged, could he obtain permission to throw himself at the imperial feet.—Camerarius, "Cancel. Hisp." 4to, 1622. This work was replied to by a pamphlet of Fabius Hercynianus in 1624, and Camerarius, who was a chief counsellor of the King of Bohemia, published a rejoinder.

⁴ *Scrinia Sacra*, 4to, Lond. 1654. [All these points were laid down by James himself. See his letter to the Emperor, 12th Nov. 1621, in "Cabala," p. 239.]

⁵ The Emperor had bitterly declared, in reference to the restoration of the Electorate, that he would rather cherish a crushed snake in his bosom, than re-admit his vassal to his former dignities.—Emperor to Secretary of Spain, 15th Oct. *S. P. Spain.* Tanner MS. 73, pt. 1, f. 68, printed in Lunigius, vol. i. p. 159.

⁶ Fred. to James I. 5th Dec. *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁷ 29th Oct. 1621, *S. P. Holland.*

Frederic yielded a reluctant consent.¹ On this the 30,000*l.* was paid, with a stipulation that the arrears of the English and Scottish troops in the Palatinate should be discharged, and a sufficient amount reserved to support the honour and dignity of the exiled Queen.² Of this sum more than two-thirds were disposed of to the garrisons in the Palatinate and the few troops still in the field; the remaining third went to pay off debts contracted at the Hague, for household expenses, and to redeem a quantity of plate, etc., which the Queen had been compelled to pawn in Brandenburg during the time of her flight from Prague. But when this was done, nothing remained to meet present charges; the Queen was looking forward to her *accouchement*, and as her whole wardrobe had been left behind at Prague, she sent a humble petition for a further grant of 5,000*l.* to enable her to make adequate provision. After some hesitation and delay, this sum was ordered to be paid, at the rate of 1000*l.* weekly, and King James received many thanks for his generosity.³

The English Parliament again assembled, and on its proceedings depended greatly the prosperity of the Palatinate. The general feeling of the nation was with the Queen of Bohemia and her family. Of this ample proof had been given in the severe punishments inflicted upon several English Papists, who had ventured to write or speak disrespectfully of her and her cause.⁴ One expression of chivalric enthusiasm was strikingly characteristic of the age. A company of young men of the Middle Temple, scions of England's ancient gentry, met

¹ *S. P. Holland*, Nov. *passim.*; Williams to Carleton, 1st Dec.; Calvert to Carleton, 3rd, 8th, 19th Dec. *ibid.*

² Council Order, 12th Nov. Privy Council Book, 1621, f. 187, in the Privy Council Office; Lord Cranfield to Buckingham, 4th Dec. Appendix to Goodman's "Court of James I." vol. ii. p. 215.

³ The whole and more than the amount bestowed was, in fact, the result of the subsidies granted by the preceding House of Commons.—Carleton to Council, 8th Feb.; Council to Buckingham, 15th March; Privy Seal Bills, 18 to 22, f. i.; 30th March and 19th Aug. 1622; Orders in Council, 23rd March, 6th April, Privy Council Office. The warrant was issued on 29th March, 1622, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ A barrister named Floyd was convicted of having spoken of good man Palsgrave and good wife Palsgrave taking to their heels and running away from Prague, and that now *Bess* must come home to her father; adding that he had as much right to be King of Wales as Frederic to be King of Bohemia. Public whipping, branding, the pillory, imprisonment, and a heavy fine, were decreed as the penalty, the whipping only being remitted from the advanced age of the criminal.—Chamberlain and Locke to Carleton, 2nd, 5th, and 26th May, 1621, *S. P. Dom.*; Report of the Action against Floyd, Harl. MS. 6274, ff. 30-31, 40, 62; "Court and Times of James I.," vol. ii. p. 256. John Cranfield was committed to the Fleet for a similar, though lighter, misdemeanour. A third offender, who had maligned the Lady Elizabeth, after narrowly escaping being torn to pieces by the populace, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. A fourth had his ears nailed to the pillory, and was there to remain till he tore himself loose: and a fifth, James Maxwell, was imprisoned for writing a work to prove that the Crown of Bohemia was not elective; but he received pardon, on publicly recanting and burning his book.—"Lords' Journals," vol. iii. p. 155; Johnston, "Rer. Brit. Hist." p. 623; "Mercure Franç." vol. x. p. 339; *S. P. Dom.* 7th Nov. 1620, 26th Jan. 1621.

gether, for supper, and when the wine went round the first man rose, and holding a cup in one hand and a sword in the other, pledged the health of their distressed Princess, the Lady Elizabeth; and having drunk, he kissed the sword, and laying his hand upon it, took a solemn oath to live and die in her service. His ardour kindled the whole company. They all rose, and from one to another the cup and sword went round, till each had taken the pledge.¹

This incident excited the royal displeasure. Political movements placed the monarch and his daughter in a singular position of antagonism. It was the Puritan party in England, ever most averse to James I., that most warmly espoused the cause of Elizabeth; and they did so, not only from regard to the interests of Protestantism, but perhaps also from a desire to see the King adopt a course of policy which, by plunging him into war, would compel him to have frequent recourse to Parliament, and thus to comply with its requisitions. He—from reasons just the opposite—clung to the forlorn hope of peace. On this account, a too warm attachment to his daughter was looked upon by the King as a reflection upon himself. The busy pens of popular writers did not tend to smooth matters: there were those who scrupled not to publish their views of the King's conduct towards his child. A writer, under the soubriquet of Tom Tell-truth, expressed his opinion, more freely than elegantly, that the King's permitting the Palatine family to "drink so deep in the cup of affliction as not to be able to stand upon their legs, but reel up and down, without hope of recovery, is the scorn and opprobry of the nations of the earth".² Another writer, in a tone of stern eloquence, exclaims:—

"Look upon the princess, your only daughter, and you shall find all her husband's misfortunes and losses do no way blemish but rather illustrate her virtues, as if her fortitude and resolution were too divine to be outbraced by any earthly crosses and afflictions. For the remembrance of reason and honour, of her blood and her virtues, coming to form itself in her understanding, makes her to entertain different accidents and afflictions with an equal erected consistency; and although she have only this comfort and consolation left her, that she is not the cause of his misfortunes, yet those who see her beauty, and know her virtue, do likewise know, that she who is one of the greatest ladies of the world, should not be reduced to this point of misery and misfortune to be one of the poorest and least of the world: Sir, God hath made her your daughter, and our princess, and adorned her with so many virtues, as she rather deserves to be empress of the whole world, than lady of a small province; she inheriteth the name and virtues, the majesty and generosity, of our immortal Queen Elizabeth, and is a princess of such excellent hopes and exquisite perfections, that I cannot speak of her without

¹ Nichols's "Progresses," vol. iii. p. 751.

² Harl. Miscel. by Park, vol. ii. p. 419. A work appeared entitled "Vox Populi," and dedicated to the King and Queen of Bohemia, in which the treacherous practices of Austria to ruin England were freely and satirically detailed.

praise, nor praise her without admiration, since she can be imitated by none, nor paralleled by any but by herself; and yet will your majesty neglect her, and will you not draw your sword in her just quarrel whose fame and virtue hath drawn most hearts to adore, all to admire her?"¹

On the opening of Parliament, the King, in a serious appeal, declared his renewed purpose of recovering the Palatinate.² He was supported by Lord Digby, who gave his own views of Austrian policy, and urged the importance of immediate assistance to Mansfeld in his defence of the Lower Palatinate.³ The Houses cordially responded to these remarks; but before granting the required subsidies, they proceeded to discuss monopolies and James's foreign policy. This exasperated the King, and he sent down a letter of imperious tone, forbidding his lieges to meddle with what did not belong to them, and ordering them to turn at once to the business of the subsidies. They refused: the breach widened; and finally the Parliament was dissolved.⁴

The King now addressed himself again to his subjects, to levy a (so-called) voluntary contribution from the wealthy, in the shape of a loan;⁵ and to the Scottish Parliament,—with whom their Princess, born in their own country, was even more popular than in England,—he subsequently made an appeal, urging upon them to vindicate the title they had requested her to adopt, of daughter of Scotland, by now coming forward in her behalf. The Earl of Melrose pressed the subject upon the Scottish members, and with some effect; but the poverty of the country, and a fear of misappropriation of the funds, prevented its fuller success.⁶ These limited means, however, enabled the King to equip the promised levies for the Palatinate, which were placed under the charge of Sir Horace Vere, with instructions to act strictly on the defensive.⁷

Meanwhile, King James, who still could not give up hopes of a favourable result from the negotiations then going on at Brussels between Weston and an Ambassador from the Emperor, instructed his daughter to write to the Infanta Isabella a letter of acknowledgment for the kindly words she had used to Weston about Elizabeth herself.⁸ The Infanta received the letter with many friendly expressions towards the Queen, and wrote a courteous reply, dated April, 1622, and addressed to Elizabeth as Princess of Great Britain and Countess Palatine, assuring her of her attachment, both on account of obligations to

¹ Scott, "Votiva Angliæ".

² Egerton MS. 1048, f. 6.

³ Lords' Journals, vol. iii. p. 195.

⁴ Calvert to Carleton, 8th Dec. 1621, *S. P. Holland*.

⁵ *S. P. Dom.* 2nd Feb.; Privy Council Order, 4th Feb. 1622, Council Book at the Privy Council Office; Privy Seal Bills, 18-22, J. I., No. 9, f. 122 b.

⁶ Melrose "State Papers," printed for the Abbotsford Club, pp. 374, 388-89, 414.

⁷ Fred. to James I. 19th Jan. 1622, *S. P. Germ. States*; *ibid.* March *passim*.

⁸ Copy by Nethersole, 1st Feb. *S. P. Flanders*. Infanta's letter, April, *ibid.*

her father, and favours received from the late Queen her mother, protesting her regret at her present sufferings and her desire to remedy them. But this very letter contained a discordant element, for it refused the title of Electress to Elizabeth, and she vainly tried to persuade herself that the omission was the result of accident.

James, having fruitlessly attempted to persuade his son-in-law to wait the issue of the treaty, offered no further opposition to his long-frustrated desire to join his struggling subjects. His presence in the Palatinate was rendered doubly important by a want of union between Mansfeld and General Vere;¹ moreover, a chief was needed of higher rank than Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick or the Margrave of Baden Durlach, as no one of these was willing to obey orders given by either of the others. Much difficulty occurred in reference to his route thither, Flanders being decidedly hostile, and France by no means to be trusted; but after putting aside several proposed plans,² he adopted a scheme suggested by Nethersole, who, as agent of James I. with the Princes of Germany, had a free pass through all countries not in hostility against England, and offered his companionship to his royal master, if he would condescend to travel incognito.³ To this the King, who was all ardour to be gone, willingly consented; and shaving his beard and putting on the disguise of a merchant, he bade farewell to his wife and set out, with a train of only six persons, from the Hague.

Stormy winds at first thwarted his progress, and compelled him to put back; but on the 31st of March, 1622, he landed safely at Calais, and posted on, with rapidity, to Paris.⁴ There, to avoid suspicion, he parted from Nethersole, and, with only two attendants, travelled direct through Lorraine, towards the Palatinate. At Bitsch, on the Alsatian frontier, he encountered several horsemen of the Archduke Leopold, and in order to escape detection, joined in their toasts and merriment, though his own unfortunate condition formed the chief subject of their sport.⁵ Proceeding to Durlach, he had an interview with the veteran Margrave of Baden Durlach.⁶ This Prince, long one of Frederic's firmest friends, had just abdicated in favour of his son, knowing well that his continued opposition to the Emperor risked the entire forfeiture of his dominions, if retained in his

¹ Carleton's Despatch, 9th Feb.

² *Ibid.* 30th Dec.

³ Nethersole's Desp. 14th Jan., 6th Feb. *S. P. Germ. States*; 24th, 31st March, *S. P. Holland*. Such was the care exercised to prevent this being known, that Nethersole does not name it in his correspondence, except in cipher, and wrote of Frederic merely as the gentleman who was going with him.

⁴ Carleton's Desp. 29th March, *S. P. Holland*; Nethersole's Desp. April; Fred. to James I. 31st March, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ "Theatrum Europæum," p. 625; News Letter, Spire, 26th April, 1622, *S. P. Foreign News Letters*, vol. 28.

⁶ Lingelsheim's Despatch, April, Lamarre MS. 9291¹².

own hands. He only stipulated for the command of his troops, and with these he was now ready to take the field. With him Frederic concerted military operations, and thence went on to Landau. Here he threw off his disguise, and sent Count von Lewenstein to Germersheim, Mansfeld's head-quarters, to announce his speedy arrival.

The general, whose love of the Protestant cause was not sufficiently strong to stand out through distress and desertion against Spanish gold, was listening, at this very juncture, to the persuasions of one Raville, an envoy sent by the Infanta to draw him over to the other side. Count Lewenstein found him at table with Raville, and taking him aside, imparted the tidings of the King's impending arrival. Mansfeld excused himself to his guest; went at once to meet his former master, and renewed his promises of adherence.¹ At Frederic's request he then returned to Raville, and asking for a bowl of wine, drank to the health of King Frederic, and calmly informed his astonished guest that, as his Majesty of Bohemia was now arrived in his hereditary lands, treaties were at an end. As he spoke, the King, with his three companions, made his appearance. The bewildered agent was about to depart, but Frederic invited him to supper, and then gave him leave to go in safety, telling him that there was no present opening for his task, as he himself needed Mansfeld's help; but that when he had done with his general, he was quite at liberty to serve any other Prince.² It was on the 12th of April that the King reached Germersheim, where he was received with the utmost joy by both soldiers and people, and where we must now leave him, to return to the more immediate subject of our biography.

Elizabeth's private life at the Hague admitted of little diversity: although the elasticity of her temper preserved her from gloom, yet her exiled position and limited means constantly acted as painful restraints. Her principal diversion consisted in the society of the minor German Princes and Princesses, and of the English nobility who frequently visited the Court at the Hague,—the latter class attracted principally by her presence.

Sir Dudley Carleton, in answer to an application from his sister, Lady Sedley, to know whether she might venture to offer a present to the Queen of Bohemia, and if so, what should be its nature, assured her, that in so doing she would not be charged with presumption, as the Queen knew her well by reputation. In reference to the kind of present, he writes:—³

"Goldsmith work she needs not, and what you spare in housekeeping and building will not go far in that kind. Horses are welcome hither, though

¹ "Mercure Français," vol. viii. p. 272.

² Riccius, p. 73; Coke's "Detection," p. 124: "Theatrum Europ." vol. i. pp. 622-25; Nethersole's Desp. 18th April, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ 9th Feb. 1622, *S. P. Holland*.

here be no place to ride them, but of them she is sufficiently stored; of little dogs and monkeys she hath no great want, having sixteen or seventeen in her own train, and your sister, (Lady Carleton), as many more at her service. Sweetmeats she doth not very well taste." "Of stuffs, here is better choice than England affords, and what can be had in London-exchange, the London ladies send over abundantly; so as nothing remains but fine and curious works, and for such a one, I will give you an invention,—let it be a wheel of fortune turning, made by a cunning hand."

The Queen's sad experience of her own vicissitudes of fortune made her tenderly compassionate towards those of others. She renewed an attempt, fruitlessly made by her husband at the close of the preceding year, to procure from the States-General a reversion, or at least a mitigation, of the sentence of exile pronounced against Cornelius Van der Myle, the husband of the lady whose house was her present home, and who laboured to show her all possible courtesy. The Queen wrote a pleading letter in his behalf, dated March 22nd, 1622, urging, amongst other reasons, that her own increasing family would soon require an enlargement of her habitation; that this could not be made without the consent of the proprietor; and that she could hardly request such a favour, unless she had previously conferred upon him some obligation. The first impulse of the States was to refuse the petition, as the feeling against Van der Myle was one of stern indignation; but a request from the hand of a royal lady and an exiled Queen was not a thing of everyday occurrence; and after a little further deliberation, they agreed partially to accord her petition, and to permit the return of the exile from the islands to Beverwyk, within the main land, though he was still prohibited from entering the Hague.¹ The grateful Dutchman, writing to Carleton, gave expression to a warm outburst of feeling.

"I hope that you will remember to employ, for my perfect relief, at some fitting time, the favour of that incomparable and most high Princess, as much exalted and renowned through the universe for her goodness as her generosity,—the most serene Queen of Bohemia. My wife will also not fail to come and thank her majesty most humbly on my behalf, for the most gracious and truly royal recommendation and intercession that she deigned to employ so earnestly for me."²

The Queen had now to contend with severe pecuniary difficulties, but she had a steady friend in the Ambassador, Carleton. He wrote on her behalf to remonstrate with Calvert on the tardiness in the arrival of her promised supplies; after mentioning one of the secretary's despatches, which, he says,

"Came . . . after an extraordinary manner, locked up in one of her highness's trunks, at which she makes herself very merry with us both;" he

¹ Riemer, "Beschryving van's Graven-Hage," p. 730; Carleton to Nethersole, 29th April, *S. P. Holland*.

² Van der Myle to Carleton, 11th May, 1622, *ibid*.

adds, "but her mirth is mixed with as much sorrow and anger as the cheerfulness and sweetness of her disposition can permit, in that, being informed by me, out of your honour's letters of the 24th of March, of the privy seal of 5,000*l.* granted by his majesty for her highness's service, and express order taken by the council table to have the same sent over hither, by 1,000*l.* weekly, whereupon her highness's words and my poor credit in her behalf was engaged for some payments here accordingly, there is hitherto only the first parcel furnished."

He then enlarged on the difficulties of the Queen; that she was left with a debt of 3,000*l.* and a household of 200 persons and 50 horses in a town where provisions were high, and when extraordinary expenses were in prospect; and he urged not only promptitude in present payments, but a discharge of the 3,000*l.* debt, and a monthly allowance of 1,000*l.* to prevent her from falling into these constant embarrassments.¹

On 17th April, 1622, Elizabeth give birth to an infant daughter. The baptism took place on the 26th; the sponsors were the States of Holland, the Count and Countess of Nassau-Dietz, the wife of Emanuel of Portugal, and Prince Christian of Brunswick; the name selected was Louise Hollandine, in compliment to the Electress-Dowager and the States of Holland.

"The christening," writes Carleton, "was performed with as much solemnity as this place can afford; the Prince of Orange, with the captains and commanders of all nations, and all his court, going before, with the young prince and myself; the child following, being carried under a canopy by the young Princess of Portugal, who was led by Don Gulielmo her brother, and the Duke of Holstein; and the train of the bearing-cloth by the Rheingravine and the young Countess of Solms. After came three deputies of the States of Holland, one representing the nobility, the two other the two first towns of South and North Holland, with Count Henry; there being no representant for the Duke Christian of Brunswick, which was omitted in regard of a competition about place betwixt German princes of his quality and the States of these provinces. After them followed the two godmothers, the Princess of Portugal and the Countess of Nassau; and after them all the ladies of quality in this town; which order was observed, as well in the return as going to church, and all without any confusion, though the concourse was great. The church was the next to the Queen's Court, that in the Voorhout, brought in use during the late disputes, where Count Henry and two of the godfathers, both of the Arminian fashion, never appeared before, and many others, as well Arminian as Papists, remained there during the sermon; so as this little princess hath done more than is like to be done by the great Archbishop of Spalatro,² for reconciling of religions, and bringing all to one church."³

The States granted their god-daughter a life pension of 200*l.*; ⁴ but their bounty was rivalled by that of her god-father of Brunswick. Having just received a heavy sum as ransom

¹ Carleton's Despatches, 17th April and 10th June, *S. P. Holland*.

² [Marco Antonio De Dominis. For an account of him, see S. R. Gardiner, "History of England," iv. 282.]

³ Carleton to Calvert, 28th April. See also his letters to Nethersole and Chamberlain, 29th and 30th April, 1622, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Act of Pension, 6th May N. S., *ibid.*

for a prisoner taken in war, he sent the whole of it to the little Princess.¹

The devotion of this Prince to the person and cause of Elizabeth of Bohemia was a complete return to the enthusiasm of the age of chivalry. A glove drawn from her hand was the ornament which always decorated his helmet, and by it he swore to shed his last drop of blood in her service;² his favourite motto was "Für Gott und für sie". In its French rendering,—*"Tout pour Dieu et ma très chère reine,"* this motto, inscribed with his own hand, is still to be seen in an album which belonged to one of the Queen's sons, and is preserved in the British Museum.³ "The mad Brunswicker," was the title which his rashness earned for him, when, with his wild horsemen, he swept the country, directing his steps wherever he could obtain an advantage or redress a wrong for her. He thundered with his great cannon at the city of Münster, because the citizens had refused to give up some personal property belonging to the King and Queen of Bohemia, which was pillaged at Prague and now lodged in their town, and also had protected certain Jesuits guilty of pasquinades against them.⁴ He was characterised by personal bravery, rather than by good generalship, and his name is sullied by many dark deeds of pillage and sacrilege. At the Queen's request, Carleton wrote to urge upon him the necessity of caution in exposing his person; adding, that as to his honour, she needed not to send him any charge, as he was already too keenly alive to that; but she begged him to distinguish between the honour of a general and that of a common soldier; since, if he risked his life so rashly, some unhappy accident might prevent his reaching a pitch of fame which no Prince so young had hitherto attained.⁵ All hints of prudence were thrown away on the reckless Prince, and a short time afterwards (June ½9) he received a severe defeat from Tilly at Höchst.

"This mischance," wrote Carleton, "happened to one so near the Queen in affection and blood (who doth adventure his whole fortunes in her service) doth much molest her."⁶

Christian wrote an account of the affair to the Queen, representing it as favourably as possible, and laying the blame on Count Mansfeld.

¹ Carleton to Nethersole, 10th June; to Calvert, 18th June, *S. P. Holland*.

² "Weekly News," 5th June, 1622; Lodge's Portraits, Elizabeth of Bohemia; Savage's "Germany," vol. ii. p. 475.

³ MSS. of George IV. No. 436, f. 10. This curious little book contains the arms and autographs of the English royal family and many of the nobility, and most of the German Princes who were in the habit of visiting the Hague.

⁴ Mead to Stuteville, 22nd Feb., Harl. MS. 389, f. 150; Christian's demand, *S. P. Holland*; "Weekly News," 23rd May, 1622.

⁵ Carleton to Prince Christian, 23rd April, *S. P. Holland*.

⁶ Carleton to Calvert, 18th June, *ibid*.

"Madame, my dearest and most beloved queen," he added, "the fault is not that of your most faithful and affectionate servant, who ever loves and cherishes you. I entreat you most humbly, not to be angry with your faithful slave, for this misfortune, nor take away the good affection which your majesty has hitherto shown me, who love you above all in this world; consider that victory is in God's hands, not mine, and that I cannot challenge victory, although my courage in dying for your majesty and serving you, will never fail me: for I esteem your favour a hundred times dearer than life; and be assured that I shall try, with all my power, not only to reassemble my troops, but also, moreover, to raise as many more, that I may be in better condition to serve faithfully your majesty, whom I love '*outré le possible*,' assuring you that as long as God gives me life, I shall serve you faithfully, and expend all I have in the world for you.

"Signed—Your most humblest, most constant, most faithful, most affectionate, and most obedient slave, who loves you, and will love you, infinitely and incessantly to death,
CHRISTIAN."¹

Following out the cheerful tone of his letter, the Duke rallied a body of 5,000 horse and 6,000 foot, with which to join the King of Bohemia.²

The first appearance of Frederic among his subjects in the Palatinate had caused tumultuous rejoicings, and so revived their ardour that they were sanguine of success; their enthusiasm was increased by a victory won by the King and Mansfeld at Mingolsheim, three leagues from Heidelberg, over the forces of the League under Tilly, by which he was diverted from the siege of that place. On the 26th of April, Frederic had once again the joy of entering his former capital.³ At this time, the protestant princes' army had greatly the advantage in numbers,⁴ but their leaders could not agree. The Margrave of Baden-Durlach wished to attack Tilly again, before he could be reinforced, but Mansfeld would not, perhaps could not, stay to do this. His army needed to be ever on the move or it would have starved, and he marched off with the Elector Palatine to besiege Ladenburg and join Christian of Brunswick. Baden, left alone, held to his purpose of attacking Tilly, and was totally defeated by him on 26th April-6th May at Wimpfen. Still the fortunes of war varied: the King's party took Ladenburg, and repulsed the army of Archduke Leopold from the siege of Hagenau;⁵ the Emperor even made overtures of peace to the Duke of Würtemberg, and requested Frederic to consent to a month's truce. The request was over-ruled by a message from Bethlen, King of Hungary, urging him to exertion; and by the declaration of Prince Chris-

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*, 15th June, 1622.

² See Elizabeth to the Duchess of La Tremouille, "*Archæologia*," xxxix. p. 163.

³ Vere to Carleton, 26th April, *S.P. Germ. States*. Same to Earl of Oxford, 1st May, Harl. MS. 1581, f. 160; Lingelsheim's *Desp.* 23rd April.

⁴ [According to Opel, the Protestants, at the beginning of 1622, had sixty or seventy thousand men in arms, their adversaries only thirty-five thousand; and on all hands the success of the former and the re-establishment of the Palatine were expected.—"*Der niedersächsisch-dänische Krieg*," i. 309 *et seq.*]

⁵ Nethersole to Calvert, 5th May, *S. P. Germ. States*.

tian of Brunswick, that if Frederic made a truce without obtaining the restoration of his estates, he would turn his back upon him as an arrant coward. Though compelled by Tilly to retreat from Heidelberg, Frederic marched on with Mansfeld's army, passed the Rhine at Mannheim, and entered Hesse Darmstadt.¹ The Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt had steadily given his support to the Emperor. Mansfeld and Frederic pillaged the country, took the Landgrave prisoner, and only released him upon his agreeing to acknowledge the Palatine as King of Bohemia. The boastful words and high demands of Frederic on this occasion became known, and did much to alienate finally the sympathy of the Princes of Germany from his cause.

These movements, as may be imagined, were sorely against the views of James I. He had merely consented to allow his son-in-law to act on the defensive, in the deliverance of the Palatinate; and he was very indignant at his presuming to adopt bolder measures, which, he declared, would prove injurious to the treaty at Brussels.² Once again an express messenger was sent off to bring him back to obedience. The agent employed was Arthur, Lord Chichester, who, having married a daughter of Lord Harrington, was deemed likely to be acceptable to the King and Queen. He landed at the Hague, and communicated to Elizabeth the contents of a letter, written, as he confessed, "with sour ink," from her father to her husband, which sternly reproached him for his evil proceedings, in expending upon active warfare the money intended for garrisons, and in refusing the overtures for a truce, though he knew England was engaged in it; and threatened him with the instant withdrawal of pecuniary aid and the recall of the English troops under Vere, unless he at once sent an agent to Brussels to forward the treaty, and followed the counsels of Lord Chichester.³

These were heavy tidings for Elizabeth. She was well aware, that though the States-General allowed Mansfeld a pension for his troops, and those of Prince Christian were maintained at his own expense, yet her husband had no resources, excepting as afforded by King James, to supply the English troops under Vere.

"It is hard to say," wrote Carleton to Calvert,⁴ "whether her highness were more troubled with the apprehension of the danger of her husband's divided and unpaid army, or the conceit [conception] how much he will be afflicted at the receipt of a father's so sharp reprehension, in a style which her highness, (out of the tender love of a kind wife, as she is ever, both absent and present,) doth wish might be converted upon her husband's enemies;

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*, June *passim*. "Weekly News," May and June.

² James I. to Frederic, 22nd March; Frederic's reply, 3rd May, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ James I. to Frederic, 3rd June, *ibid.*

⁴ 18th June, *S. P. Holland*.

observing them to entertain time, in all other parts, and to bend their chief strength to the utter ruin of his countries; whilst his misfortune is to have his proceedings discountenanced and disgraced, with his chief friends."

Elizabeth comforted herself, however, with thoughts of the personal bravery and good fortune of her husband in the late campaign, and grounded on this some hopes of the returning dawn of prosperity.¹

From the Hague, Lord Chichester hastened to Mannheim, where he found the King and Mansfeld at the head of an army of 30,000 men. He urged upon Frederic the commands of his father-in-law, that he should consent to a truce for three weeks, and withdraw to some place in the Palatinate, to await the issue of the treaty. Nethersole had previously, in fulfilment of orders, pressed upon him the same course, but without effect. To both the envoys Frederic replied that he would never act so dishonourably as to lay down his arms and leave others to fight his battles; and he declared, strongly and repeatedly, that he foresaw, if he took such a step in obedience to the King, it would lead to his utter ruin.² Chichester still urged the point (though he refrained from outraging the feelings of Frederic by presenting King James's angry letter until other later ones arrived, showing that the storm was past);³ and promised, on behalf of his master, that if he would now leave the army and refrain from action, he should, in case of the failure of the treaty, be furnished, the ensuing year, with an army of 10,000 men, at the expense of England. At the end of June, Christian of Brunswick, after his defeat by Tilly at Höchst (June 10th-20th), had made his way to Mannheim with the remnants of his army. He and Mansfeld were determined to retire into Alsace, and Chichester, anxious to separate Frederic from these wild adventurers, prayed him to remain at Mannheim. But his persuasions were in vain. Mansfeld and Christian declared that it would be madness for Frederic, out of blind obedience to the King of England, to expose himself to almost certain siege and capture in a town whose provisions were already nearly exhausted (by themselves). Frederic was entirely under their influence, and on 13th June rode out with them on the road to Alsace. His experiences in Mansfeld's camp, however, soon began to open his eyes. On June 28th he wrote to Chichester, hoping that the excesses of the army would not be imputed to him; that the men in it seemed to be possessed by the devil, and to take pleasure in setting fire to everything, ruining friend and foe alike.⁴ Moreover, the pressure of pecuniary needs, the consciousness that

¹ Carleton to Buckingham, 18th June, Harl. MS. 1580, f. 336.

² Lord Chichester's declaration of passages in the Palatinate, during his employment there, MS. 180, f. 164, All Souls' College, Oxford.

³ Calvert to Carleton, 1st July, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Frederic to Chichester, 28th June, *S. P. Germ. States*.

without English gold he was utterly helpless, the loud complaints of the troops, ready to mutiny for want of the pay which was withheld till his compliance, at last prevailed, and on the same day that he wrote to Chichester he sent to Weston at Brussels the full powers to treat on his behalf which he had hitherto refused. On the 3rd of July he left the army, after dismissing the troops from his service, and releasing Mansfeld and Christian from their bonds of fidelity, retired to Sedan, the residence of his uncle the Duke of Bouillon, in which so many of his boyish years had been passed, and sent Pawel, a confidential counsellor, to represent his views at Brussels.¹ Yet, at the very time that James exacted from his son-in-law a sacrifice so great, his agent at Brussels did not hesitate to pronounce that the treaty would fail; and that he would be as profitably occupied in making ropes of sand as in dancing attendance upon these protracted negotiations.² Tilly, meanwhile, declaring that he had received no directions to observe the truce to which Frederic bound himself, laid formal siege to Heidelberg;³ a piece of treachery which roused the indignation even of the Infanta.⁴ In a letter to his wife, dated from Sedan, August 20th, 1622, Frederic bitterly writes:—

“The treaty at Brussels has the same effect as that of Digby at Vienna; the one has lost us the High, and the other the Low Palatinate! God grant that the King might at last take good resolutions!”⁵

At Sedan, the position of Frederic was most painful. Though the Duke of Bouillon would not refuse a shelter to his nephew, in his distress, it was at his own personal risk that he granted it. The presence of Frederic rendered him apprehensive of a siege from the Spanish general Cordoba. For thither came Mansfeld, Christian, and Maurice of Hesse-Cassel. Many of their followers joined them, and before long they had an army of 25,000 men. The troops consumed the provisions of the country, and their accumulation round his town made the Duke

¹ In order to get over the difficulty of titles, it was decided that he was to sign simply “Fredericus,” thus avoiding both prejudice to his own claim and exceptions on their part.—*S. P. Germ. States*. [Häusser says of this surrender that Frederic was the football of a shameless diplomatic cabal. His affairs were beginning to look up and he was in his own land, amongst a people devoted to him, brave, and hard to conquer. His enemies were determined to lull him by treacherous promises, and King James (himself deceived) lent himself to deceive his son-in-law, sending him letter after letter to demand the laying down of arms. No wonder that the inexperienced young man let himself be fooled and gave in. He was told that the result of his obedience would be peace, but he was soon undeceived. The negotiations at Brussels came to a fruitless end, and the unhappy Palatinate was given up as a prey to the forces of Bavaria and Spain.—“Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz,” ii. 388-91.]

² Woodward to Roe, 3rd July, Roe’s Negot. p. 63.

³ “Relatio Obsidionis Heidelb.” 4to, Frankf. 1622.

⁴ Digby’s Despatch, 16th Sept. Harl. MS. 1580, f. 122.

⁵ Bromley Letters, p. 16.

an object of suspicion to his liege master of France, who remonstrated against these warlike demonstrations and ordered the Duke of Nevers, with his forces, to march towards Sedan. In vain Bouillon appealed to the English King for assistance in this emergency.¹ He succeeded, however, by his representations to the King of France,² in obtaining the withdrawal of the French forces; and he was presently relieved of the presence of Mansfeld and Duke Christian, who, with their forces, agreed to enter the service of the Prince of Orange, and departed for Holland.³

This position of affairs caused Elizabeth great uneasiness; though, as Carleton observed, "her princely heart was not soon dejected". Writing on the 21st of June he says:—

"The queen hath been this day to dine at Hounslowdike, and seeketh all means to divert her melancholy, which every ordinary [post] almost reneweth, so that the days betwixt ordinaries are the best."⁴

Her greatest fear was for Heidelberg, and her spirits rose or fell as she thought that city was or was not likely to support a siege.⁵ Frankenthal, Germersheim and Mannheim were in equal peril, as the garrisons were feeble and inefficient, and there was no force in the field to cope with the Imperialist army.⁶

During the period of his absence, Frederic was in close and constant correspondence with his wife; but none of her letters are in preservation, and only a few of his. A dateless fragment from one letter, copied by Elizabeth's hand, recounts the progress of affairs and states that Count Mansfeld wished him to return to the army, but that he was unwilling to go, as the Count had offered him several indignities; that the troops were dying of hunger; that the Duke of Bouillon would not bear the expense of supporting them, and was in great dread of being himself besieged.

"If so," he adds, "I am in a pretty condition here; but where am I to go? My thoughts are often with my soul's star, whom I love perfectly, even to death. God sends me many afflictions, and it is not the least to be so far separated from my dear heart, whose portrait I always wear most carefully. I kiss the dear lock of hair a thousand times in imagination."⁷

¹Bouillon to Carleton, 15th Aug.; to James I. 6th Sept. *S. P. France*; Frederic to James I., 4th and 9th Aug. *S. P. Germ. States*; Carleton to Buckingham, 23rd Aug. "Cabala," p. 174.

²Newspapers, 4th Oct. 1622.

³Frederick to James I. 6th and 14th July, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴*S. P. Holland*, 1622. [One of her greatest diversions was riding. See her letter to Buckingham, 16th July, 1622. Appendix B.]

⁵Carleton to Nethersole, 21st June, 15th July, *ibid.*

⁶Chichester's Despatch, 3rd July, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁷[These letters effectually refute Hurter's statement that at Sedan Frederic seemed to forget all his projects, remaining there without news and spending all his time at play.—"Geschichte Kaiser Ferd. II." ii. 132.]

Again he writes :—

“Believe, my dear heart, that I often wish myself with you. I have already told you what keeps me from you : might it please God to grant us some little corner of the world in which we could live happily together, it would be all the happiness that I could wish for myself. But my abode at the Hague does not suit me at all.”¹

Such manifestations of feeling on the part of her husband convinced Elizabeth that he was sinking into profound and almost despairing melancholy ; and as her father opposed his return to her, she proposed to join him at Sedan.² But this was over-ruled ; and her friend Carleton wrote a long letter of advice to King Frederic, exhorting him not to brood over thoughts of the past or to cherish his natural tendency to melancholy, when the emergencies of his situation demanded the utmost activity and energy ; he reminded him of the duties he owed to his wife and family ; that though the Queen's amiable temper would lead her to accommodate herself to any position, yet he was not the less bound to protect her ; and that the genius of his children, particularly of his eldest son, a boy of unusual promise, demanded that they should be Princes and not private persons, etc.³

Elizabeth ever exerted herself to supply the wants of her husband, even at her own inconvenience, and though harassed and poverty stricken herself, she yet contrived to send remittances to him.

“I have safely received the 3,000 florins,” he says in one of his letters, “but living is so dear here, and I have so many extraordinaries to defray, for the people who followed me in the army, of whom I rid myself as far as I can. If you could send me 4,000 or 5,000 florins more, I stand greatly in need of them. I have already expended here almost as much as 5,000. If I can once get rid of my horses, of which I still have many, I hope to be a better manager. I am so afraid of inconveniencing you.”

The sum thus solicited was duly sent.⁴

Elizabeth knew how her husband's sensitive temperament was wounded by the stress of debt and embarrassment, and she struggled hard to procure from England such supplies as would enable her to remove that burden, before his return to the Hague. Carleton represented to the English officials, that it would be no less economy than kindness to pay the King's debts, and to furnish the Queen with some fixed income, that she might know on what scale to regulate her establishment, and not have to buy everything on credit, and contend against clamorous demands for payment. The Lords of the Council strongly

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 16.

² Van der Myle to Carleton, 5th Aug. *S. P. Holland.*

³ Carleton to King of Bohemia, 19th Sept. *ibid.*

⁴ Bromley Letters, pp. 15, 20.

sympathised in the opinion; but King James, anxious to keep his son-in-law in constant dependence upon himself, preferred giving present relief, rather than conferring a pension, which might be calculated upon as matter of right,¹ and he simply gave the 3,000*l.* which were required to discharge the debt.²

Difficult as was the position of the Queen, when her father was really, though unintentionally, the most insidious and dangerous foe of her husband, she conducted herself with a tact and propriety which procured for her general commendation.

“I know not so great a lady in the world,” wrote Carleton, “nor ever did—though I have seen many courts—of such natural affection. An obedient daughter, a loving sister, and a tender wife, whose care of her husband doth augment with his misfortunes; your lordship cannot therefore show your care of her more, than by bringing them together, with the soonest.”³

The desired reunion of husband and wife was deferred for some time, and the interval was fraught with disaster. Mansfeld and Brunswick, marching towards Holland to assist the Prince of Orange in raising the siege of Bergen, then beleaguered by Spinola, were pursued by the Spanish general Cordoba; a conflict ensued,⁴ in which, though they had the advantage, Duke Christian had his left arm shot off.⁵ The brave Prince, nothing daunted, retired to Breda, to put himself under medical treatment, amputation above the elbow being necessary to save his life;—and sent word to his fair cousin of Bohemia, that though he had lost one arm in her service, he had another arm, and a life remaining to use in her behalf.

“He hath a good courage,” wrote Carleton, “being already devising how to make an iron arm for his bridle hand, and using this glorious speech—that he hath another arm left to fight God’s battles. His sister, the Countess of Nassau, who hath remained here all this summer to keep the Queen of Bohemia company, is gone to find him at Breda; driven thither by a prophecy that this brother of hers, the only joy and honour of that house, should receive a desperate wound in a battle, betwixt the years of twenty-one and twenty-two, which is now his just age, and if he could escape the same with life, he should be a prince of great renown in the world.”⁶

The misfortune of Duke Christian, with the death, in the battle, of Duke Frederic of Saxe-Weimar, spread a gloom over the courtly circle at the Hague, and they were kept in a state of constant anxiety in reference to the success of the Prince of Orange at Bergen. The thunders of the cannon sometimes reached their

¹ Carleton’s Despatch, 15th and 23rd July, *S. P. Holland*; Privy Council Order, 17th July; Ashburnham to Carleton, 13th Aug. *ibid.*

² Cranfield to Carleton, 1st, 15th Aug. *ibid.*; Warrant for payment, *S. P. Dom.*, 10th Aug. 1622.

³ Carleton’s Despatch, 23rd Aug. *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ At [Fleurus, to the north-east of Charleroi, on 19th-29th August.]

⁵ Roe’s *Negot.* p. 97; *Weekly News*, 23rd Sept.

⁶ Harl. MS. 389, f. 232 b.

ears, and several English officers, friends of the Queen, lost their lives;¹ one of them, Colonel Henderson, who was brought still alive to the Hague, sent Elizabeth a pathetic message, presenting to her the last service and prayers of a dying man. As a climax to these disasters, on the $\frac{1}{21}$ of September, the town of Heidelberg surrendered to Tilly, and a few days later, its castle, long proudly called *Trotz-kaiser*,² or, Defiance to the Emperor, followed the example. The soldiers, with their arms, banners, and baggage, were allowed to march out; but they were not permitted to take away from the castle the furniture, plate, jewels, or papers of the King and Queen of Bohemia. The restoration of these was left entirely to the courtesy of Tilly, a courtesy from which little was to be hoped, as he had previously refused the Queen's request to return to her a "dais," from her cabinet at Heidelberg, on which she placed a special value.³ Provoked by the stern resistance of the inhabitants—who had declared that they would shed their last drop of blood for their Prince, he committed many cruelties on the unfortunate citizens.⁴ The splendid library, so long the pride of the Palatine family, was given up to the Duke of Bavaria, who removed part of it to Munich; but the principal part was sent to the Pope.⁵

The loss of Heidelberg touched Elizabeth very sensibly, not only on her own account, but on that of her husband; for she well knew how painfully it would affect him. She wrote to him at once, and in reply he sent her a letter, pathetic in its bitterness of grief, from which the following are extracts:—

"I received yesterday, by way of Brussels, three of your so dear letters, dated the $\frac{6}{15}$, $\frac{9}{15}$, and $\frac{12}{15}$ of September. In them I traced, with great delight, the love you bear me: the blessing of being loved by you is the only one which I have left; it is the greatest consolation I have in all my afflictions, which are inexpressible. See now the end of the Brussels treaty: Heidelberg is taken! Yet they have amused the king all the summer, and he does not now seem able to help us, if he would. At Brussels, they have effrontery enough to propose to demolish Mannheim, and only give us the bailiwicks of Heidelberg, Germersheim, and Neustadt. God only knows what the king will say! In England, they persist in drawing a distinction between the Emperor and the King of Spain; and yet both are taking all away from me, and it seems as though they had divided the Palatinate. See my poor Heidelberg taken! all sorts of cruelties have been exercised there: the whole town pillaged, and the fauxbourg, which was the handsomest part of it, burnt."

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*, Aug. 1622, *passim*.

² Savage's "Germany, Ancient and Present," vol. ii. p. 227.

³ Nethersole to King of Bohemia, 11th Sept.; to Tilly, 6th Sept. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ "Mercuré Français," vol. viii. p. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 320. The Vatican portion was sent to Rome on mules, bearing about their necks the following inscription: "Sum de Bibliothecâ quam, Heidelbergæ captâ, spoliū fecit, et P. M. Gregorio XV. trophæum misit Maximil. utriusque Bavarie dux. S. R. I. Archi-dapifer & Elector, A. C. 1622." [The Pope's claim upon the library was said to rest on the fact that it was taken in payment of the subsidies granted to the Catholic league. In 1816 Pope Pius VII. restored about a third of it, but the rest is still at Rome.]

“God visits us very severely : I am sadly distressed, at the misery of these poor people. It is said that Mannheim is besieged ; I fear that they will be treating in England till that is lost too.

“I will tell you many particulars when I have the happiness of seeing you again, which I long for with as much ardour as you do and more. It seems years to me since I saw her whom I love best in the world, from which, but for you, I would rather retire than live in it ; for I could better serve my God, and I should have a lighter heart, in the smallest corner of the world, than would the greatest monarch, in the most splendid palace. Certainly, were I to follow my own humours, I would withdraw altogether and leave the King of England to act as he thinks fit, for the welfare of his children. But the tenderness you show towards me makes me change my opinion, in the desire to see you again. No other obstacle remains to my doing so, except the king’s desire that I should stay here. I hope he will soon permit me to leave ; and in order that I may have no after hindrance, I shall, in a few days, send on my baggage and equipage, which is by no means large. You assure me strongly that I shall be welcome. It is a misery to live amongst such a populace ; but patience,—I am most glad too that you promise me freedom from importunity about my debts, for I should be very sorry to have to take up my abode in the debtor’s prison at the Hague.

“I hope you received the letter I wrote you last Sunday, about the taking of Heidelberg. I do all I can to divert myself from thinking about it, for it is a very sensitive wound. I am rejoiced that Duke Christian is recovering : for I had certainly rather lose an arm myself, than that he should die. We are extremely indebted to him, and God knows that I love him as a brother !”

“Continue still to love your poor Celadon, and be assured that his thoughts turn continually to his soul’s star, and that he is, even to the tomb,

“Your most faithful friend and affectionate servant,

“This 28 September, 1622.

FREDERIC.”¹

A few days after the date of this letter, Frederic set out from Sedan, with an escort of 100 horse, lent him by the Duke of Bouillon, and travelled to Calais. The people received him with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes, and he proceeded to Flushing in a vessel belonging to the States, and thence to the Hague, where he arrived unexpectedly on the 9th of October,² and “where,” says a contemporary news-writer, “the welcome of his wife proved rather an ecstasy than a meeting”.

But sorrow and anxiety had painfully told upon a constitution never very strong ; the change in his appearance so affected Elizabeth that she fell into a succession of fainting fits,³ and it was not without difficulty that she regained sufficient composure to welcome her cousin of Brunswick, who arrived the same day, to complete in her society the cure of the injury he had sustained.⁴ Count Mansfeld, whose troops were in the neighbourhood, also came to kiss the hands of the Queen ; and thus were brought together the three chief personages on the Protestant side in this period, all anxious to return to action, and especially to

¹ Bromley Letters, pp. 18-22. The printed letter is dated from the Hague, palpably a mistake, either on the part of Frederic or of his copyist.

² Carleton to Roe, Roe’s Negot. p. 96 ; Newspapers, 15th Oct.

³ Harl. MS. 389, f. 245 ; News Letter, 25th Oct. 1622.

⁴ Carleton to Roe, *ut supra*.

succour Mannheim, if they could only gain encouragement from King James.¹

Omens of good augury began to appear in England. By a fortunate coincidence, there arrived in London at the same juncture, Schomberg, who came on the part of the Bohemian King, to carry tidings of the loss of Heidelberg; Nethersole, sent over by Lord Chichester, to record the treachery of Imperial councils, and the grievous state of the Low Palatinate; and Weston, recalled from Brussels, and declaring that, in spite of the strictest compliance with all the demands made, and the removal of every alleged obstacle to the treaty, he could not obtain the slightest satisfaction. The Emperor, having gained his purpose by delay, now declared that the negotiation for a truce was too complicated, and involved too many conflicting interests, to be settled by any authority less than a diet of the empire; and finished by transferring the electoral dignity from the Palatine family to the Duke of Bavaria.²

The excitement produced in England was great. The Prince of Wales, on bended knees, implored his father to be no longer abused by treaties, but to take pity on his poor distressed sister, her husband, and children, and to permit him to raise an army of loyal subjects,—who would readily obey his call,—and to go in person to avenge her wrongs.³ Buckingham said that he would gladly serve personally; and if he could not do for the Queen all that Christian of Brunswick had done, he would be no whit behind him in affection. The Lords of the Council, also, were warmly in favour of instant action, and Nethersole, whose sanguine temperament led him to see things in their brightest light, sent a glowing account of affairs to his royal mistress.

“I must begin this,” he writes, “with saying that sister was never so much beholding to brother as your majesty is to the prince; I except not him that is with God;⁴—and for proof, I must add quickly, that his highness is resolved, and which is more, by my lord admiral⁵ his means hath obtained leave of the king your father, to go in person, with an army, into Germany, to reduce (lead back) your majesty thither with honour. For his way, passage will be presently demanded through Flanders, both at Brussels and in Spain now by Mr. Porter; and that king required to join his forces with those of the king, your father, for the recovery of the Palatinate; till which be done there is to be no more speech of the marriage; and upon refusal of either, a breach to be made instead thereof. His highness stayeth at London, to begin early to put all things in a readiness for this great design; towards which, at home, there is a parliament presently

¹ Pawel to Nethersole, 26th Oct.

² Weston to Buckingham, 3rd Sept. “Cabala,” p. 368; Bouillon to James I. 6th Sept.; Carleton’s Despatch, 23rd Sept.; Nethersole to Carleton, 28th Sept. *S. P. Holland*. [The transfer was not actually made until Feb. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$, at Ratisbon.]

³ Mead to Stuteville, 19th Oct. 1622, Appendix to Goodman’s Court of James I. vol. ii. p. 250.

⁴ The late Prince Henry.

⁵ Buckingham.

to be called, and the navy to be made ready, under colour of wafting his highness over the seas. Abroad, the Prince of Orange shall presently be consulted with, the States treated with, the Kings of France and Denmark, the Venetians, princes and towns of Germany sent to, and prayed to join in the action. And that your majesty may not fear backsliding, the prince hath vowed before the lords to be his utter ruin, whosoever he be, that shall any way go about to hinder him in this enterprise. There are many other particulars, sufficient to demonstrate what I said in the beginning, which I reserve till I may kiss your majesty's hands, which, I hope, will be shortly."¹

This letter, penned on the 3rd of October, was casually delayed in its passage; and before it reached the Hague, Elizabeth received one of more doubtful character, written on the 9th, in which Nethersole records that the Prince and lords remain firm, but that the King would not, he feared, be prevailed upon to act decisively, till he had had a last communication from Spain. Though Austria and Spain had acted throughout the war in the strictest concert, yet James, when he could no longer keep up a semblance of terms with the Emperor, was willingly deluded into the belief that Spain was more propitious. He had long been negotiating a match for his son, Prince Charles, with the Spanish Infanta,—an alliance which was to fill his empty exchequer with a princely portion—and to this match he clung with strong tenacity of purpose. Spain, of course, availed herself of his weakness, professed a strong desire to see the Prince Palatine restored, and even a resolution, if needful, to aid in compelling his restoration; and proposed the surrender of certain towns, as an intermediate measure.² In spite, therefore, of the remonstrances of Lord Chichester, who told him how delusive were the Infanta's promises,³ the King declined all active steps, till he had sent an order to Digby, — now Earl of Bristol and Ambassador at Madrid,—to demand that, within seventy days, Heidelberg should be restored, and, that if the Emperor refused its restitution, the King of Spain should unite with England to compel him;⁴ at the same time, he gave a pledge which nobody believed,⁵ that, should his messenger bring an unfavourable reply, he would proceed at once to war.

The envoy to Spain, Endymion Porter, was taken ill at Calais, and unable to proceed; but though his despatches were conveyed by a post express, the King still refused to act, till Porter had himself fulfilled his mission. This conduct led to the suspicion that an autograph letter from James to the King of Spain, which he had not permitted any one to see, and of which Porter was the bearer, contained sentiments adverse to the tenor of the

¹ *S. P. Germ. States.* $\frac{3}{13}$ Oct. 1622.

² Harl. MS. 1583, 8th Nov. 1622; Whiteway's Diary, Egerton MS. 784, f. 56.

³ Chichester to Carleton, 25th Nov. *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ James I. to Bristol, 3rd Oct. "Cabala," p. 238.

⁵ "Court and Times of James I." vol. ii. p. 349.

public despatches: he even refused, before the return of Porter, to listen to the proposal for a Parliament,—the necessary preliminary to providing supplies for a war.¹ The Duke of Buckingham, in announcing to the Council this determination, suggested another voluntary contribution, offering to commence it himself with a handsome sum; but the proposal was declined, as it was felt that operations on the needful scale could only be carried on through the medium of parliamentary subsidies.² The King's conduct, strange as it may appear, was in some degree justified by the tenor of the despatches he received from Bristol and Aston, his ambassadors in Spain, who confidently assured him of that King's intention to aid in restoring the Palatinate.³ They were evidently imposed upon; the recent conduct of Lord Bristol, in reference to the Palatinate, proved the sincerity of his heart; but he was sanguine, and himself the soul of honour, was, therefore, the more easily deceived by diplomatists less scrupulous if not more skilful than himself.⁴

The suspense of the exiled monarchs at the Hague was very trying. Their long experience of Spanish intrigue made their hearts sink within them, when they found themselves once more involved in it; and at this very period, they received the tidings of the loss of Gratz, the last town in Bohemia which had held out for Frederic. Bethlen Gabor wrote in strong terms, to challenge him either to defend his Crown, or to renounce it; since, if he could not do the one, he was bound in honour to do the other, that his people might find a more vigorous chief,—a demand to which Frederic found it most difficult to reply, as he had always hoped to bribe the Emperor to favourable terms for the Palatinate, by a renunciation of his title to the Bohemian Crown.⁵

Another blow followed, in the loss of Mannheim, which was surrendered on 2nd November, 1622, by General Vere.⁶ This brave and loyal man had been left in no position to stand a siege. Mansfeld had taken many of his best men, and Mansfeld's troops had consumed the stores of provisions which would have made it possible to hold the place. It lacked not only provisions, but powder and even fuel; the troops were mutinous and far too few to man the vast extent of the fortifications, and the drying up of the moats had not only rendered easier the approach of the Spaniards, but had engendered an

¹ Nethersole even surmised that all the previous countenance given to warlike movements by the King, was only with the view of procuring a favourable reply from Spain.

² Nethersole's Desp. 18th and 24th Oct. *S. P. Holland*; "Court of James I." vol. ii., p. 341.

³ [For the grounds for their statement, see Gardiner, History, iv., 380, 381.]

⁴ Bristol and Aston's Despatches, Aug. to Dec. 1622, *passim*, *S. P. Spain*.

⁵ Carleton's Despatches, Oct. 1622, *S. P. Holland*.

⁶ Articles Surrender Mannheim, Harl. MS. 6845, f. 127.

epidemic in the garrison.¹ Truly, there was small reason for the suspicion mentioned by a French writer of the day that the influence of King James had induced him to yield prematurely.² Both the King and Queen were sorely touched with this added misfortune.

“Of all the ill news,” Carleton wrote to Secretary Calvert, “which have come unto him, like Job’s messengers, I have observed none, since his first arrival in these parts, to drive him into so much distemper and passion as this, for which the sorrow of her highness’s heart, (who was present at the reading of the letters,) was seen in her watery eyes and silence. God send them both patience.”

In a letter to Nethersole, the same day, he added, “here we are full of sorrow, despair, and want; I may add, scorn and disgrace, for accomplishment of all misery”.

Could sympathy have availed to console the distressed Queen, she had it, warm and genuine, from her true-hearted friends.

“Most excellent lady,” wrote Sir Thomas Roe, “be your own queen; banish all despairs and fears, be assured the cause in which you suffer cannot perish: if God had not planted it, it had long since been rooted out. Vouchsafe to remember the motto of our last, eternally glorious Elizabeth, ‘This is done of the Lord, and it is wonderful in our eyes’. So shall the day of your return be to those honours, which you, above all princes, merit.”³

The English agent in Flanders, speaking of the Queen, as “saint among ladies,” “the goddess of her sex,” and “the most incomparable lady of this age,” writes, “for her Majesty, I will spend the last drop of my blood; and if my eldest son should refuse to do the like, he should never enjoy one penny-worth of my poor estate”.⁴

Sir Henry Wotton, writing to Carleton, says:—

“Good my lord, do me the right to let both their majesties there know, and especially my most royal mistress, that though I am stricken into silence, as I have been long, towards herself, and, God is my judge, congealed in my very spirits, at the indignity of her present fortunes, so unsuitable to such inestimable virtue, yet I will never be mute in the least occasion that I can conceive of her service.”⁵

The celebrated Dr. Donne, whose epithalamium on her marriage has already been noticed, sent her a letter of sympathy, assuring her of his prayers, and enclosing a sermon preached before the King, which had been recently printed. He begs

¹ Vere to Carleton, 11th June, 1622, *S. P. Holland*.

² Plasquin to Ste. Catherine, 1st Nov., Lamarre MS. 9291¹.

³ Roe’s Negotiations, p. 135.

⁴ Trumbull to Carleton, 4th Nov. 1622, *S. P. Flanders*.

⁵ *S. P. Germ. Empire*, Feb. 1623.

her to pardon his boldness in approaching her to present his publications, and to say to herself:—

“Surely this poor soul who comes to me every year, in these his meditations for the public, takes me with him every morning in his private prayers and devotions to Almighty God. And when I am defective in that sacrifice,” he adds, “let me lose the effect of all my other sacrifices which I make for the happiness of your majesty.”¹

The Queen sent the following reply to his letter:—

“Good Doctor D.

“You lay a double obligation upon me; first in praying for me, then in teaching me to pray for myself, by presenting to me your labours. The benefit likewise I hope will be double, both of your prayers and my own, and of them both to both of us; and as I am assured hereof, (though it hath pleased God to try me by some affliction,) so I desire you to be of my thankfulness unto you, and that I will remain ready, upon any good occasion, to express as much as lies in the power of

“Yours, &c.

ELIZABETH.”²

The only place in the Palatinate which remained untaken was Elizabeth's dower-town of Frankenthal, where Sir John Borough was in command. This was now summoned, but the governor, bravely declaring that “it was not a place to be surrendered for the stroke of a pen,” refused to yield, and it was formally invested. After a long blockade the Infanta persuaded King James to compel his son-in-law to give up this last town, with the promise, that at the end of eighteen months it should be restored to the Palatine, if by that time a general peace had not been signed.³

It would be difficult to imagine a position more trying than that of Frederic and Elizabeth at this time. The King could not control the perturbation of his spirit. He vented his displeasure upon General Vere, whom he could not forgive for the loss of Mannheim, and in discourse with the English Ambassador he chafed sorely against the policy of King James, declaring that he had rather have his towns fairly taken from him in battle than given to the King of Spain; and adding moodily, that it mattered little what became of him, but he hoped the King would at least take care of his wife and children.⁴ Elizabeth, collected and cheerful as she usually was, could not refrain from exclaiming in a confidential letter, “My father hath hitherto done us more hurt than good”. “As for our affairs, they were never

¹ Matthews' Letters, p. 298.

² *Ibid.* p. 299.

³ Frederic to James I. 11th Jan. 4th Feb.; James I. to Frederic, 13th March, 1623, *S. P. Germ. States*; James I. to Calvert, 23rd Jan.; Carleton to Calvert, 31st Jan. and to James I. 5th Feb. *S. P. Holland*; Privy Council Records, 21st March, 1623. The original treaty of delivery is in *S. P. Spain*, and a copy in *S. P. Holland*, at the Public Record Office.

⁴ Carleton's Despatches, 3rd, 17th, 27th Dec.

worse." "The king, my father, is cozened and abused, but will not see it till it be too late."¹

In spite of his repeated protestations to his son-in-law, that he was still steady in his cause,² James refused to be at the expense of maintaining Vere's army during the winter, ordered its return to England,³ and continued his exhortations to Frederic to remain passive and wait the issue of events.⁴ Elizabeth wrote to her father in terms of passionate entreaty, imploring that he would not, for want of a little money, permit the troops of Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswick, now in arms and near the scene of action, to disperse, as the loss to their cause would be irreparable.⁵ The only satisfaction she could obtain was the confident assurance that arms were now needless, as the Palatinate was on the eve of being restored by treaty. Porter had returned from Spain, bringing tidings that the long-projected match between Prince Charles and the Infanta was at once to be concluded and the Palatinate to be restored, in compliment to the bride. Because Frederic would not and could not be satisfied with this chimerical tale, but had an opinion of his own in his own affairs, and still entreated aid for Mansfeld's army, he was reproached with being ill-advised, and King James petulantly exclaimed that he was not *made* of money, and that after the rate of Mansfeld's demands, 500,000*l.* a year would not be enough to sustain the war. He wrote to Frederic to this purport, and the Ambassador had the painful task of delivering the letter, which he did in presence of the Queen, whose constant habit it was to peruse all state despatches, especially those from England.

Slowly and surely the chains were riveted that bound the unfortunate King to helpless exile. The Emperor summoned a "Deputation-day";⁶ and though no Protestant Princes, except the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt (an Imperialist) appeared, the ecclesiastical Electors and other Catholic Princes confirmed the decree of the Emperor, by transferring the electoral dignity to the Duke of Bavaria, with only a proviso that its reversion, after his death—for he was then childless—should remain an open question; the Emperor representing it as a special act of grace that there was left a possibility of its restoration to the children of Frederic, if not precluded by his misconduct!⁷

Matters were in this position when, in Feb., 1623, Europe was startled by the tidings that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham had gone in disguise to Spain, on a knight-

¹ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe, 5th Dec. 1622, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Frederic to James I. 24th Oct. 1622, Balfour MS. A. 433, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

³ *S. P. Germ. States*, Dec. 1622.

⁴ Calvert to Carleton, 20th Nov. *S. P. Holland*.

⁵ *S. P. Germ. States*, Nov. 1622.

⁶ [At Ratisbon, early in Jan. 1623.]

⁷ Frederic to James I. 5th March, 1623. Du Puy MS. 648, f. 166; Addit. MS. 11403, f. 162.

errant pilgrimage, to fetch the Infanta. King James, struggling with the conscious sensitiveness of a man who knows he has done a foolish thing, but would not have others think it so, was so keenly alive to any expression of disapprobation on the subject that he even imprisoned an English minister for venturing, in the pulpit, to pray for the safe return of the Prince.

Elizabeth, who had had so many sad experiences of the treachery of Spain, was shocked and alarmed by the tidings.

"We are here very sad," wrote Sir T. Edmondson to Carleton, "to understand that our peerless queen is so much afflicted with the apprehension of the prince's journey, and therefore it is desired that your lordship, who hath been so faithful a servant unto her, will assist her highness with your wise and comfortable counsels, not to let fall that heroic spirit of hers, which she hath hitherto so generously maintained, but to attend with a constant patience that recompense which is due to so singular virtue."¹

Elizabeth wrote a letter, in which she expressed herself with more warmth than discretion, to the Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, whose husband was a Stuart by blood, and, therefore, allied to the royal family. Rusdorf, the indefatigable agent of the King of Bohemia in England, wrote:—

"I will tell you what I heard a few days ago; that our queen wrote letters to a certain lady of the highest rank, whose name I will not mention, in which she mentioned her brother's journey, and is said to have added that she herself, even in her humble and afflicted state, was his shield, whilst he staid amongst the Spaniards"—

a sentiment perfectly true—since the fact that she stood next in succession removed all temptation to foul play, whilst the heir of England was in their hands; but no less true than offensive to King James.

"Those letters," added Rusdorf, "either through zeal or imprudence, have been shown, and have afforded a handle of worse interpretations and cogitations, to some whose names I will not mention."

The false interpretation put upon the matter was, that Elizabeth intended to come into England herself, or to send thither her eldest son, in order promptly to advance her claim to the throne, in case of any misfortune happening to her brother.² On this, the Earl of Pembroke wrote privately and hastily to Carleton, to represent the danger of such a step, and to urge him, if possible, to prevent it; adding, in conclusion, a serious caution to the Queen, not to entrust any matters of a secret nature in her letters to the Duchess of Lennox.³ Lady Bedford also took the alarm, and wrote both to the Queen and

¹ *S. P. Dom.* 18th March.

² *S. P. Holland*, 1623.

³ *S. P. Dom.* Sept. 1623. The following occurs in a letter from the Duchess of Richmond and Lennox to Lady Carleton:—"I only forbear now to write to the queen my mistress, in respect we expect another post from our prince her brother, when I

Carleton. To the latter, she says :—“ For God’s sake, preach more wariness to the Queen, whom she uses freedom to ; else she will undo herself, and make others afraid how they interest themselves in her service ”.¹ The Countess of Bedford was more valuable than any paid agent could have been, in communicating to her royal friend every change in the political gales that passed through the English atmosphere, and in giving hints of the course it would be advisable to take in certain emergencies. She was in constant correspondence with Carleton, and begged him to second her advice to the Queen, trusting to its sincerity, though she might not always venture to give reasons for what she suggested.

At this very period Elizabeth was disturbed, if not endangered, by a conspiracy against the life of the Prince of Orange, said to have included the King and Queen of Bohemia ; fortunately, it was discovered in time. The principal conspirators were a brother and two sons of the great Pensionary Barnevelt, executed a few years previously ; his son-in-law, Van der Myle, in whose house the King and Queen lodged, was suspected, brought to the Hague, and severely questioned, but he escaped ; yet Lady Van der Myle had the grief of seeing her other relatives fall under the sword of the executioner,² and the chief avenues of the Hague were rendered loathsome by the exposure of the heads and quarters of the traitors.

In the month of April, 1623, the Prince of Orange invited the royal exiles to accompany him on a pleasure excursion to Helvoetsluys, on the other side of Voorn Island, whither he was going to inspect some newly constructed vessels. Changeful weather and a quarrel among the Prince’s servants, leading to the death of one, greatly lessened the enjoyment of the party.³ A few weeks afterwards, the Queen undertook a short journey to Breda, attended, as before, by her husband and Sir Dudley Carleton ; they passed several days in visiting the fortifications and places of pleasure within and without the town.

“ The Prince-Elector and her highness,” wrote Carleton to Calvert, “ returned from Breda, on Tuesday last, the fifth day after their going thither,

doubt not but to have more welcome and certain news to send her majesty, even the very day that her brother will take shipping : and besides why should I write now, when the Queen of Bohemia’s ambassador can say more of and from me, than I can commit to paper ? but, I pray, remember my humble service ; kiss the queen’s hands from me, and give her this six pairs of gloves. These skins will smell well in a jerkin if it please the King of Bohemia to like them ; to his majesty I pray remember my service. Christ bless all theirs. I had rather see their young prince here, than send to them.”—*S. P. Dom.* 25th July.

¹ *S. P. Dom.* 28th March.

² Conway to Buckingham, 10th Feb., Tanner MS. 73, pt. 2, f. 275 ; Weekly News, 13th Feb. ; Egerton MS. 784, f. 59 ; Carleton’s Despatch, 30th Jan. ; News Letter, 7th Feb., Harl. MS. 389, f. 280.

³ Carleton to Chamberlain, 19th April, *S. P. Holland* ; News Letter, 23rd April, Harl. MS. 1016.

in all which time they were lodged and defrayed by the Prince of Orange, and entertained with much contentment, though no great cost. To-morrow they are going to Leyden, to visit a house belonging to the Prince of Orange, which he lends them, where they intend to settle the three children they have here, for some time, under the government of Monsr. de Plessen and his wife, both persons very fit for such a charge,—their highnesses are in part compelled to this course, by reason of the greatness of their family, which exceeds the proportion of the small house they have here, and will increase by one more, within this few months, when it shall please God to send her highness a safe delivery.”¹

The children for whom the establishment was to be provided, were Frederic Henry, the eldest son, Rupert, and the infant Louise. Maurice was still in the charge of the Electress of Brandenburg, and Charles Louis and Elizabeth, after being driven from Heidelberg with their grandmother, the Electress-Dowager, wandered from one to another of the friendly Princes of Germany, and at last settled down at Berlin.² The eldest son, occupying the position of third in succession to the Crown of England, was regarded with much interest. By the special direction of King James, Sir Dudley Carleton had a share in the control of his education, and attended the monthly examinations into the progress of his royal pupil, at most of which Frederic was also present.³

During the summer, Elizabeth was visited by several ladies from England, her former acquaintances, who made a journey

¹[The Princess Sophia, in her very entertaining Memoirs, says that her mother sent the children to Leyden because the sight of her monkeys and dogs was more agreeable to her than that of her children; but Elizabeth might well feel that it was better for her babies to be in the quiet country town than in the crowded house, and bustle of the little Court at the Hague. Moreover, she was only following the precedent of her own and her brothers' upbringing. Princess Sophia herself acknowledges that they were under the watchful care of the lady who had been their father's governess, that they often visited the Hague (they were only ten miles away) and that they rejoined their parents when they were nine or ten years old.—“Memoirs,” p. 34.]

²Nethersole to Calvert, 15th Feb. 1623, *S. P. Germ. States*, Carleton's Despatch, 8th Dec. 1622, *S. P. Holland*.

³John Dineley, a friend of Sir Thos. Roe, was appointed his tutor. King James's instructions to him were—“Be careful to breed him in the love of English, and of my people, for that must be his best living; and above all things take heed he prove not a Puritan, which is incompatible with princes, who live by order, but they by confusion.”—Dineley to Buckingham, 4th March, 1626, *S. P. Dom.* Charles I. Addenda. A letter which the boy sent to his grandfather, when he was in his tenth year, is still preserved, written in a large, childish hand:—

“Sir,

“I kisse your hand. I would faine see your Matie. I can say *Nominativo, hic, hæc, hoc*, and all 5 declensions, and a part of *pronomen*, and a part of *verbum*. I have two horses alive, that can goe up my staires, a black horse and a chestnut horse.

“I pray God to bless your Matie,

“Your Maties,

“Obedient Grand-child,

“To the king.”

“FRIDERICK HENRY.”

Maitland Club, Royal Letters, facsimile.

to the Spa the pretext for visiting their Princess at the Hague.¹ Ladies Hatton, Purbeck, Wharton, and Wallingford, were among the number. In a letter to Sir Edward Cecil, Carleton remarks:—

“It gives new life to this good and gracious princess to see her old friends; so as I am very glad when such occasions happen, which do minister some entertainment, of which (God knoweth) she hath need; for she is otherwise full of discomfort.”²

Elizabeth, in her own frank and sprightly style, refers to her naturally cheerful temper in a letter to Sir Thomas Roe.

“Though I have cause enough to be sad, yet I am still of my wild humour, to be as merry as I can, in spite of fortune.” “My young cousin of Brunswick,” she adds, “is still constant. He hath a fair array of 20,000 men. He was forced to leave Mansfeld by his evil usage; Mansfeld is a brave man, but all is not gold that glitters in him.”³

The constancy of Duke Christian, which is here lauded, had been severely tested. The King of Denmark endeavoured to make peace between him and the Emperor; and his mother, the old Duchess of Brunswick, solicited the influence of her niece, the Queen of Bohemia, in persuading him to abandon his adventurous enterprises on her behalf; this, however, Elizabeth declined to exert, “rather answering the matter with silence; as thinking fit neither to kindle nor quench that fire that shines the brightest among all the German Princes”.⁴ Christian refused even to visit his uncle of Denmark, lest he should be urged to change his mind; tore up the Imperial pardon which, at his mother’s intercession, was drawn out and presented to him; and declared that unless his cousin, the Prince Palatine, for whose sake he had taken arms, were fully restored to his dominions, he would never make peace with the Emperor. He offered his bishopric of Halberstadt as a place of rendezvous for any troops that might assemble in her cause, and with his usual recklessness sallied forth, at the head of 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse, with only fifty ducats in his purse, to seek and attack the League general, Tilly; over whom, in conjunction with Mansfeld, he gained some advantage.

Austria and Spain now began to weary of the prolonged contest in Germany; it drained their resources, and prevented the

¹ Carleton’s Despatch, 31st May, 9th June, Roe’s Negot. p. 169. A party of them, under escort of the Earl of Essex, landing in Holland, sent a comical letter to Carleton, in which they represented that having been long under protection of the land gods, they had recently put themselves into that of Neptune, and by him were driven upon that coast; which, they hear, is ennobled by the possession of two excellent Princes, the King and Queen of Bohemia, to whom they request an introduction.

² 9th June, *S. P. Germ. States.*

³ 19th May, 1623, Roe’s Negotiations, vol. i. p. 146.

⁴ Carleton to Calvert, 1st May, 1623, *S. P. Holland.*

Emperor from giving his undivided attention to the Turks, who were encroaching on the eastern limits of the Empire. As Brunswick and Mansfeld in Germany, and Bethlen Gabor and Jägerndorf in Bohemia and its environs, were still in arms,¹ and might prove formidable, in case they concentrated their plans of action, it became advisable to check them by policy; and once again, King James was made the tool.² Now, indeed, his weakness had an apology, in the fact that his only son was in the power of Spain, and might be detained at pleasure.³ When, therefore, a truce of fifteen months was proposed by the Imperial party, as a prelude to a peace, he cordially approved and signed it;⁴ and undertook to procure the consent of his son-in-law, promising, as usual, vigorous war at the end of the period, in case the treaty failed.⁵ The only part of the proposal to which James objected was a suggestion of the Infanta Isabella, that it would be a fitting mark of the King's desire for peace, and a greater security to the house of Austria, to remove the Palatine family from the Hague to Alzey in the Palatinate, there to be under guard of the King of Spain!⁶

The difficult task of imposing the truce on the unfortunate Frederic was once again deputed to Carleton, whose friendliness had procured him considerable influence, though it caused him several reprimands from England, as being too partial in the discharge of his duty. Frederic replied by reminding his father-in-law of the solemn promise made him the preceding year, that if he would retire from the Palatinate, and it were not restored before the next year began, he should have an army of 10,000 paid troops to reinstate him. This was an inconvenient reminder;⁷ but the King still maintained the opinion that he could best judge how the restoration was to be effected, and that the Palatine Prince had nothing to do but to follow his guidance, and all would be well.⁸ Frederic, however, protested hotly: he declared that he would rather die at once, than live to be always waiting the result of treaties; and before the messenger could return from England with any further arguments, he had disappeared!⁹

¹ Holland gave them some support in money.—Newspapers, 30th June, 1623.

² "Brief information of affairs in Palatinate," p. 56.

³ Conway to Buckingham, 2nd April, 1623, Goodman's "Court of James I." vol. ii. p. 273.

⁴ *Mercure Français*, vol. viii. p. 338. It was dated 21st April.

⁵ James I. to Duke of Saxony, 3rd May, 1623, *S. P. Germ. States*; Brienne MS. 87, f. 395, St. Germain MS. 34, f. 298, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

⁶ "Court and Times of James I." vol. ii. p. 390.

⁷ James abruptly stopped Secretary Calvert, who was reading the letter to him, by calling out "Oh, my toe!" and assuming the grimaces of his usual complaint, the gout!—"Court and Times of James I." *ut supra*.

⁸ Rusdorf to Camerarius, p. 257, in an appendix of letters printed at the close of Sylburgius's Catalogue of MSS. Palat. 4to, Frank. 1702.

⁹ Harl. MS. 389, f. 210.

The next despatch from Holland conveyed the startling tidings, that on the $\frac{1}{4}$ th of June, the King of Bohemia had slipped away from the Hague, with only two attendants, informing his wife that he was going to try the wind-carriages at Schevening. But his manner in taking leave of her was more than usually tender; and when a day elapsed and he did not appear, it was feared that he must have some desperate project in view, and was, perhaps, gone to join Duke Christian, who was then near Göttingen. He wrote to his wife, however, to tell her that he should come back speedily; and having visited Haarlem and Amsterdam, and gratified his taste by inspecting the collections of art and galleries of pictures in both places, he returned home, leaving it uncertain whether he had originally any further design, and had repented *en route*, or whether this was really the object of his journey. Carleton thought the latter, because his humour now was rather "*latitare*" than "*militare*,"—to hide himself rather than to fight.¹

Calculating upon the hitherto unfailing submission of his son-in-law, King James had appointed Lord Chichester to attend a meeting at Cologne, in August, for the purpose of concluding a treaty founded on the terms of the previous truce. To his surprise, Frederic absolutely refused his consent, objecting most strenuously that the treaty would be cruelty to his subjects, would take away hope from the German Princes, and would make the States-General regard him with suspicion. He objected more especially to the third article, which involved his abandonment of his friends and allies, and enjoined him to prevent their efforts on his behalf, and to accept no friends nor foes but those of the Emperor. "How," he said, "could he control the actions of Christian of Brunswick, an independent Prince, or call him an enemy who had taken arms in his behalf?" Having already sacrificed everything but his honour, if he threw away that also, what security had he that some paltry ground of quarrel would not again be contrived against him?² Serious remonstrances ensued, and threats, so efficacious on former occasions, were held out. The Secretaries of State regretted that the painful duty devolved upon them of declaring that, unless Frederic submitted, the King would be compelled to abandon him, to disavow his actions, and to withhold all pecuniary support.³ Carleton urged upon him these considerations, and, as he assured King James, used remonstrances "beyond the bounds of good manners"; but he was compelled to write to England that neither argument nor entreaty availed.

¹ Nethersole's Despatches, 14th and 18th June; Carleton's Desp. 14th June, *S. P. Holland*.

² Carleton's Desp. 8th, 14th July, *ibid.*; Chichester to Buckingham, 23rd July, Harl. MS. 1581, f. 292.

³ Conway to Carleton, 25th and 30th July, *S. P. Holland*.

The King stormed and raved in a perfect frenzy of passion, of which he made a very undignified display in presence of Lady Carleton, who was then in England.¹

The struggle ended, as the contest between might and right too often does end, in victory on the part of the stronger. The submission of Frederic was hastened, if not caused, by the recent defeat of his gallant cousin of Brunswick. No bravery could provide food for a large army, in an exhausted country: the Duke had been obliged to retire towards Holland, in search of provisions and money; and in so doing, by his want of management, and his scorn of enemies who were too formidable to be treated with contempt, he subjected himself to a severe defeat at Stadtlohn from the combined forces of Tilly and Anholt. He managed to reach Holland and came to the Hague, assuming the semblance of cheerfulness, and attending the King and Queen of Bohemia to a feast given in their honour at Delft, by the English merchants of the East India Company resident in that place; but he was observed to sigh so often and so deeply that his loss was well surmised to be greater than he wished to make it appear.

Sullenly and almost despairingly Frederic once again signed away his hopes, at the stern bidding of his so-called protector. He was rewarded by the publication, at Brussels, of a treaty, professing to be that which he had signed, but containing articles much less favourable to him. Whether published by consent of King James or not no one could tell.² Elizabeth, writing to the Secretary of State, in language sufficiently guarded, says:—

“By this time I hope his majesty is pleased with the king, who hath, to obey his command, signed the treaty; though to speak freely to you, as I know I may, the conditions are very hard—to be so long without succouring his poor subjects, as fifteen months, and at the end of all, not certain then to do it; but the king my father’s will to us is a law which we will ever obey in what we can. You say the king must believe; he hath long believed, but hath gotten little; yet I hope his majesty will one day see the falsehood of our enemies. But I pray God send my dear brother safe in England again, and then I shall be more quiet in my mind; but I fear they will make their profit of his being there, before they let him go.”³

The welfare of her brother lay very near Elizabeth’s heart. Gladly did she welcome the messengers, Sir George Goring and Sir William Croft, whom he sent to assure her of his good-will; and Nethersole was despatched to Spain, to offer her greetings in return. Goring, on his arrival at the Hague, thus writes to Buckingham:—

“The 7th of this month I arrived at this town, with his highness’ and your lordship’s letters to the blessed, though most unfortunate queen, who

¹ Lady Carleton to her husband, 27th July, *S. P. Dom.*

² Frederic to James I. 15th Aug. 1623; Carleton’s Desp. 16th Aug. *S. P. Holland.*

³ Elizabeth to Conway, 6th Sept. 1623, *ibid.*

is not a little relieved by the assurance they brought her of your constant care of her, in the midst of all her desolation, and now more especially upon the defeat of her dear cousin, Brunswick, which hath strangely turned the state of these affairs here. Your letters and this news met within ten hours of each other. I humbly beseech your lordship to let his highness know that it is impossible for a sister to love or trust a brother more; and for your lordship, she saith she never had such obligation to any; which she shall as heartily remember, if ever she be so fortunate to have the means whereby to let you know it. Continue this your goodness still; for a better subject can you never encounter, than the state she now is in, which would rend any true English heart to consider." "If ever any good come to this sweet, distressed queen, it will neither be by home treaties, nor foreign forces."¹

On the breach or fulfilment of the Spanish treaty seemed greatly to depend the fate of the Palatine family; and for their sakes, as well as to free himself from the protracted uncertainty attending the question of his marriage with the Infanta, Prince Charles resolved to insist on decisive measures. The Duke of Bavaria was now put into possession of the Upper Palatinate; not as a permanence, but to hold it in pledge, till the sum of 18,000,000 florins, which he had expended in its conquest, should be repaid. The lands of Frederic's old and faithful servants, and even the dower-estates of the Electress-mother, never an offender, and the lands of his brother, Louis Philip, who had long ago desisted from hostilities, were kept from them.² Under these circumstances, it may well be imagined that, even had the Court of Spain been sincere in desiring the restoration of the Palatinate, the task would have been difficult; much more so when Spain was at best but half-hearted, and when the negotiation was carried on with the heir of England in their hands. At first all seemed to augur well. The private articles of the marriage were arranged, the Infanta was styled and treated as Princess of Wales, and general promises were made for the restoration of the Palatinate.³ But when these promises came to be brought to definite points, fresh and startling proposals were offered, to which it was most improbable that the King and Queen of Bohemia would ever consent. Other difficulties gathered round the negotiation, arising from the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham. With his usual rashness, he had picked a quarrel with Count Olivares, the Spanish Minister, and his dashing manners were so opposed to those of the grave Court of Spain, that, knowing his influence with the King and Prince, they augured ill for the happiness of the Infanta in a Court over which he had rule.⁴ The lady herself, though at first struck with the courtly grace of her suitor, became so alarmed at

¹ Date 15th Aug. Harl. MS. 1580.

² Newspapers, June to Sept. 1623.

³ Aston's Despatch, 28th June; Bristol to Carleton, 9th July, *S. P. Spain*. In the British Museum is a rare and curious tract, containing 186 pages, illustrated, to celebrate the anticipated nuptials of Charles I. and the Infanta Maria.

⁴ Bristol's Despatches, 29th Aug. and 9th Sept.; Letter from Madrid, 30th Sept.

the prospect before her that she threatened to retire into a nunnery.

The absence of his son occasioned King James constant anxiety, yet he knew that the ridicule of Europe would be turned against him should the Prince come back still engaged, but without his bride; he therefore sent word to the Prince and Buckingham that they were either to conclude the match, leaving the Palatinate to a future treaty, or to throw up the affair altogether, and return home.¹ Placed by his position in the power of Spain, Charles was obliged to temporise, and to listen to his father's proposal to sever the two subjects of treaty, by arranging the conclusion of the marriage, and leaving the restitution of the Palatinate to the honour of the Spanish King and the intercession of the Infanta herself when she became his wife.

The Prince's visit became unpleasant to him; he was by no means treated with the friendliness he expected, and therefore, on pretext of his father's urgent recall, he refused to wait the arrival of the dispensation for his marriage, and prepared for his departure.² It was arranged for the betrothal to take place about Christmas, and the Infanta to sail for England in spring, and the Prince was promised a *carte blanche*, to insert in it what terms he pleased about the restoration of the Palatinate. But when escaped from Madrid, and arrived at the sea-shore, on the point of setting sail, he penned a declaration, that without good conditions made before hand for the Palatinate, he would never marry the Infanta.³

On the 6th of October the Prince and Duke landed in England, and hastened to Royston, where they had a private interview of four hours with the King. Much curiosity was excited to know how the King would receive his son, since his hopes were frustrated by the non-arrival of the Infanta; and there were eaves-droppers who reported that they —

“heard sometimes a still voice and then a loud; sometime they laughed and sometime they chafed; and noted such variety as they could not guess what the close might prove; but it broke out at supper, that the king appeared to take all well that no more was effected in the voyage, because the proffers for the restitution of his son-in-law were no better stated by the Spanish; and then that sentence fell from him, which is in memory to this hour, that he ‘liked not to marry his son with a portion of his daughter’s tears’”.⁴

By the next post the Duke wrote to the Earl of Bristol from the King, that his Majesty desired to be assured of the re-

¹ Conway to Buckingham, 1st Aug. 1623, Harl. MS. 1580.

² Roe's Negot. p. 252.

³ Buckingham to Aston, Sept. 1623, *S. P. Spain*. He also left a stringent charge with the Earl of Bristol, at the Spanish Court, not to allow a monastery to rob him of his wife, and not to sign the articles of betrothal unless he were well certified that she would not then turn nun.—Prince of Wales to the Earl of Bristol, from the sea-side, dateless; Bristol's Despatch, 24th Sept. 1623, *ibid*.

⁴ Hacket's "Life of Archbishop Williams," fol. Lond. 1693, pt. i. p. 165.

stitution of the Palatinate before the betrothal, seeing that he would be sorry to welcome home one daughter with a smiling cheer and leave his own only daughter at the same time weeping and disconsolate.¹

These instructions, so contrary in their tenor to what he had lately received, greatly perplexed the Earl of Bristol.² He remonstrated that he had been directed to consider the marriage as the best pledge of the restoration of the Palatinate, and not to hazard the match by annexing that as a previous condition; and if now he was ordered to delay the betrothal till the long treaties concerning the latter were ended, the Prince must remain unmarried for an indefinite period, and probably lose the Infanta and the Palatinate too, as the pride of the Spaniards would lead them to hold back, lest it were supposed that they yielded only to secure the alliance for their Princess. These remonstrances disconcerted the King, but the combined influences of the Prince and Buckingham kept him quiet; and as Charles positively declared that he would never marry at his sister's cost, the King adopted the same strain.³

Buckingham had intended to make a favourable impression in Spain, and to support his credit by his influence with the bride of the Prince; but disappointed in these hopes, he now professed great devotion to the Queen of Bohemia. He told Rusdorf, the Palatine agent in England, that though the Spanish journey had been looked on with suspicion, it would tend to good for his master and mistress.⁴ "Madam," he wrote to the Queen, "be confident that whatsoever hath not been compassed in Moses' time, may be perfected in Joshua's, though not in the old man's days."⁵ Elizabeth had taken some pains by friendly messages and letters to conciliate the good-will of the favourite, and she paid him the compliment of inviting him, in conjunction with the King and Queen of Sweden, the King of France, and the Duke of Richmond, to stand sponsor for her infant son.

This child was born under unfavourable auspices. The Queen, in returning from Delft, where, as before named, she had been fêted by the English merchants, was thrown into great alarm by two of her pages drawing their swords in a sudden quarrel, and fighting in the boat. The consequence was her premature confinement on the 21st of August. Her friend and

¹ James I. to Bristol, 3rd Oct. See Letter of Prince to Sir W. Aston, same date.—*S. P. Spain*.

² De la Gardie to Ste. Catherine, 6th Jan. 1624, Lamarre MS. 9291.

³ Bristol to James I. 24th Oct.; James I. to Bristol, 13th Nov.; Prince to Aston, 14th Nov.; Aston to Conway, 23rd Nov. *S. P. Spain*.

⁴ Rusdorf to King of Bohemia, 11th Oct. 1623, Rusdorf's "Memoires et Negotiations," 8vo, Leipsic, 1789, vol. i. p. 132.

⁵ "The Non-such Charles's Character," 12mo, Lond. 1651, p. 96.

cousin, the Countess of Nassau-Dietz, was her companion through this trying period,¹ as she had been on a former occasion.

The two English Dukes returned their humblest thanks for the unexpected honour of the sponsorship, but regretted that, on account of the approaching marriage of their Prince, they could not officiate in person. This was a mere excuse. The truth was, that the King did not choose for Buckingham to come within the fascination of his daughter's influence, and therefore detained both Dukes at home; though by so doing a slight was thrown upon the Queen, as custom only allowed proxies to persons of royal or princely rank. The baptism, postponed for some weeks owing to the delicacy of the child, took place on its father's birthday, the 19th of November, in the same church in which the Princess Louise had been christened. The Swedish monarchs were represented by the Prince of Orange; the King of France by his ambassador at the Hague; and the English Dukes by Sir Dudley Carleton.² The child was named Louis, in compliment to the French King.³

Early in December, Sir George Goring again arrived at the Hague. He was sent by Buckingham nominally to express his regret in not being permitted to attend the christening of the little Louis, but really, to assure the Queen that her brother and he were fully convinced of the duplicity of Spain, and that though the match was not yet formally broken off, he considered it to be so in effect, as he felt sure that Spain would not stand the test to which England was now prepared to adhere: that of making her husband's restoration a *sine quâ non* of the marriage.⁴

These were joyous tidings to Elizabeth.⁵ Goring was a fitting messenger of good news: he was one of the wits of King James's Court, and having been in the service of the Queen of Bohemia in early life, was personally attached to her.⁶ "That rogue Goring" was the title by which Elizabeth usually designated him. The Prince of Orange and his brother sympathised in the Queen's exhilaration. On Twelfth-night, the Prince gave a splendid feast to the King and Queen and their whole Court; and Prince Henry celebrated New Year's Day by treating them with a masque both costly and beautiful; but some parts of it were considered by the Queen as wanting in propriety; and before its second representation it was altered and the objectionable

¹ Carleton's Desp. 16th and 21st Aug. *S. P. Holland*; News Letter, 5th Sept.; "Court and Times of James I." vol. ii. p. 417.

² News Letter, 28th Nov., Harl. MS. 7006.

³ Rusdorf, "Memoires," vol. i. p. 132; Carleton to Calvert, 21st Aug.; to Buckingham, 23rd Sept. 21st Oct. 13th Dec.; and to Chamberlain, 23rd Dec.; Richmond to Carleton, 10th Oct. *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Conway to Prince of Orange, Jan. 1624; Carleton's Despatch, 28th Dec. 1623; Carleton to Roe, 8th Dec. Roe's Negot. p. 199.

⁵ Cabala, pt. i. p. 178.

⁶ Carleton to Chamberlain, 23rd Dec.

passages omitted.¹ The Queen's amusements, however, brought her into unexpected trouble; they were considered very ill-timed on account of an overflow of water in Holland, which had brought much distress on the people. Carleton writes, in humorous style:—

“Alas! our joy has been turned into sadness; for, last Friday, the king, being at preaching in the cloister church, was reproved before all the company for assisting at such rejoicings, in a time of sadness; but as he excused himself on the ground that he had not danced, all the blame fell upon our sovereign lady, who maintains her cause, and summons the preacher, Rosceus, in court before the judges, on their first assembly on the 1st of April, because he accuses God of injustice, saying that because they have danced here, the waters have danced across the dykes near Vianen, as though God had punished the poor peasants of those quarters for the seemly recreations which we take here at the Hague.”²

The royal pair were beset by more serious annoyance from the troops of Spain, with which Holland was then at war, and those of the Emperor, one of whose reasons for quarrelling with Holland was that that country afforded an asylum to his enemies. The winter being unusually severe, and the rivers firmly frozen over, an opportunity was given for a sudden attack, by Count Henry de Berg, who, with 7,000 foot and 35 troops of horse, marched to the close vicinity of a place where Frederic and Elizabeth were visiting.

“The Prince Elector and her highness,” writes Carleton, “were making merry at Culenburgh, with that count and countess, and at Vianen, with the Baron of Brederode, (to which places they had been long invited, and now took the commodity to go thither, in sledges,) when they had this alarm of the enemy's approaching; so as they returned hither on Monday last; and their persons being of more consideration than any else in this place, they are not without thought of providing in time for their safety, which they may easily do, when they please, to Delft—and more assuredly, to the Brill; but because their remove on this occasion would much dishearten the whole country, and prove a matter of scorn and obloquy in case it should prove unnecessary, (as in all appearance it will), they forbear showing any apprehension; but, whatsoever happen, will be watchful enough not to be surprised.”³

The enemy marched so far that the Hague was in danger; but a threatened thaw and want of food compelled them to retire.⁴

¹ Carleton's Desp. Jan. 1624. Even in the Court of Elizabeth of Bohemia, moral as it was in its general tone, expressions were habitually used which could not be read before a modern audience. In the letters and conversations of that period, it was the custom to express, in plain downright terms, facts and opinions which would now be only hinted at; but the fault was one of the times, and not of individuals.

² Carleton to Smelsing, 24th Jan. *S. P. Holland*.

³ Carleton's Desp. 13th Feb. 1624, *ibid*.

⁴ Lingelsheim's Desp. 12th March, Lamarre MSS. This attack provoked the following indignant tirade from Carleton: “The emperor, not content with having chased her husband out of the empire, in the proposition of the diet of Ratisbon, makes this one article, to make war upon these provinces, because, amongst other quarrels, they give refuge to the Prince Palatine. Where will this persecution

The ultimatum offered in Spain to the Prince of Wales, in reference to his sister and her husband, was, that on condition of Frederic's absolute submission to his Imperial Majesty, the two Palatinates and the Electorate should be bestowed on his eldest son, under his administration, on the understanding that the boy should be brought up in the Imperial Court, married to the daughter of the Emperor, and embrace the Roman Catholic religion.¹ Such a scheme, unlikely as it appears, when, in addition to the strong Protestant principles of both the boy's parents, it is remembered that he was so near in succession to the Protestant Crown of England, was considered seriously by King James. But he was well aware that it would be worse than useless to propose to Frederic and Elizabeth a plan so repugnant to their religious faith. Of this article, therefore, he obtained a modification, *viz.*, that the young Prince should be educated in the English Court, under the immediate eye of the Infanta, on her arrival there. He then sent the propositions to the King and Queen, in a carefully worded letter; in which, after dilating on the advantages to be derived from submission, he appealed to them, whether it would not be better to adopt this course than to pursue their present dependent life, clinging to uncertain hopes.²

This letter was the subject of long and earnest deliberation between their Majesties of Bohemia and the English Ambassador. Frederic revolted sorely against the required humiliation; he reminded Carleton that twice before submissions had been extorted from him, both of which had tended to his injury; that now it was only demanded in order to gain time for disuniting and beating in detail those who upheld his cause;³ and that, if he agreed to submit at all, it must only be by deputy, or it might be considered a tacit acknowledgment of the right to translate the Electorate, and thus a virtual abandonment of himself and the good cause, which he yet hoped to see revive. He could not refrain from expressing his surprise, that after all his endurance, and the promises made to him, his restitution should be only in the capacity of administrator to his son. To the education of the boy in England he made no objection, as soon as he had laid a good foundation at Leyden.

cease? And what place in the world to which they are driven from hence is not subject to the same quarrel? Within this week that I now write, we were here in that state, (if God had not prevented it), this country had been too hot for them to remain in, and it had been a happiness for them if they could have got a poor Scheveling boat to have transported them elsewhere."

¹ Prince and Duke to James I. 29th Aug. 1623, Hardwick State Papers, vol. i. p. 429; Bristol to James I. 29th Aug. *S. P. Spain*.

² James to Frederic, 20th Nov. 1623, Cabala, pt. i. p. 245; Rawlinson MS. 138, Art. 14; Tanner MS. 82, f. 317, Bodleian Library, Oxford; "Mercure Français" for 1624, p. 2.

³ Carleton to Buckingham, Harl. MS. 1580.

"In this cogitation," wrote Carleton, the king and queen remain, "not prescribing anything to his majesty, nor willing to submit themselves anew to the same rod with which they have been so often scourged."¹

Knowing that the feeling in England was strongly in their favour, that the Prince of Wales was untiring in his exertions, and that the King held back, rather because he shrank from war than because he had any further hopes from Spain,² they thought it best not to be too complying. The reply of Frederic was prepared with great care:—

"First," he says, "I thank your majesty most humbly for the paternal care that you continue to show us in this occasion, which consoles me, with my dearest wife, in our afflictions, more than any fear of human events can sadden us, or render us content to recover the loss of our goods by the loss of our honour."

He then states in full his objections to pacific measures, and sums up by endeavouring to show the propriety of resorting to warlike action.³

All eyes were now turned with interest to the approaching meeting of the English Parliament, which was summoned for the 19th of February. Prince Charles had done his utmost to prepare his father to act with decision, exhorting him to look upon his sister and her children, and to forget that he had a son.⁴ When the members assembled, the King, in his address, told them that he was now growing an old man and did not wish to lose his title of "*rex pacificus*"; but would fain, "like aged Simeon, die in peace"; which he could not do, unless his daughter were restored; and should war prove necessary, he must have large supplies, to enable him to bear its charges. The Houses concurred in declaring for a war with Spain, advising the King formally to discontinue his treaties, and to show that the English lion had both teeth and claws.⁵

The Prince himself attended the meetings of the Lords, and Lady Bedford gives Elizabeth a glowing account of his conduct, and says in conclusion:—

"I presume your majesty will not be displeased that I fill so much paper with this subject, which, when I fall upon it, is so much all our joys, and so great a part of your happiness to have such a brother, as I cannot satisfy myself ever to have said enough. And, madam, give me leave to wish that you would, in one letter at least, take notice of what you hear of him." "It cannot fall so well from any pen as yours that being so near

¹ Carleton to Buckingham, Harl. MS. 2nd Dec. 1623, *S. P. Holland*.

² Mr. Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, 1st Nov. 1623; *S. P. Germ. States*; Conway to same, 20th Nov. *S. P. Holland*.

³ Frederic to James, 30th Dec., Cabala, p. 246. Rawlinson MS. 138, art. 13; Landsdowne MS. 491, f. 205; "Mercure Français," vol. x. p. 4; *S. P. Spain*, 1623.

⁴ Coke's "Detection," p. 135.

⁵ *S. P. Dom.* March, 1624, *passim*; Lords' Journal, vol. iii. p. 209; Conway to Carleton, 20th Feb. *S. P. Holland*; "Mercure Franç.," vol. x. p. 216.

him, may best, without fearing to make his modesty blush or suspect, press his due upon him."¹

War with Spain rather than help to the Palatinate, was the motive power with the Parliament, but opinion in England greatly over-rated the power of Philip in Germany, and it was believed that if Spain could be humbled, the restoration of the Palatinate would follow. The House of Commons voted three subsidies and three-fifteenths for the support of the war, amounting in all to 300,000*l.* (of which the King promised he would not touch a penny, but leave the whole to the management of a Parliamentary Committee), and on the 23rd of March, James declared the two treaties with Spain, "of the match and of the Palatinate," dissolved.

The people were overjoyed; Buckingham became popular in the extreme, from his promotion of the measure; bell-rings and bonfires took place unbidden, and the largest fire was kindled just before the house of the Spanish Ambassador.² The Prince of Wales exultingly said, that now he had something worth writing to his sister about, and that she would hear tidings better and better every day.³

Elizabeth was highly elated, and imagined that the termination of her long and harassing anxieties was now in sight. She read aloud to her husband the whole proceedings of Parliament, her father's speech, the long declaration sent in reply, etc., etc.;⁴ and that, with such care, that the accidental omission by King James, in his speech, of the word "grand-children," in reference to her children, was marked and noted for correction.⁵ The Queen thus communicated her good news to her old friend, Sir T. Roe:—

"Since my dear brother's return into England, all is changed from being Spanish; in which, I assure you, that Buckingham doth most nobly and faithfully for me; worthy Southampton is much in favour, and all those that are not Spanish." "I leave all particulars to Sir Dudley Carleton's letters, only I will tell you that one thing gives me much hope of this parliament, because it began upon my dear dead brother's birth-day. I must also tell you that my brother doth show so much love to me in all things, as I cannot tell you how much I am glad of it."⁶

All those who had bravely adhered to Elizabeth's cause, when it was at a low ebb, now flocked round her, in the hope of procuring, through her influence, appointments in the Eng-

¹ Addit. MS. 5503, f. 127; Matthews' Letters, p. 58.

² Nethersole to Carleton, 25th March, *S. P. Dom.*

³ Mr. Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, March, *S. P. Dom.*; Conway to Carleton, 6th March; extract of printed letter to Queen of Bohemia, 23rd March, *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ Carleton to Nethersole, 19th April, *ibid.*

⁵ Nethersole to Carleton, 15th April, *ibid.*

⁶ Dated 1st March, "the day of good St. Davie"; Roe's Negotiations, i. 222.

lish army that was expected to be organised. The two Counts of Thurn, her Bohemian friends, the younger of whom still bore the marks of his valiant defence of the Queen's retreat from Prague;¹ the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel, a Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and others, were among the number; but the principal candidates were Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, who had disbanded their troops, and both, weary of inaction, longed to enter into the service of England.² Brunswick was only dissuaded from going into England by the influence of Elizabeth, who promised to watch as sedulously over his interests as though he were present. Mansfeld went in the first instance to France, where the King promised to employ him in Franche Comté if James would share the expense. Mansfeld then passed over into England, and though James, who had already begun to repent the course he had taken, looked somewhat coolly upon him, he met with the most cordial reception from the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham. Charles lodged him, as his own guest, in St. James's Palace, in the very rooms recently fitted up for the Infanta; rode out with him in public, and paid him every attention; while the people, who regarded him as the defender of their beloved Princess, hailed him, whenever he appeared, with joyful shouts of "Long live Mansfeld; God bless you, my lord"; and even crowded round him to kiss the hem of his mantle.³ His object was to raise and organise an army in England, and to obtain supplies for his own veteran but disbanded troops, who were eager to re-assemble under his banners; James agreed to furnish the troops, but only upon condition that the French King provided a like number, and with this provisional promise Mansfeld left England.

The Spanish party were now driven to the last resources of their ingenuity to devise some method of stemming the tide set in so strongly against them, and which they believed to be due to the influence of Buckingham. There was in England at this time a friar named La Fuente (commonly called by the English the Padre Maestro) who had been sent over by the King of Spain to further the marriage negotiations. He now declared to James that the Duke of Buckingham was conspiring to transfer the Crown to the Prince,⁴ and that the Queen of Bohemia was in league with him, and had formed with him a design to obstruct all proposals of marriage for her brother, in the hope of securing the Crown for her eldest son, who was to marry

¹ Carleton to Calvert, 26th Jan., 4th Feb., 8th March, 7th April; to Chamberlain, 26th Feb. *S. P. Holland.*

² Rusdorf to Frederic, 26th April, *Memoires*, i. 289.

³ Carleton's Despatches, 18th and 19th April; Mr. Carleton to Queen of Bohemia, 24th April, *S. P. Dom.* James's Declaration, 25th April, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁴ Mr. Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, 3rd May, *S. P. Dom.*

the Duke's daughter.¹ In order to give the weight of circumstantial evidence to the story, he added that when Elizabeth sent her agent, Nethersole, to Spain, it was with a view to this object; omitting the fact that the Prince had reached the seaside, on his way home, before Nethersole arrived.

The King sent for Inojosa, the Spanish Ambassador, who repeated La Fuente's statements, whereupon the Prince and Duke demanded an inquiry. Nethersole and Goring, as also many privy councillors and peers, were examined on oath, but their replies were uniform and clear in contradicting it, and no sort of proof could be brought to substantiate the tale.² Inojosa, at this point, presented his letters of recall, but was told that before he could leave the country he must either eat his words or prove them;³ there was even talk of a prosecution, precedents being alleged to justify the step. James in his cool, quaint style replied, "Yes, such sort of precedents as they found when they cut off my mother's head," and refused his consent.⁴

The indignation of Elizabeth was aroused at the supposition that she was plotting to sully the royal blood of her son by blending it with that of the son of a plain country gentleman, and she requested Carleton and Nethersole, as best acquainted with her counsels, to clear her from such an imputation.⁵ But she thought it necessary, in a point of such importance, to undertake her own vindication with her father. She declined taking an oath of her innocence, as was at first proposed, because she considered it derogatory to her dignity,⁶ but she wrote to the King, in terms explicit, yet carefully guarded, so as not to give umbrage to the favourite.

"Sire,—I have heard from my secretary, Sir Francis Nethersole, that my enemies have accused me to your majesty of two things, which are most false; one is that I sent my secretary into Spain, with commission to try to break off or hinder my brother's marriage; and the other is that by the said secretary, I treated for a marriage between my eldest son and the Duke of Buckingham's daughter. These are two of the greatest falsehoods that could have been invented; for as to the first, it has been the entire contrary: the king and I, to please your majesty in following out these ways, had sent Nethersole to Spain, with a letter from the king to the King of Spain, full of good will, and I had written another to the Infanta, in the same style, in which I called her 'sister'; I sent her a little present of two diamonds in pendants, the best I could afford, in the condition I am in; as for the other accusation, I protest that I never had a thought of it, nor has it ever been mentioned to me directly or indirectly, in any fashion whatever; and when

¹ Nethersole to Carleton, 6th May, *S. P. Dom.* See also News Letters, May, 1624; Lingelsheim's Despatches, April, Lamarre MSS.; Espesse's Despatches, 19th Sept., Bethune MS. 9175, f. 37 b; Johnston, "Rer. Brit. Historia," p. 619.

² Locke to Carleton, 8th May, *S. P. Dom.*; "Mercure Français," 1624, p. 351.

³ Mr. Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, 21st May, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ Locke to Carleton, 8th May, *ibid.*; "Mercure Français," 1624, p. 351.

⁵ Cabala, p. 223.

⁶ Carleton to Nethersole, 28th May, *S. P. Holland.*

I saw such a thing in a book of news printed at Paris,¹ (and also before this book, the secretary of Mr. Herbert had sent word to the king that the Spanish ambassador had related such a thing), I laughed at it as a folly which nobody would believe: but now that I see that the Spaniards have the effrontery to accuse me of it with so much pertinacity, I cannot refrain from complaining to your majesty of the wrongs they do me; that after having taken away from the king and me all that we possess, they want to deprive us of your Majesty's good favour, the only blessing which remains to us, and which I esteem most in this world, and which I shall try in everything that I can to preserve to myself by my most humble obedience to your commands. I therefore most humbly entreat your majesty not to believe these slanderers, and ever to continue to use the paternal friendship which I have at all times found in your majesty towards me, which I shall try to merit, in being for ever, Sire,

"Your majesty's most humble, most obedient daughter and servant,
"ELIZABETH."²

"The Hague, this 28 of May St. V. (1624)."

Although the King had been troubled with anonymous letters in support of this charge, yet his daughter's calm and convincing statement seems to have dispelled his apprehensions.³ But he still declared that before he could act decisively he must be certain of his allies, as without good support, he should not be able to cope with the opponent powers. Sir Robert Anstruther was therefore sent on a special mission to Germany, Sweden and Denmark,⁴ and Lord Holland to Paris, with the Earl of Carlisle, formerly Lord Doncaster, to whom, perhaps from some peculiarity of physiognomy, Elizabeth generally gave the epithet of her "camel".

Meanwhile, the Queen of Bohemia had exerted herself to promote the common cause by forwarding a renewed alliance between England and Holland; she wished it not only on account of its bearing upon her own interest, but as likely to prove advantageous to the Dutch, towards whom she was anxious to evince her gratitude for her kindly reception and entertainment. They hesitated, at first, to embrace her overtures, from the fear that King James might make peace without them, and leave them in the lurch; but at length they agreed to send two ambassadors to the English Court, who arrived at the beginning of March, provided with full powers to conclude the treaty,⁵ which subsequently was happily accomplished and signed on the 5th of June.⁶

¹ The "Mercure Français," vol. x. p. 31, mentions it.

² Holograph French, *S. P. Holland*. [Sir Edw. Herbert was ambassador at Paris.]

³ Carleton's Despatch, 28th May, 1624, *ibid*.

⁴ Anstruther's Instructions, June, 1624, *S. P. Denmark*; Frederic to James I. 13th July, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Carleton to Buckingham, 19th Dec., Cabala, p. 179; 14th Jan., Harl. MS. 1580, f. 249; Elizabeth to Conway, 16th Feb., *S. P. Holland*; Carleton to Buckingham, 9th Dec., 176, *ibid*. The passage relating to this point is in the rough draught in the Holland Correspondence, but is crossed out, and therefore does not appear in the letter in Harl. MS. 1580, which is printed in Cabala.

⁶ Treaty, in *S. P. Holland*, 5th June, 1624.

The influence of Frederic and Elizabeth, both in England and at the Hague, sensibly augmented. The first use made of it by the Queen was to obtain some advantages for the numerous family now springing up around her. She sent for her second son, Charles Louis, from the Court at Berlin, to join his brothers at Leyden, and procured for him a pension of 2,000*l.* from her father, who had already granted a similar favour to her eldest.¹ For her youngest son, Louis, she endeavoured to secure the colonelcy of a regiment of French Guards, which had been in the hands of the Duke of Richmond, lately deceased, and in this also she was successful.²

In the month of March we find the Queen attending a *fête* given in her honour by the Duke of Brunswick, who had borrowed a house for the purpose, between the Hague and Leyden, and invited the gentry of the neighbourhood to meet her.³ In April the royal pair were again entertained by the East India Company at Delft; ⁴ and in May, the Prince of Orange invited them to spend a week with him at his country house at Breda; he wished to consult them about an extensive park, which he was intending to enclose. The country scenery presented many attractions to Frederic and Elizabeth, and though they were beyond the limits of Holland, properly so called, they met with no molestation from the enemy, in walking abroad and surveying the fair fields and woods of Brabant.⁵ The Venetian Ambassador, who had shown every attention to the royal exiles, gave them a magnificent entertainment in June, previous to surrendering his post to a successor.⁶

The summer of 1624 was remarkably unhealthy in Holland. A pestilence, originated by the desolate condition of the Palatinate, had slowly travelled down the Rhine, and now made fearful ravages.⁷ At Delft 100 persons died in a day, and the Hague was not exempt from the contagion: there were deaths in the houses adjoining that of the Queen, and one of her ladies fell a victim to the disease.⁸ Elizabeth was still more affected by the untimely removal of her true-hearted friends, the Earl of Southampton and his son, Lord Wriothlesley.⁹ Another noble Englishman, Sir Thomas Conway, a son of the Secretary of

¹ Carleton to merchants of Hamburg, 3rd March, *S. P. Holland*; Elizabeth to Conway, 25th Oct. 1624, Frederick to Conway, 8th Nov. 1624, *S. P. Germ. States*; Charles Louis to Treasurer, 2nd April, 1625, *ibid.*

² Carleton to Nethersole, 7th March, 1624, *S. P. Holland*; Elizabeth to Conway, 19th April, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Carleton's Despatch, 8th March, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ *Ibid.* 30th April.

⁵ *Ibid.* 28th May.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1st June.

⁷ Carleton to Chamberlain, 30th Sept. *ibid.*

⁸ D'Espesse's Desp. 2nd Sept. Bethune MS. 9176.

⁹ Carleton's Desp. 13th Nov. *S. P. Holland*; Elizabeth to Roe, 27th Dec. Roe's Negot.

State, was also seized; the Queen ordered her own physician and chaplain to attend him, and sent frequently to inquire after him; he died at the Hague, after a week's illness.¹

The mortality amongst children, in particular, was very great. As Leyden was one of the places most affected, the Prince of Orange, compassionating the anxiety of the royal mother, lent her his house at Hounslerdyke, whither all her children were removed.² In October, an addition was made to their number by the birth of another Prince, who was named Edward.³ The sponsors were the States of Venice, represented by the young Duke of Bouillon, son of Frederic's governor, lately deceased; the Duke of Savoy, by the Earl of Oxford; and the Queen-mother of France by the Princess of Portugal. The foreign ambassadors were invited to an assembly in the evening, at which a large company was handsomely entertained.⁴

Hardly had the Queen recovered her strength when she was called to encounter a severe trial in the illness and death of her fifth son, Louis, who was a special favourite.

"It hath pleased God," wrote Carleton, "to intermix the blessing of these princes' plentiful and hopeful issue with a cross, in taking the youngest save one to himself; on whom their highnesses having placed a particular affection, and this being the first they have lost, they take it the more heavily. It is now a full month since the deceased prince, by breeding of teeth, fell into a fever, at Hounslerdyke; from whence he was brought, ten days past, by counsel of physicians, to this place, as less exposed to sharpness of air; where it wanted no human help; but God took it yesterday, about two of the clock in the afternoon."

"It was the prettiest child I had," Elizabeth wrote to Sir Thomas Roe, "and the first I ever lost." Difficulties arose concerning the interment of this little one. The tombs of its paternal ancestors were in the hands of enemies, and at the Hague there were no churches set apart for royal sepulture; the parents desired that it should be taken to England and laid by the side of Queen Anne of Denmark. If King James objected to this, they proposed to lay it in the burial place of the Prince of Orange, at Delft; an alternative which was ultimately adopted. The French regiment, just bestowed on this child, was, at their request, transferred to their new-born son, Edward.⁵

During many months past, the exiled family, depending mostly for support on the chary liberality of the King of England, had been exposed, by the lack of means, to great humiliations. The monthly allowance to the Queen of 1,000*l.* was found so inadequate to meet her wants and those of her family,

¹ Carleton to Conway, 6th January, 1625, *S. P. Holland*.

² Carleton's Desp. 4th Sept. *ibid.*; Roe's Negot. p. 298.

³ Carleton's Desp. 6th Oct. *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Carleton's Desp. 23rd Dec. *ibid.*; D'Espesse's Desp. 2nd Jan. 1625, Bethune MS. 9176, f. 63 b, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

⁵ Frederic to James I. 4th Jan. 1625; Carleton's Desp. 25th Dec. *S. P. Holland*.

that in April, 1623, 500*l.* a month was added for the King's establishment;¹ and from this amount he was expected, not only to supply his own expenses, but to provide for the maintenance of his younger children, with their attendants, and to pay his counsellors and servants at the Hague, and his agents in England and elsewhere.² The sum was found totally insufficient to meet the demands, and he solicited, but in vain, an augmentation to 1,000*l.*;³ he therefore sold, to the Duke of Lorraine, the lordship of Lixheim, in Lorraine, of which he was proprietor, for 130,000 rix-dollars, and placed the principal in the hands of the States of Holland, that the interest might be expended in behalf of his children, till his restitution.⁴ By blending their funds and curtailing their establishment, the King and Queen contrived to accommodate their expenditure to their income; but the frequent delays in the time of payment of the allowance gave them constant anxiety, and was the subject of perpetual correspondence with the English ministers.⁵ The expressions used by Sir Dudley Carleton in his despatches, are both painful and amusing. He says, the shopkeepers, their creditors at the Hague, are very difficult to be silenced, and wait the messenger expected with money from England with as much earnestness as the Jews look for their Messiah; that the Court longs, "with hunger and thirst," for tidings from the Queen's agent, Ashburnham; and that he is obliged to conceal the worst from her, lest her cheerful temper, unbroken by public distresses, should be dejected with the pressure of private wants.⁶ He was compelled sometimes to forestall her income or to lend her money from his own purse.⁷ His wife, Lady Carleton, visited England, and one of her chief objects was to obtain from the King a present for his daughter. She persuaded him to order her a chain of pearls, value 1,000*l.*, and Elizabeth requested that the value in cash might be sent in its stead, which was done, and the same also in reference to another pearl chain of 500*l.* value, given at a later date. She preferred the discharge of her debts to the decoration of her person.⁸

¹ Conway to Carleton, 19th Sept. 1623, *S. P. Holland*.

² Carleton to Weston, 9th May, 1624, *ibid.*

³ Carleton to Treasurer, 17th May, 1623, *ibid.*; Memorial of Debts of King of Bohemia, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Carleton's Desp. 19th Feb. 11th Nov. 1623, *S. P. Holland*. The King was embarrassed by a heavy debt which accumulated in the interval between his return from Sedan and the grant of the pension—from October, 1622, to April, 1623—but this King James was pleased to discharge.—Mr. Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, 6th Sept. 1623, *S. P. Dom.*; Calvert to Conway, 7th Aug.; Carleton's Despach, 6th Sept. 1623, *S. P. Holland*; Frederic to Conway, 20th Oct. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Elizabeth to Conway and James I. 10th Sept. 1624; Fred. to James I. 10th Sept. 1624, *ibid.*; Mr. Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, 21st March, 1623, *S. P. Dom.*

⁶ Carleton's Despach, 9th Aug. 1623, *S. P. Holland*.

⁷ Carleton to Burlamachi, 22nd Oct. 1624, *ibid.*

⁸ Lady Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, 8th May, 3rd June; Mr. Carleton to same, 21st Aug. 1623, *ibid.*; Weston to Conway, 1st Dec. 1624, *S. P. Dom.*

The King and Queen were also in difficulties about the rent of their house. On their first entry it was understood that, occupying the residence of a banished traitor, they would be free from any obligation for rent; but when Van der Myle came to the Hague, under suspicion of a share in the conspiracy of February, 1623, he obtained from the States of Holland a promise that they would regularly pay him the rent of the house; and he had an interview on the subject with the *maître d'hôtel* of the King and Queen of Bohemia. Distressed at the idea of occupying another person's mansion, and receiving civilities from his wife, without any due compensation, they ordered their servant to assure him that if any delay or unpunctuality arose, they would take the matter into their own hands and pay the amount themselves. This promise they performed, discharging all arrears from the time of their coming to the Hague, at the rate of 1,200 livres per annum.¹ They fulfilled, with great fidelity, a request still more urgently made, that their influence might be used to procure the return of Van der Myle from banishment; and in this, after the lapse of another year or two, they succeeded.²

The zeal with which King James had seemed to espouse his daughter's cause proved evanescent. The summer passed away in negotiating treaties of alliance with foreign States, most of whom would have treated with ten-fold alacrity had they seen the English King assume the initiative in arms; but as he even declined to publish war against Spain, he was universally distrusted. In the spring, Elizabeth had endeavoured to induce him to some overt act of hostility at sea. An English captain, named Gifford, came to her, and begged her to authorise him to fit out, at his own expense, two ships and a pinnace, with which to intercept a Spanish galleon, freighted to the value of 100,000*l*. He assured her that there were many English ready and longing to put to sea, if they might but have the warrant of her name.³ Elizabeth referred him to her father, and he was refused, though with a partial promise that when matters were more matured the project of fitting out a fleet, in the name of the Queen and her husband, should be considered.

A few weeks later, four Spanish vessels, of immense value, were driven by tempest to take shelter in the Downs. Elizabeth heard of it, and, with her husband and the Prince of Orange, went at once to Carleton, to request him to urge upon King James the propriety of taking possession of them. They represented, that as it was intended in England to fit out a fleet in the name of the King and Queen of Bohemia, it would be a

¹ Van der Myle to Carleton, 7th Oct. 20th Nov. 20th Dec. 1623, *S. P. Holland*.

² He was one of the assistants at the funeral of the Prince of Orange in May, 1625.

³ Carleton to Buckingham, 16th April, 1624, *Cabala*, p. 181.

mockery to let slip the present chance of advantage, merely because war had not been formally declared; and reminded the King of England, that Spain had stood on no such ceremony in reference to the Palatinate.¹ The ambassador replied that he would leave the matter in the hands of Elizabeth, and she wrote letters on the subject both to her father and brother, ordering Nethersole to deliver that to the Prince first, and unless he approved the scheme, not to suggest it to the King. Charles condemned it as unfair and impolitic. He thought his sister's impetuosity had hurried her beyond the bounds of discretion, as he neither considered it honourable to begin the war by taking such an advantage of an enemy, nor politic to do it, when the King of Spain could so easily retaliate upon English vessels in his harbours.² To the sore disappointment, therefore, of both England and Holland, the stately vessels, with their cargo, worth a million sterling, sailed peaceably away.

Rusdorf, Frederic's agent in England, was in despair. He was a constant witness to the affection of the nation for his master and mistress, and to collisions of feeling between them and the King. He heard, that when the King of Bohemia was extolled before his father-in-law, James gruffly replied, that he knew well enough that the Puritans loved him better than himself, though he had done all he could to satisfy them.³ He had seen that even in England anonymous pamphlets were published by that party, asserting that the King was unfit to reign, and proposing to dethrone him, to disinherit the Prince, and to exalt the idols of the nation to its sovereignty;⁴ he, therefore, wrote to urge the Queen to throw herself boldly and at once upon the sympathies of the English.

"What now shall the King of Bohemia do?" he said—"If we expend all our energies in devising all the remedies in the world, I see none that better pleases wise reflectors on things than that the queen should be sent here into England, that by her perpetual aspect and by her prayers, the king, the prince, and the people, moved with compassion, might attempt something, and those who favour our cause receive fresh courage by the presence and impulse of such a heroine. Surely the King of Britain would be impelled to more manly counsels, from very fear lest he should exasperate the people, and offend his son, his daughter, and the rest of the lords. If by any other mode or spring we think we can drag the wheels of this chariot, may we not err? but unless another order of affairs is at once undertaken, and there is a change for the better, we must yield to the hard weapon of necessity, and the queen must be sent here: such a step would not fail of effect. But she must not yield her children out of her own hands to the British king."⁵

"As to sending the queen here into England," he wrote a few months

¹ Carleton's Desp. 28th May, 1624, *S. P. Holland*.

² Nethersole to Carleton, 7th June, 1624, *S. P. Dom*.

³ Rusdorf, *Consilia et Epist. Francfort*, fol. 1725, p. 13.

⁴ Harl. MS. 389, f. 186 b, "Court and Times of James I." vol. ii. p. 390; addit. MS. 10224, f. 17; Carafa's "Relazione dello stato Presente," etc. 1623.

⁵ Rusdorf, *Consilia et Epist.* section xix. pt. 2, p. 46.

later, "if nothing else be done than to seem to request it, you may be confident that you will be able to obtain something as a relief of her exile. For I know not what the King of England would not grant you, rather than permit her to come here. . . . If you like I will secretly hunt out the opinion of the prince, who, I believe, in the inmost shrine of his heart, would be delighted at her coming, but for fear of giving offence, he dares not give the slightest indication of his wishes."¹

Elizabeth's affectionate feeling served her at this critical juncture. From the beginning of the movements in her favour, she had declined to take any share in their management, beyond sending a private letter of thanks to the Speaker of the House of Commons, who was warmly devoted to her cause; declaring she would leave all in the hands of her father and brother. Now she refused to darken the declining years of her father, already prematurely old with the cares of more than half a century of royalty, by intruding herself as his rival in his own kingdom. The only step she took was, with her ready pen and readier courtesies, to win and rivet the affections of all who came into contact with her, and to use the influence thus acquired for the benefit of her friends.

At the head of this list was her cousin, Christian of Brunswick. He passed a weary summer, between disappointment at English tardiness in commencing warfare,² vexation at the repeated efforts of his relatives to seduce him from his allegiance to her to whom he had vowed to devote his life,³ and annoyance at the threatened loss of his bishopric of Halberstadt. Elizabeth advised and comforted him to the best of her power, and generously offered, if he were reduced to straits, either to give him half the pension bestowed upon her son Charles, or a pension in the Order of the Garter, which was also promised to the boy; the Garter, itself, vacated by the recent death of Ulric Duke of Holstein, she had requested expressly for her cousin, as it was an honour he earnestly coveted.⁴ But whilst she was soliciting it for him, a circumstance arose which clouded the fame of this *preux chevalier*, and rendered him, if "*sans peur*," certainly not "*sans reproche*". Duke Christian had given several *cartes blanches* to Kniphausen and Rooke, two of his favourite officers, and availing themselves of these, they had, under plea of his name, seized a rich citizen of Hamburg and carried him off secretly to East Friesland, where they compelled him to draw a cheque for 9,000 rix-dollars on his brother, a merchant of Amsterdam. Suspicions were raised, the matter was investigated, and opinion went sorely against the Duke, whose poverty was well known. He treated the matter very cavalierly,

¹ Rusdorf to Camerarius, 14th Sept. 1624; Sylburgius, pt. 2, p. 329.

² Elizabeth to James I. 19th Jan. *S. P. Germ. States*, and 7th Aug. *ibid.*

³ 22nd March, 1624; Carleton to Conway, 16th Sept., *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Elizabeth to Conway, 19th April, *S. P. Germ. States*; Carleton's Desp. 28th May, 3rd June, *S. P. Holland*.

and although those who loved him took every pains to suppress any allusion to him personally, popular feeling was so strong, that he was advised to leave the Hague, and take a long postponed journey into Denmark. Elizabeth, as may be imagined, was greatly concerned.

"I find her highness," wrote Carleton, "much afflicted with the accident; but her love to the person whom it most concerns is guided by this rule, '*dum quod re dignum est facis*'; and she is no less troubled with his setting light by it, than with the thing itself: whether this carriage of his proceed of innocency or carefulness, your highness shall be soon advertised."

Zealous for the honour of the noblest badge of England's chivalry, Elizabeth requested that the Duke's election into the Order of the Garter should be suspended; or, if her request arrived too late, that the insignia should not be sent till he was cleared from so foul a blot.¹ He, meanwhile, departed, leaving an order for Kniphausen to liberate the Hamburg merchant as soon as those agents who were imprisoned for their share in the transaction should be set free; and Carleton requested that the matter might thus be silently dropped, urging in plea, the Duke's multiplied services and high connections.² Christian, however, did not leave his servants to bear the brunt of his misdoings; he confessed that they had, in the main, acted with his permission, though in some respects they had exceeded it, and wrote on their behalf to the magistrates of Amsterdam.³ Candour availed him more than his previous nonchalance. Elizabeth restored him to his place in her good graces, and a few months afterwards, he went over to England with warm letters of recommendation from her,⁴ became the guest of the Prince of Wales, was flattered and caressed by the whole Court circle, and received the chivalric badge of the Garter.⁵

The time had now arrived for the vacation of Frankenthal by the troops of the Infanta; and though the Prince, Buckingham, and the Privy Council strongly urged on the King to redeem his pledge and to garrison it, his troops were not ready in time to save his daughter's dower-town.⁶ Consequently, on the appointed day, the Spanish troops were marched out with banner and drum; no English garrison appearing, after a brief delay they marched in again, compelling the reluctant inhabitants to pay them their wages; and there was no longer any question of holding Frankenthal as a pledge for the exiled family.⁷

¹ Carleton to Prince of Wales, 10th June, 1624, *S. P. Holland*.

² Carleton to Calandrini, etc. 17th June, *ibid*.

³ Carleton to Prince of Wales, 19th June, *ibid*.

⁴ Elizabeth to James I. 15th Dec. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ See *S. P. Holland*, 2nd Jan. 1625; *S. P. Dom.* Jan. 1625.

⁶ Privy Council Orders, 15th July, from Minute Book in Privy Council Office; Conway to Queen of Bohemia, 23rd Sept.

⁷ "Brief Information of Palat." p. 52; Rushworth's Collect. vol. i. p. 151; "Mercuré Franç." vol. x. p. 353.

Mansfeld, after encountering and conquering many obstacles in the French Court,¹ had at last obtained such promises of support as took away from James I. all pretext of refusal to cooperate, and in September, 1624, he returned to England to collect forces. All Europe looked with anxiety to see what reception he would now find.² Great sympathy with Frederic's interests was still felt in protestant Germany; the King of Denmark was propitious, though less forward than was hoped; the King of Sweden was heartily zealous in the cause;³ and the friendship of France was consolidated by the marriage alliance of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria, one of the terms of which involved the support of the Palatinate.⁴ Great efforts, on the part of England, were therefore expected. King James issued a commission, authorising the levy of an army of 12,000 foot and 8,000 horse, to be paid by a monthly allowance of 20,000*l.*; the King of France promised an equal number of troops, with payment for them for six months,⁵ but this promise was never fulfilled.

The tidings that an English army was at length being raised to vindicate their rights infused new life into the hearts of the King and Queen of Bohemia. Dreams of seeing again the home of their early married life were once more indulged, and the end of their painful years of exile was confidently anticipated. Elizabeth was "almost out of measure joyed" to think that her own countrymen were to be the means of effecting her restoration.⁶ Their joy, however, was greatly damped, when it appeared that Mansfeld's commission was restricted; that he was prohibited from any hostile movement against Spain or Flanders, and ordered to confine his operations to the expulsion of the Imperialists from the Palatinate.⁷ The mortification was the greater as they had hoped to make an early use of the English army, by rendering it available to the Prince of Orange in his endeavours to relieve Breda, then besieged by the Spaniards. They remonstrated with King James on this decision. The States sent over agents on the same errand; and Carleton expressed himself as strongly

¹ Carlisle and Kensington to Carleton, May and Aug. 1624, *S. P. France*.

² Carlisle and Kensington to James I. 9th Sept. 1624, *ibid.*

³ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe, 27th Dec., Roe's Negot. p. 325; Carleton to Anstruther and Spense, 2nd Sept. *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ Carlisle, one of the ambassadors, writing to Carleton, says—"Upon the return of a courier whom we have dispatched into England, we shall see clearly what will be the issue of our negotiations here, which stoppeth only upon the service of the Queen of Bohemia, which I beseech your lordship to assure her majesty is embraced and pursued with infinite devotion by her camel, who will always stoop to all her commandments, and receive what burden soever she shall please to impose upon him."—*S. P. France*, 1624.

⁵ Carlisle, Desp. 16th Oct. *ibid.*

⁶ Frederick to James I. 16th Feb. 1625. *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁷ James I. to Mansfeld, 17th Nov., Du Puy MS. 33, f. 65; Nethersole's Desp. 22nd Dec.

as he dared ; saying, that an army raised for the King's son-in-law should be at his absolute disposal, and that he little thought to have seen the time when the King of England should be less forward in the cause than the King of France.¹

The troops set sail on the 31st of January, 1625, and crossed to Calais, but the French held to the objection which they had made all along to Mansfeld's landing on French soil, and the ships went on to Flushing. Thence they were transferred to Gertruydenberg to await the cavalry from France and Germany which was to meet them.² Frederic wished to have headed the army himself, but Mansfeld objected, and he waived the point ; the old Count Thurn was lieutenant-general, and Christian of Brunswick general of the horse. The troops, however, were so ill-provided and victualled, that they died away rapidly, forty or fifty in a night. "All day long," said one of their commanders, "we go about to seek victuals and bury our dead."³ The States-General gave them a little assistance, but were unwilling to do more, so long as King James positively refused to allow them to aid the Prince of Orange against Breda ;⁴ and thus the armament, procured with such difficulty, fast melted away through want and disease. Matters stood thus when an event occurred which changed the whole face of affairs ; this was the death of James I., on the 27th of March, 1625 ;⁵ followed on the 13th-23rd of April by that of Maurice, Prince of Orange.

The Prince of Orange had acted almost a father's part to the King and Queen of Bohemia, and to the last gave proofs of his esteem for Elizabeth, by bequeathing to her, in his will, some shares in the West India Company, in which he was concerned, perhaps also by insisting, even from his dying bed, that his brother and successor, Count Henry of Nassau, should marry Amelia of Solms, one of her ladies ; she had been brought up under the eye of the Queen, and therefore, probably, he felt confident that she would prove worthy of his brother's love.⁶ Frederic followed as second mourner, and his eldest son as fifth mourner in the splendid funeral pageant of the deceased Prince.⁷ The Ambassador, Carleton, was invited, but some hesitation arising about precedence, he stayed away on pretence that he would bear the

¹ Carleton's Desp. 14th Feb. 1625, *S. P. Holland* ; Elizabeth to James I. 15th Feb. *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Carleton to Conway, 3rd Feb. *S. P. Holland*. Harl. MS. 389, f. 395 ; News Letter, 4th Feb.

³ Lord Cromwell's letter, March, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Carleton's Desp. 1st March, 1625, *ibid.* ; Nethersole to Carlisle ; 7th Feb. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ In the *Domestic State Papers* is a letter from J. Chambermayd to the Queen of Bohemia, written on the day of the King's death, recording the circumstances and especially his earnestness to have it known that he died a Protestant.—*S. P. Dom.* under date.

⁶ Van der Vynckt, "Hist. des Payes Bas," vol. iii. p. 66.

⁷ "Mercure Français," vol. xii. p. 92.

Queen of Bohemia company, as she ought not to be left alone.

Though so many of Elizabeth's troubles had been caused by her father's cautious policy, yet personally she had never experienced unkindness from him, and their correspondence was marked by expressions of mutual love and good-will. She sorrowed sincerely for the loss of this "kind and loving" parent. One of her friends speaks of her taking it "extreme heavily"; another says that on receiving the condolences of the foreign ambassadors, and their congratulations on her brother's accession, she "carried herself with a comely mixture of sorrow and joy".¹ In one of her letters she writes:—

"You may easily judge what an affliction it was to me to understand the evil news of the loss of so loving a father as his late majesty was to me: it would be much more but that God hath left me so dear and loving a brother as the king is to me, in whom, next God, I have now all my confidence."²

The dying monarch had not been without compunctions respecting his treatment of his only daughter, and his last charge to the Prince was to take care of his sister and her children.³

¹ St. Leger to Conway, 3rd April; Carleton's Despatch, 8th April, 1625, *S. P. Holland*. In Harl. MS. 376, f. 6, is a holograph letter to the Queen from Christian of Brunswick, consolatory on her father's death, and expressing the strongest hopes of her speedy restoration, through the influence of her brother. A letter of similar import from Sir T. Roe is in *S. P. Turkey*.

² Elizabeth to Conway, 11th April. *S. P. Germ. States*. [See also her letter to the Duchess of La Tremouille, "Archæologia," xxxix. p. 165.]

³ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 155. [The expenses of her mourning were borne by England. Amongst the State Papers is the minute of a warrant for payment of 2,000*l.* to Sir Abraham Williams and Philip Burlamachi or either of them, "for providing blacks for the Lady Elizabeth, Electress Palatine," and her family, for the funeral of his late Majesty.—*S. P. Dom.* Charles I. vol. 521, No. 45.]

CHAPTER V

Position of Charles I.—His efforts to aid his sister—Want of money—Tour of the King and Queen in North Holland—They give *fêtes* in honour of King Charles's marriage—Discontents of Parliament—Supplies for Palatinate refused—Buckingham's manoeuvres—Charles I. attempts a general Protestant alliance—Partially succeeds—Parliament attacks Buckingham—Is dissolved—Frederic's despondency—Death of Duke Christian—Birth of Princess Henrietta Maria—Elizabeth ill—Lord Carleton leaves Hague—King and Queen visit Dutch army—Christening of Prince of Orange's son—Marriage of Lord Strange—Death of Mansfeld—Low state of Frederic and Elizabeth—Charles I. pays their debts—Queen's obliging temper—Her correspondence—Political affairs—Death of Buckingham—Frederic builds a country house at Rhenen—Family portrait group—The Queen's family—Death of her eldest son—Condolences—She removes to Rhenen—Endangered by Spanish troops—Visits army at Bois-le-duc—She and her husband ill—Pecuniary embarrassments—Charles privately negotiates peace with Spain—Distress of Frederic and Elizabeth—Charles's explanations—Electoral diet—Elizabeth's resignation—Birth of Prince Charles of England—And of Princess Sophia—Death of Princess Charlotte—Visit of Duke de Vendôme—Gustavus Adolphus and the Marquis of Hamilton—King of Sweden asks aid from England for German war—Charles I. in treaty with Emperor—Elizabeth's strong remonstrances—Charles offended, but reconciled—Queen's letter to Roe—Birth of Prince Gustavus—Frederic joins Swedish army—His movements—Correspondence with his wife—Vane's embassy—Queen's letters to him—Policy of Gustavus—His death at Lützen—Dismay of Frederic—He has the plague—His death—And character.

THE position of Charles I., on his accession to the English throne, was that of a successful leader of opposition suddenly translated to the ministerial bench, and invested with the difficulties and responsibilities of office. For several years previous to the decease of the late King, though Charles had never transgressed the bounds of filial deference, it was known that he strongly disapproved of some of his father's measures, and of none more so than his proceedings in reference to the Palatinate. The time was now come when he had to prove how much easier it is to blame, than to improve upon, a course of action, and when he was to contend with embarrassments very similar to those which had agitated his father's counsels. But we must not anticipate.

In expectation of King James's impending decease, Rusdorf had strongly urged the propriety of having ships prepared, on some other pretext, by which, immediately on the accession of Charles I., the Queen of Bohemia might go over to England, where, received with acclamations by the people and the Parliament, she might suitably influence the first counsels of the new

King ; but Elizabeth thought the step needless.¹ Instantly upon his accession, Charles sent over his cofferer, Sir Henry Vane, to his sister, to give her the strongest assurances of his good-will, and she deputed her faithful secretary, Sir Francis Nethersole, to offer her congratulations to him.² Charles declared, publicly and repeatedly, that he thought nothing so important as to begin his reign by the restoration of his sister and her family.³ His first act was to revoke the restrictions laid by his father on Mansfeld's troops, and place them entirely at the disposal of Frederic, who, having borrowed 40,000 francs from the States, for their payment, ordered them to march at once to aid in raising the siege of Breda. A gallant attack was made on the outposts of the enemy ; but they were strongly fortified, the place was ill victualled, and on the last day of May, the mournful news of its surrender [on the 26th] reached the Hague, where the gallant Earl of Oxford was dying from a fever taken in the war.⁴

Still, under the auspices of the new monarch, warlike preparations in England advanced with vigour ; troops, well armed and appointed, were rapidly levied ;⁵ a fleet, already in forwardness, was manned and fitted out for sea ; and when the Spanish monarch asked an explanation of all this military array, Charles's cool reply was, that the Queen of Bohemia now had a King for her brother.⁶ Frederic unhesitatingly renewed to his brother-in-law the pledge extorted from him by King James I. to be entirely governed by his wishes, saving his conscience, honour, and the fundamental laws of the Empire.⁷ But an empty exchequer hampered the execution of Charles's zealous schemes. Mansfeld's troops, not receiving the supplies hoped for, had to maintain themselves as they could in the towns of Holland, where they endured great misery. One of their officers, Lord Cromwell, assures Carleton that for four days they have not had a morsel of bread :—

“ We are,” he says, “ in that disorder that we are weary of our life ; yet to leave the queen's service I will never ; for misery, with her sacred majesty, is a thing far exceeding any bliss else. I have sent my plate and clothes

¹ Rusdorf to Camerarius, 31st March, 1625, Sylburgius, *ut supra*.

² Frederic to Charles I. 12th April, 1625, *S. P. Germ. States* ; Elizabeth to Conway, 11th April, *ibid.* ; “ Court and Times of James I.” vol. i. p. 6.

³ Harl. MS. 1584, f. 31. [A memorandum of Conway's secretary, amongst the State Papers, runs as follows : “ The Low Countries first considerable, but that the overture do come first from them and not from his Majesty. That his Highness will be pleased to deal privately with his sister, the Queen of Bohemia, to cause her to infuse it into the Prince of Orange or who else shall be thought fit. . . . If the States Ambassador here do fall upon such discourse with Mr. Secretary Conway, that he shall entertain it so far as to give him encouragement that it may in all probability be entertained by his Majesty if it be moved.”—May, 1625. See *Cal. S. P. Dom.* Charles I. Addenda, p. 17.]

⁴ “ *Mercurius Francicus*,” 1625, p. 830.

⁵ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 168.

⁶ “ Court and Times of Charles I.” vol. i. p. 12.

⁷ *S. P. Germ. States*, 6th June, 1625.

away to the Hague, that if I escape and live to see the good queen, I may not appear like a poor coarse chambermaid, or a poor Welsh clerk, before her."¹

During the summer of 1625 the King and Queen, with the Princess of Orange, undertook a journey into North Holland. As the record of their excursion, though minute, was written by a young lady of the Court, whose only thought was amusement, we must be content with such details as are afforded in her sprightly narrative, from which all serious subjects are banished.

"Thursday, June 26," she writes to her cousin,² "we left the Hague in coaches for Haarlem, wearing our usual travelling dress, only in hats, instead of hoods, which caused mistakes in the good people who watched us passing; they thinking the queen and princess were the boys, William and Louis,³ and that we were their pages: the same thing happened to a good woman of Haarlem, who, coming to see the Queen, left the room dissatisfied, saying she had seen three young men at table, but no woman in their company. The burgomaster of the said place, visiting the princess in her chamber, when bareheaded and with her hat upon the table, would not put his own on the first, but insisted so often on '*couvrez vous, Madame,*' that she was obliged to put on her hat. As good luck would have it, we happened to be at Haarlem, in the time of the Kermesse. This enabled us to send a great packet of presents to the Hague, which arrived opportunely the day after, when Lord Cromwell was giving a feast to the English ambassador and all the good company of our nation, at the court of Holland, so that each person received their own; especially Mr. St. Leger, who being curious in portraits, received one sent him by the queen—the device was an angry woman, beating her child furiously with her hands. Mr. St. Leger said it was from the hand of Mabuse."

The journalist records their arrival, on the 27th, at Alkmaar, where they feasted on beautiful peaches. The boorishness of the Dutch peasantry afforded the travellers constant amusement, especially the maids of honour, who came into closer contact with them than their royal mistresses.

¹ 7th June, 1625, *S. P. Holland*. [Small wonder then if, when Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick led them from Holland, where they were obliged to observe a certain amount of discipline, into the countries of Cleve and Cologne, they began to pillage and spoil in the fashion which usually distinguished the followers of these two leaders.—See Charvériat, i. 376.]

² [This journal is in *S. P. Holland*, 1625. It is written in French, and endorsed, "Copie d'une lettre interceptée et déchiffrée en passant entre une des dames d'honneur de la reine de Bohême et une demoiselle sa cousine en Angleterre". The letter is certainly addressed to "ma chère cousine," but it was perhaps really meant for George Goring. In a letter from Goring to Carleton, 8th Sept. 1625, *S. P. Dom.*, the following passages occur: "But more of this in the answer to the Queen of Bohemia's damoysele that wrote the voyage of North Holland, for which I beseeche your lordship believe her cossen here shall not be unthankfull. . . . I pray, my lord, commande my goshippe and fellow Mage Crofts to forgive me but till next weeke." From this it seems probable that Mistress Crofts was the writer; possibly she was related to Goring. Her patron, Lady Carlisle, had, as Lady Lucy Percy, been one of the Queen's girlish companions, and was connected with Goring, his cousin Honora Denny having been the Earl of Carlisle's first wife.]

³ [William and Lewis van Leek, natural sons of Maurice, Prince of Orange.]

"We arrived at Enkhuisen at midnight on the 28th," writes our narrator, "very weary and jaded with the length of the dykes, which, in these quarters, are measured more by German than English miles. We were immediately visited by the Consistory, and invited to partake of the holy communion the next day,—being Sunday; but we excused ourselves, not being in charity with the aforesaid dykes, nor with the steeples, after having mounted that of Haarlem, which made us afraid of approaching churches all the rest of our journey. The cabinet of Doctor Paludanus is the greatest curiosity in Enkhuisen."

The learned doctor showed the party over his collection, conversing with them in Italian, but our frivolous writer mentions nothing but a coarse joke, played off against the doctor by the Countess of Lewenstein. This lady was Elizabeth Dudley, who had attended the Queen since her first coming into Germany, and under her auspices had been married to the German count, Ernest Casimir de Lewenstein,¹ whose death, the preceding year, left her a widow.²

Lady Lewenstein was generally styled by the Queen her "reverend countess"; she was apparently considered the wit of the Court and her sallies were sometimes in very bad taste, but the Queen loved her for her fidelity, and ultimately procured for her an English pension of 200*l.* a year.

"The 29th," continues the journal, "we slept at Hoorn, where the burgomaster, being a widower, begged the queen to give him a wife amongst us. She, allowing him to choose for himself, he selected the said countess, but entertained us all with great compliments."

On the 30th the party reached Edam, where the King and Queen and the Princess were requested to make their entry on foot, the streets being strewn with rose-leaves and rushes; and on the 1st of July, they dined at Monniken.

"Throughout all north Holland," observes our lady writer, "people were greatly scandalized with two things which they thought unnecessary superfluities—first, the length of our robes; secondly, the number of six horses in our coaches—persuading us to shorten our robes after their fashion, and so influencing their neighbours of Amsterdam (desiring to correct our excesses by the contrary) that instead of six horses for the coach of the king and queen, they only gave them one to take them to their lodgings. Arriving there the evening of the 1st of July, we found Ambassador Carleton, with Colonel Morgan, awaiting our coming. Lord Cromwell was there too, with some other of Mansfeldt's officers, in the suite of Paymaster Dolbier,³ more ready to calculate than to count out money. We were magnificently entertained, and there, as throughout north Holland, defrayed by the magistrates of the place, and entertained with divers shows, the most famous being the two India Houses, East and West. In the Tuchthaus [house of Correction] we saw the lower rooms full of Mansfeldt's men, who are much more comfortable there than their companions are out in the country."

¹ Carleton's Desp. 18th April, 1622, *S. P. Holland*.

² "We need not fear," wrote Carleton, "that she will die of grief. She told Villebonne that a tear or two would not be mis-spent, if the news proved false!"

³ or Dalbier. He afterwards fought in the English Civil Wars.

The next day was passed in visiting the buildings of merchants of the town, where the company were much annoyed by the ill odours proceeding from boats filled with ordure, which their hosts called the riches of the land.

"The music at our repasts," continues our narrator, "was composed of a spinnett, a viol, and two voices; the Escoutette and one of the burgo-masters trilling and drinking, drinking and trilling, to the tone and measure. It was there that, that as the climax of his attentions, the Escoutette presented the queen with two twins, girls, three months old, named Becca and Gertrod; the queen (who is careful to support herself by good alliances), immediately thought of a double marriage between them and two twin boys born at the Hague, in her palace, since she left—Castor and Pollux—children of fortune; but with great people, time is required for affairs of such consequence. On leaving Amsterdam, we passed the sea of Haarlem, in a fine fleet of chaloupes and a gallion of 20 lasts [40 tons], well provided with artillery and every thing necessary, excepting food; only having one shoulder of mutton to dine the whole company. This was Colonel Morgan's providing; perhaps he was thinking of the famine of Breda. Alighting at Luss, midway between Haarlem and the Hague, we there found our coaches, and an ambassador of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, who foreseeing our voyage by the art of divination (which is much practised in those parts), after having presented to the princess his letters of credence, magnificently folded and sealed, greeted our return with a fine harangue; and thus we arrived at the Hague, the evening of the 4th of this month."

The party had been so pleased with their trip that they projected another to Utrecht, Amersfort, and as far as Deventer, to see the famous cabinet of M. de Smelsing; but more serious occupations detained them at home.

Immediately on their return, Sir Albertus Morton, now Secretary of State, arrived at the Hague, on a mission from King Charles, to communicate to his sister the arrival in England of his Queen, Henrietta Maria, and the completion of the marriage. His person and message rendered him doubly welcome. It will be remembered that he was a former secretary of Elizabeth, and his connexion with her had recently been revived, by his marriage with one of her maids of honour, Mrs. Apsley;¹ his visit also tended to increase the reputation of the good understanding that subsisted between her and the King.²

On the $\frac{11}{11}$ of July, Elizabeth gave a feast in honour of her brother's marriage, to which the foreign Ambassadors were invited; the English diplomatists made an excuse of absence, on account of a dispute which still continued as to their precedence before those of France, and which caused continual disturbance in the courtly circles, and actually prevented the envoys from meeting on any formal occasion. A few days afterwards, Elizabeth driving out, with Sir Albertus Morton, in his own coach, was encountered by that of the French Ambassador, and the Queen's coachman attempted to pass first, on the ground that the presence

¹ Elizabeth to Conway, 12th Nov. and to Roe, 27th Dec. 1624, Roe's Negot.

² D'Espesse's Desp. 14th July, Bethune MS. 9178, f. 41.

of a King's daughter in the coach rendered all hesitation unnecessary. This was not allowed, and the Frenchman kept his ground. In private, Elizabeth was on very good terms with this ambassador, but in his public capacity he was a stickler for etiquette, and he never gave the King and Queen of Bohemia the regal titles by which they were usually known in Holland.¹

In September, the King and Queen, after visiting their children at Leyden, went on a hunting expedition to the Island of Goree, where they were joined by their cousin of Brunswick. He came to bid them farewell, preparatory to accompanying his uncle, the King of Denmark, against the Imperial general Wallenstein, who now made his appearance as commander of an army which he had gathered with extraordinary speed, on the stage where he was henceforth to play so conspicuous a part.²

We must now turn back to trace the course adopted by England in the general struggle which was impending. On the 18th of June, King Charles opened his first parliament, and in few words reminded its members, that by their advice and entreaty he had urged his father to make war, and he should, therefore, expect their cordial support in its prosecution.³ The Commons were discontented with the appropriation of their former grant, as no one could deny that hitherto the war had been greatly mismanaged; they laid the blame upon Buckingham, and yet to him the Palatinate cause was more especially entrusted.⁴ Their supplies, in consequence, were scanty and inefficient; and Mansfeld, still without resources, disbanded many of his half-starved troops, whose officers were already becoming insubordinate, attributing their sufferings to the mismanagement of their general.⁵

The King and Queen in vain endeavoured to conciliate matters, and to reason Mansfeld into a different spirit: in the end he quarrelled with them, as he had already done with Duke Christian of Brunswick,⁶ and, in or about August, he joined the King of Denmark with the troops that yet adhered to him.⁷

The grief of Elizabeth, at this disappointment of her hopes, was in proportion to her former buoyancy of expectation.

"So it is," writes Carleton, "that time begins to seem long to her here, and, since the last Prince of Orange's sickness and death, nothing so agreeable as formerly; which proceeds not of defect in the prince that now is, of applying himself to her service and studying her contentment; neither is here want of other good entertainment, Madame de Tremouille being here at this present with her daughter, and the town full of the best company of

¹ D'Espesse's Desp. 24th Aug., 2nd and 22nd Sept. 1624, Bethune MSS. 9175, ff. 12-14 b, 18 b, and 9179, f. 32.

² *Ibid.* f. 39.

³ "Journal of Lords," vol. iii. p. 435.

⁴ Buckingham to Carleton, 4th May. [And see Gardiner, "Hist. of Eng." vi. 337 *et seq.*, 397 *et seq.*]

⁵ Blainville's Negoc. 1625, Royal MS. 4, C. 2, f. 52, British Museum; S. P. Holland, 24th Aug. 1625.

⁶ D'Espesse's Desp. 24th, 26th Aug.; Bethune MS. 9178, f. 101-2.

⁷ Harl. MS. 4471.

these parts, which are frequent at the court; but as there is satiety of all things, even of the best, so must there be of exiles, which is one of the worst, though it may be borne for a time, as it hath been by her princely virtue, and that with admirable patience, which yet she doth not lose, but her servants do in her regard."¹

The selfish policy and restless imprudence of Buckingham threw away another opportunity of retrieving the condition of the distressed King and Queen. Having failed to underprop his tottering fortunes by Spanish influence, he had been next anxious to secure that of France, and consequently had gone to Paris on the business of the marriage treaty, and professed himself the avowed adorer of Anne of Austria. To gratify these new allies, he actually prevailed on his master to assist King Louis in the siege of Rochelle, then held against him by the Huguenots; the project failed, owing chiefly to the dislike of the English soldiers to fight against their fellow-Protestants, in a war of religion.² The quarrels which soon after ensued between the favourite and the young Queen, who had, of course, the sympathies of the French Court in her favour, proved to Buckingham that there was no hope of his supporting himself by the influence of France. Yet he had been threatened with prosecution by the last Parliament, and he dreaded the effects of another assembly, should the King find it necessary to summon one. He, therefore, resolved to obtain the interest of the Puritans, by throwing himself once more into the party of the Queen of Bohemia, who was their idol, and, if possible, to secure her permanent influence, by means of the family union which had been suspected and rumoured the preceding year; for though the pride of James I. would have revolted from an alliance even with his favourite "Steenie," Buckingham hoped that Charles would be more pliant. The Duke had no son to inherit his fortunes, and was the more eager for a connexion which, by uniting his eldest daughter to Prince Frederic Henry, now second in succession to the Crown of England, might eventually raise his descendants to the throne.³ He induced the King to send him over to the Hague, in conjunction with the Earl of Holland, with the professed object of cementing, with the assistance of Elizabeth, an alliance between the sovereigns of Denmark, Sweden and England, the States-General, and the German Princes; cherishing, at the same time, the reserved intention of sounding the Queen in reference to this marriage.

The King was probably not ignorant of his design, as it had reached the ears of the French Ambassador. His instructions to the Duke were to assure his brother-in-law that he was fully

¹ *S. P. Holland*, 7th Aug.; Carleton repeats the same sentiments in a letter to Buckingham, 20th Aug., Harl. MS. 1580.

² Coke to Conway, 11th July; Pennington to Nicholas, 3rd Aug., *S. P. Dom.*

³ Blainville's Desp. 22nd Oct., Bethune MS. 9191; Royal MS. 4, C. 2, f. 433.

resolved to execute the purpose formed, though tardily, by the late King, of restoring him to his lost possessions, and further,—

“to tell our dear and only sister, what you have formerly said to the Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, our brother, and to assure her from us, that we intend, for the good of her and hers, to make a league, offensive and defensive, with the States of the Low Countries, until both the Palatinates and Electorship be entirely recovered by arms, or otherwise restored; and to desire her from us to propose and manage this proposition, as it may proceed from the States to us, and not from us to them; and that we conceive that the States proceeding thus to us, (which we shall be willing to accept), it will conduce and facilitate much the recovery of the Palatinates and Electorship, either by arms or otherwise. And this you are to tell our dear sister only.”¹

Rusdorf, the Palatinate agent in England, was in intimate communication with several friends of his royal mistress in the English Court, and therefore was well informed of what passed behind the scenes. He felt great anxiety concerning the schemes of the Duke of Buckingham, and sent to the Hague a full account of their origin and object. It was his opinion that Buckingham must have some expectation of the King's concurrence, and if so, the Queen of Bohemia was placed in a critical dilemma: she must either give hopes of an alliance which would lower the dignity of her house, and convert the love of the English nation, to whom the Duke was most obnoxious, into hatred; or she must, by a positive refusal, exasperate the proud and irritable, yet all-powerful favourite. Rusdorf advised a middle course; to temporise with the Duke; to speak of the necessity of consulting family connexions, etc.; but, above all, to prevent the young Prince from falling into Buckingham's hands, by being sent into England. The love of the people towards the children of the King of Bohemia was stronger than towards himself, and if the eldest were in hands so odious to them, his popularity would be at an end.²

Elizabeth adopted the caution recommended by her counsellor; she neither pledged herself to anything detrimental to her honour, nor did she, as her subsequent correspondence proves, offend her powerful visitor. On other grounds his mission was not very acceptable; she had always found extraordinary embassies, set forth with so much parade, to end in air: but still she anticipated, almost with trepidation, intercourse with a man whose powerful interest with her brother might make or mar her future fortunes.³ The Duke's reception at the Hague was

¹ *S. P. Holland*. The prominence given to Elizabeth, in these negotiations, was in accordance with the King's opinion expressed in a letter to Buckingham, giving him some instructions to his “sister and brother,” in which he says—“I place them so, because I think the grey mare is the best horse”.

² Rusdorf to Camerarius, 19th Oct. 1625; *Memoirs and Negot. etc.* p. 364; *Sylburgius Append. to MSS. Pal.* p. 70.

³ Carleton's *Desp.* 9th Oct. *S. P. Holland*.

made a matter of some importance. The States fitted up for him splendid apartments adjoining those of the Queen, in the same pile of building. After a stormy passage, which shattered his fleet and left him only two ships, he arrived at Helvoetsluys on the 8th-18th of November, and on the following day made his public entrance into the Hague, where he was received with the highest honours ever paid to foreign Ambassadors. "He alighted," says Nethersole, "at our Court, where then and ever since he hath been used with that graciousness is natural to the mistress of the place, and borne himself with all fitting respect to her and the king."¹

The Duke went over to Leyden, to visit the juvenile royal family, and he evidently treated Prince Frederic Henry, his hoped-for son-in-law, with great distinction, for the boy wrote him a courteous letter in acknowledgment of his kindness;² but he received little real satisfaction, and it was observed that he appeared discontented.³ At the Hague, several days were passed in assemblies and feastings; many more in diplomatic meetings between the various Ambassadors, at which the discussions were long and animated, and the conclusion was a resolution to maintain German liberty, and re-establish the disinherited Princes.⁴ To this effect, on the 29th of November - 9th of December a treaty of alliance was signed by the agents of England, the States-General, and Denmark; those of the Elector of Brandenburg, Bethlen Gabor, and the King of Sweden, were not present,⁵ though these Princes were known to be favourable to the common cause,⁶—the two latter even inclining to a renewal of the claims of Frederic on the Crown of Bohemia.⁷

Union was, indeed, more than ever necessary, as the Emperor, by breaking up the territories of the Palatinate, and giving portions to most of the neighbouring Roman Catholic Princes, had interested them personally in the continuation of the present state of affairs.⁸ The Imperialists were gathering in force, and it was feared that they might march to Berlin, and demand the surrender of the two royal children, Elizabeth and Maurice, who still remained there.⁹ On the other hand, the Protestant European Powers were more earnest than they had before been

¹ Nethersole's Desp. 25th Nov. 1625, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² 10th Feb. 1626, Harl. MS. 6988, f. 18.

³ Royal MS. 4 C. 2, f. 978; Blainville's Desp. 29th Dec.

⁴ D'Espece's Desp. 27th Nov., Bethune MS. 9179, f. 134.

⁵ [The Swedish Ambassador had died a few days before Buckingham reached the Hague.]

⁶ The proposed marriage of Bethlen to a sister of the Elector of Brandenburg was considered by all parties a most auspicious event, as tending the more firmly to secure his adherence.—Elect. Brand. to Charles I. 10th Oct. 1625, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁷ *S. P. Sweden* in the spring of 1626.

⁸ Carleton to Buckingham, 20th Aug. Harl. MS. 1580.

⁹ Anstruther's Despatch, 5th Feb. 1626, *S. P. Denmark*.

in the support of the Protestant cause. Sweden prepared to arm, and Christian of Denmark, relying on the late treaty with England, by which he was to receive considerable pecuniary aid, assembled a large body of troops, and entered heartily upon the campaign.¹

But the evil destiny of the Stuarts brooded over the head of Elizabeth. Charles I. loved his sister truly and fondly, but he loved himself and his favourite Buckingham better; the nation, too, though they loved their Princess heartily, could not overlook their own interests, and those interests were sorely at variance with the extent of prerogative assumed by the King, and still more so with the mis-government of Buckingham. The Parliament, assembled in February, refused all consideration of supplies till it had first prosecuted the favourite, and after much angry altercation, characterised by hauteur on the one part and turbulence on the other, it was dissolved. Elizabeth thus addressed the Duke of Buckingham on the subject:—

“ My lord,

“ I give you many thanks for your letter by Charles Morgan, and am sorry to hear how much you are persecuted by your enemies. I doubt not but you will be very well able to clear yourself, which my good wishes shall ever be for, being most confident of your affection to us, and our cause. I pray God that you were all well agreed, for the loss of time is a great evil to us. The King of Denmark begins to think the time long that he has no resolution from the king, my dear brother; therefore, I pray, do your best that he may quickly have a good answer. This bearer can tell you all that passeth here. I will only assure you that I am ever,

“ Your most affectionate friend,

“ I pray remember our horses.

ELIZABETH.”²

“ The Hague, this 1st of June.”

Writing to Secretary Conway, she says:—

“ I shall not need to tell you how sorry I am for the distractions of the present time you mention; for nobody doth suffer so much by them as I. But I have the same confidence with you, that the wisdom and constancy of the king my brother will, at the last, overcome them all. My only doubt is that others, not so confident thereof, may not have patience enough to attend the time. In that respect I should be glad that the gentleman you mention were presently dispatched to my uncle, the King of Denmark, so that he may as well carry with him some performance of things already agreed on, as power to treat.”³

The King of Denmark exclaimed loudly against the bad faith of Charles I. in leaving him to struggle alone with the powers banded against him;⁴ yet, without Parliamentary money, it

¹ Lingelsheim's Despatch, 18th May, 1626. He was assisted by a regiment of Scottish troops who, according to the account of their literary Lieutenant Munro, entered into the cause of their royal compatriot with great warmth.

² Harl. MS. 6988, f. 21.

³ *S. P. Germ. States*, 30th May.

⁴ Anstruther's Despatches, 27th Sept. Harl. MS. 2390, f. 129; Christian to Charles I., *S. P. Denmark*; Frederic to Charles I. and to Buckingham, 28th Aug., Harl. MS. 6988, ff. 12-14.

was difficult for Charles to raise even the needful supplies for his own government. By means of forced loans, however, moneys were procured, and he ordered another fleet to be prepared, to carry out the war with Spain, and commissioned the Margrave of Baden to raise troops on his behalf. But these orders were little more than matter of form.¹ Meanwhile, on Aug. 27, the Danish monarch received a severe defeat from Tilly on the field of Lutter, while Mansfeld's troops had been cut in pieces by Wallenstein.² One of the parliamentary party printed a letter to King Frederic, painting strongly the hopelessness of his position, and the fallacy of his looking for help from foreign powers, who despise the condition of a poor exile, or from the booty-loving soldier, Mansfeld: that as to England, if he attach himself to the duke, the people will hate him and refuse subsidies; if to the opposite party, then the King will refuse him help; and even suggesting that it were better for him to join the French Protestants at Rochelle, who were his fellows in religion and in distress.³

To add to the misfortunes of the year the Queen lost her faithful cousin, Christian of Brunswick, who died in June, of a low fever, though not without strong suspicions of poison.⁴ The depression caused by the loss of her gallant defender had an unfavourable effect on the health of Elizabeth. She was then near her confinement, and after a period of severe and dangerous suffering, she gave birth to an infant daughter. A few days after the event the English resident, Mr. Carleton, wrote:—

“The Queen of Bohemia's little infant had such a sudden and great fit of sickness on Sunday, in the evening, that every one thought it would presently die; and therefore it was forthwith christened by the name of Mary, being that of her Majesty of England, who will be invited to be the godmother notwithstanding, by such letters of the king as were presently dispatched at the hour of the birth. Since, God be thanked, it is reasonable well again.”⁵

The Queen herself wrote:—

“We were fain to christen the girl in haste, she was so sick. I have

¹“*Fœdera*,” vol. viii. pt. ii. pp. 83, 106, 112.

²“*Mercure Français*,” 1626, pp. 130, 678.

³*Tertia secretissima instructio* Frid. V. data, 4to, Hague, 1626. The author of this pamphlet was called to account for his boldness. See “*Court and Times of Charles I.*” vol. i. p. 190; “*D'Ewes Autobiography*,” vol. i. p. 193.

⁴There were two motives for wishing to get rid of him—not only was he very essential, from the “vastness of his burning zeal,” to the general cause, but his decease threw his estates into the hands of the Duke of Lüneburg, who was known to be a friend of the emperor.—Mr. Carleton to Conway, 22nd June, 1626, Harl. MS. 390, f. 89; News Letter, 8th July; “*Mercure Français*,” 1626, p. 664. [There is, however, no evidence whatever that he was poisoned.]

⁵Mr. Carleton's Despatch, 12th July, 1626, *S. P. Holland*; the other sponsors were the States of Guelderland, E. Giles to Coke, 24th July; *S. P. Dom*.

called her Henrietta, after the queen, who, I hope, will esteem her god-daughter."¹

Henrietta Maria gracefully accepted this compliment; she felt kindly towards her unfortunate sister-in-law, and took every opportunity of expressing her sympathy and regret at being unable to assist her, and her hopes of seeing her one day in England.² To her no small pleasure Elizabeth found that Queen Henrietta participated in some of her favourite tastes, especially in her love of animals, for which she still retained her juvenile predilection, and was continually receiving presents for her menagerie from those who courted her favour.

The exiled Queen still continuing an invalid, she sent for advice to the French doctor Mayerne, her brother's physician, who, for many years, had attended the royal family, and knew her well, his daughter Louisa being one of her maids of honour. Elizabeth requested him to prescribe a regimen, or mode of life, telling him that she would submit to being bled, but that medicine she utterly abhorred. The doctor noted down in his prescription book that her constitution closely resembled that of her late mother, Queen Anne; that though naturally robust, she was not careful of herself, and did not sufficiently avoid over-fatigue.³ Her spirits were, at this time, much depressed, as is testified by the concurrence of contemporary writers:—

“The magnanimous Queen of Bohemia, who hath hitherto, with a fortitude beyond her sex, borne so many calamities undauntedly, is now suddenly marvellously dejected, and will not be comforted. The reason I hear not, nor know whether it be known; but the Countess of Bedford, from whom my authority saith he hath this, hath a purpose to go over unto her.”⁴

At the end of 1625, Elizabeth had lost one of her faithful friends, in the removal of Sir Dudley Carleton, afterwards Lord Carleton and Earl of Dorchester, from his post of Dutch Ambassador to that of Vice-Chamberlain to Charles I., and subsequently of Secretary of State. During her father's lifetime, Elizabeth endeavoured to promote this statesman: his attachment to herself and that of his wife, who was said to neglect her other friends in her devotion to the Queen, won her warm regard, and induced her to seek his interests, even at the risk of losing him from the Hague. In his place she had wished for either Sir Thomas Roe, her old and tried friend, or her secretary, Nethersole; but the former was just then under a cloud of temporary disgrace, and the latter was not considered of suf-

¹ The princess was called Henrietta Maria. Mary was the usual name given to the Queen of Charles I. in England.

² Rusdorf's Desp. 11th Aug. 1625, 18th Jan. 1627, “Mémoires,” vol. i. pp. 605, 802.

³ Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 247.

⁴ Harl. MS. 390, f. 148. See also f. 146.

ficient standing to occupy so important a post. It was therefore filled, for the present (with the status of envoy), by Mr., afterwards the younger Sir Dudley, Carleton, nephew and long associate of the late ambassador. He writes to his uncle that the Queen is weary of the Hague, and much wants him back.

“Upon all occasions her majesty doth not fail to express her wonted graciousness and affection unto your lordship, with complaints both publicly before company, and privately in her chamber with her ladies, how much she hath lost since you left this place.”¹

He adds, that she highly prizes his letters, and thanks him for a present sent to her little daughter, Hollandine. The Court circle was also reduced by the removal of Emanuel of Portugal² (who had married a Princess of Nassau), who now, with his family, went over to reside in Flanders, allured by promises of a pension from the King of Spain, if he would embrace that party.³

Towards the autumn of 1626, King Frederick took his wife out on a hunting expedition; hoping, by means of her favourite amusement, to drive away the melancholy that oppressed her. They went first to Harderwyck, where all their expenses were repaid to them by the liberality of the magistracy,⁴ and thence to Arnhem, in the neighbourhood of which lay the army of the Prince of Orange.⁵ The Prince invited the King and Queen to visit him in his camp, and sent for his wife from the Hague, to assist in their entertainment. On Saturday, 2nd September, they arrived at Emmerich, and the following Tuesday the Prince entertained them with a sight of his army, drawn up in the full array of march; after which he escorted them back to Emmerich and rejoined his soldiers.⁶ On their return they made a brief tour along the Yssel.

“Her majesty bids me tell you,” wrote Mr. Carleton to his uncle, “she hath a long relation to make you of her journey to Arnhem, her hunting in those parts, with her progress over all the towns on the Yssel, and how that coming unto Utrecht, and visiting the house of Blommaert, a famous painter, she there found a true original picture of her dog Babler; which she hath bought, and intends to send it you by the first, that you may give your opinion. Now she hath no leisure to write, she being entertained with the king this night, at Sir John Ashburnham’s house, whose little daughter hath been christened this day.”

The Prince of Orange, who on his first accession to his dignities, had pledged himself to do all in his power in favour

¹ Mr. Carleton to Lord Carleton, 25th Jan. 1627, *S. P. Holland*.

² Mr. Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, 1st May, 1626, *ibid.*

³ “*Mercure François*,” 1626, p. 658.

⁴ “*Schrassert, Beschrijving van Harderwyck*,” vol. ii. p. 141.

⁵ Mr. Carleton to Lord Carleton, 4th and 10th Sept. 1626, *S. P. Holland*.

⁶ Jermyn to Coke, 10th Sept. 1626, *ibid.*

of the Queen of Bohemia,¹ paid her a marked testimony of respect, by requesting her to stand sole god-mother for his infant heir, William of Orange, whose subsequent marriage with her niece, Mary of England, proved so great a solace to her after-life. The Queen, in spite of her poverty, presented the child with a basin and ewer of solid gold,² and she endeavoured to procure for his father the place in the Order of the Garter vacant by the death of Christian of Brunswick.³

Another ceremony, of considerable influence in its ultimate bearings, took place a few days after the christening of the young Prince. The Queen of Bohemia was notoriously fond of match-making, and it is amusing to trace the number of the alliances made among her servants. An especially interesting opportunity was now afforded her for trying her powers. She had as a visitor in her Court, her husband's cousin, the beautiful and accomplished Mademoiselle de La Tremouille, whose family were among the firmest supporters of the French Huguenots. At the same time, one of the numerous young English noblemen who visited the Hague with the express object of kissing the hands of their royal lady, was Lord Strange, son and heir of the house of Derby. It suggested itself to the ready wit of the Queen, that a union between this youthful couple would prove most advantageous, as they would then be enabled to offer a sure and safe refuge to oppressed Protestants in the Isle of Man, which belonged in proud and exclusive sovereignty to the Earls of Derby. The Earl of Bedford, who had a hand in the matter, wrote to a Frenchman at the Hague :—

“My Lady Derby hath absolutely given her son, with a particular of the present state and possibilities of the House of Derby, to the Queen of Bohemia, to dispose of both, in this match, as she pleases, who extremely affects the good success thereof. I shall, within a day or two, write to the Queen of Bohemia some reasons why it will be best she set a full and speedy end to this, wherein she is so much trusted, and so great respect showed to her.”⁴

The only proviso made with the Queen was, that the terms of the match should not in any way be unfavourable to the interests of the Derby family.⁵ Accordingly, on July 6th, new style, in a palace of the Prince of Orange, the marriage of Lord Strange with Mademoiselle de La Tremouille was solemnised with much splendour, though disturbed by the contests for precedence between the English and French Ambassadors, both of whose signatures were required; which contests were renewed more

¹ Prince of Orange to Charles I. 4th June, 1625, *S. P. Holland*.

² Mr. Carleton to Conway, 22nd June, *ibid*.

³ Elizabeth to Lord Carleton, 20th July, and to Duke of Buckingham, 13th Aug., Harl. MS. 6988, f. 35, etc.

⁴ Harl. MS. 7000, f. 110.

⁵ Sir Robert Carr to Carleton, 22nd Oct. 1625, *S. P. Holland*.

seriously, at the sport of running at the ring prepared by Elizabeth for the entertainment of the guests.¹ The lady thus introduced, under Elizabeth's auspices, into the peerage of England, was the Countess of Derby whose heroic defence of Lathom House for Charles I. forms one of the most striking episodes in the civil wars.

In the close of this year died Count Mansfeld, whose untiring though reckless energy had been for the most part given to the Palatine cause; but the course of his life compels us to acknowledge that disinterested attachment either to the person or service of the Bohemian King had little effect in influencing his conduct.

The English agent at the Hague regarded the state of affairs in a very discouraging light: he declared that everything was going to ruin in Germany—Mansfeld dead, the King of Denmark with neither money nor officers of experience, Duke John Ernest of Weimar dead, and Bethlen Gabor compelled to a truce with the Emperor; and he fancied that the respect paid to the Queen diminished with the low state of her affairs.

“I know not how it cometh to pass, but I see the wonted respect is much diminished. The Prince of Orange comes seldom, nor yet his wife (though she have more leisure than he), and stayeth little when they come. The French ambassador makes himself a stranger, framing to himself certain discontentments in the air, as if there were a party against him in her majesty's court; and so it is almost with the rest of those that are of quality, as if all had conspired in neglect; but I dare not write all I could tell your lordship in this behalf.”²

The point which the envoy dared not name was a tendency on the part of the States to prefer the alliance of France to that of England, should a rupture take place, which now threatened, owing to jealousies between the two Courts, in reference to commercial matters and the fulfilment of the marriage articles. Lord Carleton was sent to the Hague, to reassure the States, to carry to the Prince of Orange the insignia of the Garter, procured for him by Elizabeth, and to visit and comfort the King and Queen.

“You are further,” continue his instructions, “to let our dear brother and sister know the continuance of our care for their support and maintenance, having taken order for both their monthly entertainments: and because we understand that our dear sister, being charged with some ancient debts, grown upon her since her first coming to Holland, to the value of 10,000*l.*, doth desire the same may be cleared, with promise, in both their be-

¹The action of the French Ambassador's coachman in pushing in his master before the English ladies so enraged their servants that some blows ensued, and the poor fellow received and gave several wounds. One English lady was so exasperated that she declared she only wished she had been killed, and then he would have been hung for it!—D'Espesse's *Desp.* Bethune MS. 9180, f. 201 b.

²Mr. Carleton to Lord Carleton, 25th Jan. 1627, *S. P. Holland.*

half, that they will hereafter sustain themselves with their ordinary monthly allowances, without charging us with any extraordinary accounts; we do, at this present, give order to our treasurer totally to clear those debts to the foresaid value, relying upon their promise that they will hereafter accommodate themselves and their expenses to the necessity of our affairs, contenting themselves with our ordinary allowance (which shall be monthly continued till it please God to settle them in better condition), without charge of further disbursement."¹

Carleton arrived early in June, and to Elizabeth, as she herself had declared,² no messenger could be more welcome. He records that the conduct of the Prince and Princess of Orange was by no means so inattentive as he had been led to suppose, whilst the coldness of the French and Venetian Ambassadors arose only from quarrels about the precedence of their coaches; but he mentions the poverty of the King and Queen as so extreme that they hardly know how to get bread, adding, "lay about you on all hands, for here is neither money nor credit!" Lord Carleton states that he will be in great difficulties when it is known that he has not brought with him money sufficient to discharge the Queen's pressing liabilities, as some of the most substantial people in the town, who have kept up in hopes of his bringing them relief, will be bankrupt.¹ The 10,000*l.* extraordinary having been passed by privy seal bill in the summer of 1626, its arrival, rather than a renewal of promises, was ardently desired.³

¹ Carleton's State Letters in 1627, 4to, Middlehill, 1841; printed from the originals by Sir Thomas Phillipps. There are copies of the instructions and of several of the papers amongst the State Papers at the Public Record Office.

² Elizabeth to Buckingham, 1st April, 1627, Harl. MS. 6988, f. 19.

³ Elizabeth to the Lord Treasurer, 4th July, 1626, *S. P. Germ. States*. The following list of the debts was drawn up by Sir Francis Nethersole.

An Extract of the Debts of their Majesties' Household, to the 1st of January, 1628, Sti. No.

	£	s.	d.
To the Apothecary	369	4	0
To the Chandler	554	12	0
To the Eggwife	016	02	0
To the Milkboore	140	18	0
To the Lardman	210	0	0
To the Butcher	400	0	0
To the Poulterer	464	11	0
To the Freshfishers	88	12	0
To the Seafisher	79	12	0
To the Winewoman, and for Linen	293	12	0
To the Brewer	220	16	0
To the Baker	478	04	0
To the Fruiterer	180	14	0
To the Herbwife	20	11	0
To the Turfman	117	05	0
To a Merchant of Amsterdam, for Rhenish wine	61	15	0
The Debts of the Stable, for oats, hay, straw, smith, etc., about 1000	0	0	0

These representations so worked upon the sympathies of Charles I. that he pledged some of his jewels, in order to procure relief for his sister's wants.¹ The Queen attributed her distress and much of her debt to the uncertainty in the times of payment of her monthly allowance, and she had begged earnestly and repeatedly that this abuse might be rectified, by having her payments charged upon some settled branch of the revenue.² Her request was met by an order to the Treasurer, that the debts should be paid from the fund which discharged those of Queen Henrietta Maria.³ But though her statement was partially true, it is not to be doubted that one cause of the Queen's repeated embarrassments was the facility of temper and reluctance to deny the requests of those about her which, in her early married life, so sorely deranged her household. When those who were sufferers in her husband's cause had recourse to her for aid, she gave it, without considering that in so doing she incurred responsibilities which she had no means of discharging. Frederic spoke the truth, when in one of his letters to her he wrote: "I know well your custom; you cannot refuse anything to anybody". The same easiness of disposition often led her into difficulties by inducing her to recommend persons to posts in England, for which they were not always fitted; she was once gently rebuked for requesting a place in her brother's bedchamber on behalf of a youth whom she had never seen; and again, for recommending to notice

	£	s.	d.
Due for wages to her Majesty's own servants, together with the Household and Stable servants	about	650	0 0
Her Majesty's private debts	about	3335	0 0
<i>Monies borrowed.</i>			
Of Monsieur Myrsop, Receiver of Holland, which was part of the Lady Hollandina's portion given by the States of Holland		2000	0 0
Of Monsieur Philip Calendrini, upon my lord Carleton's bond		1000	0 0
Of Sir Francis Nethersole, upon his plate		455	11 0
Total	about	£12,138	2 0*

In reference to the plate of Sir Francis Nethersole, he writes: "The plate of mine mentioned in the enclosed is that which it pleased the French King to bestow on me; which about three months since, I gave Sir John Ashburnham commission to pawn or sell, and to give the money to the most troublesome of the Queen's creditors, to be repaid me out of the extraordinary, thereby to assure the rest that I gave them no false hopes of satisfaction from hence; which I write that neither his majesty nor you may think me so vain a man as to have so much plate of my own buying."—Nethersole to Secretary, 22nd Feb. 1627-28, *S. P. Dom.*

¹ Conway to Carleton, 24th Feb. 1628.

² See her letter to the Treasurer, 13th Jan. 1625.

³ Conway to Nethersole, 3rd March, 1628, *S. P. Dom.*

* Under date 22nd Feb. 1627-28, *ibid.*

Lady Eleanor Douglas, alias Davies,¹ the well-known fortune teller, in reference to whom Secretary Coke, apologising that her note had not taken due effect, writes that: "Her devilish practices in pretended conjurings have got her imprisoned; and she had been worse treated, was she not thought frantic".² A collection of all the Queen's little notes of recommendations of servants for rewards, of chaplains for benefices, military men for promotions, and other persons for aid in their various businesses or suits in England, would form a curious medley.³

The correspondence which the Queen maintained with Englishmen of different ranks and positions was very extensive; in epistolary communication with learned men, as well as in their works, she took great delight.⁴ With the ministers of the English King, policy recommended a friendly intercourse, and amongst these Lord Conway stood high in her favour. She addressed to him a friendly letter, shortly after he was created Viscount Killultagh, thanking him for his continued interest in her affairs, and saying in reference to his new title:—

"You have gotten the maddest new name that can be; it will spoil any good mouth to pronounce it right, but in earnest I wish you all happiness with it."

¹ Elizabeth to Charles I. 12th Sept. 1633, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* Addenda, Charles I. p. 458.

² Coke to Boswell, 26th Oct. 1633, *S. P. Holland.*

³ Her friends would sometimes take advantage of her good nature. Sir Robert Killigrew succeeded in placing in her service a page who was dismissed by her brother because of his crooked legs.—Killigrew to Carleton, 24th March, 1625, *S. P. Dom.* Even Lady Carleton could not resist the temptation of palming upon her majesty one of her nieces, Bessy Dohna, of whom she gives the following unflattering description: "As for Bess, I much fear the queen will not have her, and on my conscience she is no way fit for her, for she will never come in no fashion, no not tolerable. I am ashamed to carry her abroad with me. You may think I write this in passion, but of my faith it is most true, and I think my nephew cannot deny it; for I am sure he says as much to me, that he is ashamed to see her out of fashion, in all companies. I wish you would speak to the queen about her, to know what you may trust to, for Mrs. Crofts is to come over with me; her mother and she was here with me, the queen said she would take them both together. I would you could so prevail with her, for what I shall do with her, I know not. She hath been in physic almost ever since I came over; I am sure it will cost well. She was far gone in the scurvy, which none but idle folks have." Yet the girl was taken by the good-natured Queen, because several of the family of Dohna had been faithful in her service!—Lady Carleton to Sir D. Carleton, 8th June, 1623, *ibid.*, Carleton to Chamb. 20th Sept. *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ See Letters of Lord Bacon by Stephens, p. 188, in which he mentions sending her a Treatise on the Spanish War, because of the delight she takes in his writings. Also Reliquæ Wottonianæ, p. 495 *et seq.* and Wotton's Letters to Bacon, pp. 55-56. Rudolf Weckherlin, a German poet, dedicated to her his work entitled "Weltliche Gedichte," with an assurance that neither fortune nor misfortune can hinder his true and humble love.—"Müller's Bibliothek," vol. iv. In Harleian Miscel. vol. iii. p. 68, is a sketch of the Palatine House, by W. H. printed in 1631, "consecrated and dedicated to the Most High and Peerless Princess, Elizabeth, Princess of Great Britain, Queen of Bohemia," etc. Daniel de Viduis, chaplain to one of the regiments in the Dutch service, dedicated to her an Exposition of Prophecy. See also Goodall's "Tryall of Travel," 1630; Sir T. Wortley's "Duty Delineated," 1641, etc. etc.

Her correspondence with the Duke of Buckingham was frequent and friendly, and she evidently trusted to him to do her good offices¹ with the King her father, but her letters to him are not couched in the terms of intimacy and affection such as we find in those to Conway or Wotton, Roe or Vane.² The ladies with whom the Queen exchanged letters and presents are too numerous to mention, from the Duchess of Richmond and Countess of Bedford to the humbler but not less faithful friends of her childhood.³

The following letter records an interview which she had with Sir Thomas Meautys, the brother of Lady Cornwallis, with whom she had associated intimately when under the roof of Lord and Lady Harrington, at Combe Abbey, and whom she declared she had reason to love as well or better than any lady in England.⁴ It is addressed by him to Lady Cornwallis, and dated the 25th of July, 1627.

“Dearest sister,

“By this you shall receive an account of the present that you left with me, for the queen of Bohemia. As soon as she saw me come into the room where her majesty was, her second words were, ‘How doth my lady Cornwallis?’ I gave her your present, and told her that I had left you with a heart charged with grief for the death of your husband, but with a mind full of will and readiness to do her majesty service. She took the box, and before all the company that was there, did open it, and did very much commend the propriety of it, and return you many thanks; for that I saw that it was a gift very agreeable to her, for the same day, at my lord ambassador’s house, where the king and queen and princess of Orange did dine, she took occasion to speak of it again, and said that the old love between you two must not be forgotten. I pray therefore continue this interchange to her, as often as you shall find occasion; for, upon my soul, if it lay in her power to do you a good office, she would not be sparing to perform it. She looks her within this month or six weeks to be brought to bed: God send her a safe and happy hour, if it be his will.”

The good wish of her friend was accomplished. On the 27th of September, the Queen presented her husband with a seventh

¹[See the three letters to him at the beginning of Appendix B.]

²[Another of her favourites was Sir Jacob Astley. One of her letters to him begins as follows:—“Honest little Jacob, this is to assure you that I was right glad to know by your letter that you had so good fortune in getting your suit of the King my brother. I hope shortly to see you here, for the Prince means right suddenly to be in the field, and swears all shall be cashiered that come not at the rendezvous; therefore like a little ape, skip over quickly.”—Chamber’s “History of Norfolk,” ii. 785, from the original at Melton Mowbray.]

³One of these, formerly her foster-sister, wife of the Bishop of Cashel, took a long journey for the sake of seeing her once more, and, in return, the Queen interested herself warmly in securing Archbishop Laud’s favour for her and her husband. *S. P. Dom.* under date Nov. 1637. Another person, whose present of some ornamental head-tire had met with a gracious reception, writes—“It was too great an humility for her majesty to stoop so low as to raise and prefer those poor toys, which were scarce fit to lie at her feet, so high as to that head which is worthy to be the seat of imperial crowns, whether blind fortune will or no.”—Toby Matthews’ Letters, p. 95.

⁴Cornwallis Letters, p. 252.

son, the strongest and finest child to which she had given birth, who was baptised by the name of Philip, the States of Guelderland and Utrecht standing sponsors.¹ She recovered well, in spite of an attack of measles, which followed close upon her confinement.² The difficulty of obtaining effectual aid from England had led the King of Bohemia to have recourse once more to treaty. At his request, Sir Robert Anstruther was sent over to the Emperor and the German Princes, to express on the part of Charles I. his regret at the wars of European Christendom, and his sincere desire that all might be "conciliated" by the restoration of Frederic, for which he was anxious to mediate,³ with a proviso that nothing should be permitted contrary to the honour of his brother-in-law. As the result of this message, on the 14th-24th of June, 1627, a meeting was held at Colmar, between the representatives of the Emperor and of Frederic, the Dukes of Lorraine and Würtemberg acting as mediators, to try whether at last some terms of mutual accommodation could not be arranged. The demands were: first, that as the Emperor had been so hugely offended, Frederic should make the most uncompromising submission, in person and on his knees; and not only renounce all pretensions to Bohemia, but confess his election to the Crown to have been invalid. Secondly, that the Duke of Bavaria, having been made Elector Palatine, should not be disturbed in that dignity. Thirdly, that the several orders of monks introduced into the Palatinate should not be molested. Fourthly, that the Emperor should be repaid the large sums he had expended in the war, since in order to raise them he had been obliged to pledge part of his dominions to the Duke of Bavaria, and had only regained possession of them by a provisional transfer to that Duke of lands in the Palatinate. On his compliance with these terms, Frederic was to be restored to his patrimonial dominions. His reply was, first, that he was willing to express, through the medium of some third person of quality, his regret at having been the means of causing such disturbance of public tranquillity, his petition for pardon, and his promise to make no further attempts on Bohemia. Secondly, that he would agree to an alternation between himself and the Duke of Bavaria, in the exercise of the electoral functions, on condition of their reverting to his family on the death of the Duke. Thirdly, he could not suppose that the Emperor intended to force the Roman Catholic religion upon his subjects, but should this acticle prove the only hindrance to peace, he would consent, though reluctantly, to permit two or three monasteries to remain in the Palatinate. Fourthly, he could hardly believe the Emperor to be earnest in

¹ Lord Carleton to Coke, 28th Sept. 1627, *S. P. Holland*.

² Elizabeth to Roe, 27th Jan. 1628, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Harl. MS. 1584, f. 140; Anstruther's Instructions, *Fœdera*, vol. viii. pt. i. p. 171; *S. P. Dom.* 31st March, 1627.

his demand for money, since his castles had been spoiled, his plate and furniture taken, his library removed, his artillery seized, the revenues of his mother and brother alienated; so that on his return to his ruined lands, it would be all he could do to maintain himself, and quite impossible to pay away the large sums required.¹

The unfortunate Prince hoped these concessions would avail for the long-talked-of restitution. The Emperor, however, coolly replied, that if Frederic could come no nearer his proposals, there was no chance of peace, and that all impartial persons must see that *he* was not to blame!² Deeply disappointed, Frederic declared that he was "saddened almost to death," and begged his friend, the Duke of Würtemberg, to urge the Emperor to more moderate terms.³ The matter was discussed at the Electoral diet at Mühlhausen, at which Anstruther was again present, on the part of England,⁴ but with no better results, as the Electors unanimously declared that the Electoral dignity must remain with Bavaria and that Frederic must pay the indemnity.

The exiled Prince had the grief of seeing his subjects oppressed and the Roman religion gradually gaining ground: and within a few more months, his last hopes were blighted by an Imperial mandate settling his electorate, and most of his dominions, hereditarily, on the Duke of Bavaria. The King of Denmark, beaten by Tilly and Wallenstein and unsupported by England,⁵ retired from the conflict; and, as a climax of disaster, Buckingham quarrelled with France; and having, by means of loans and forced contributions, raised a small army, under pretence of assisting the Queen of Bohemia, embarked on the ill-fated expedition to the Isle of Rhé. It is difficult to say whether the folly or the mismanagement of the enterprise deserved the heavier condemnation. Louis XIII. good-humouredly laughed at the affair, and said, had he known his brother of England so much coveted the island, he would have sold it to him for less than half the money he had expended upon it.⁶ Buckingham was obliged to retire with disgrace and loss, and became the laughing-stock of Holland and of Europe.⁷ He talked loudly of returning the following spring; and a fleet did actually set sail to relieve the distressed Rochellois, now reduced to a great extremity of suffering.

¹ Bethune MS. 9779, f. 28, Du Puy MS. 10 f. 172, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, "*Mercure Français*," vol. xiii. p. 665 *et seq.* "*Lundorpius Suppletus*," p. 676. "*Theatrum Europ.*" vol. i. p. 996.

² Emperor to Duke of Würtemberg, 27th Aug. 1627, Bethune MS: 9779, f. 43.

³ "*Fœdera*," vol. viii. pt. i. p. 170. "*Mercure Français*," vol. xiii. p. 681 *et seq.*

⁴ Bethune MS. 9779, f. 44. [Assembled 8th-18th October.]

⁵ [Charles furnished no money, but sent him the Order of the Garter. Christian promptly pawned the insignia for what he could get—in England.]

⁶ Harl. MS. 390, f. 285.

⁷ See Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 425; Clarendon's Hist. Rebel. vol. i. p. 5.

Having obtained some supplies from Parliament, the King and the Duke of Buckingham were very eagerly renewing warlike preparations,¹ when, just on the eve of action, the assassination of Buckingham took place.

"You may believe," wrote Elizabeth to Lord Conway, "the duke of Buckingham's death did breed no small wonder here; I am sorry for it, and specially to have him die in such a manner so suddenly. It did not a little amaze me; but I am much comforted to see by your letter the care the king, my dear brother, doth continue to take in those affairs that concern me, which I see you still further all you can."²

This letter was dated from Rhenen, a small town on the Rhine, situated in the midst of a wooded district, whither the King and Queen resorted, at first merely for the sake of hunting, but Frederic found it such a relief to be absent from the Hague, a residence which he extremely disliked, that he planned and afterwards erected a villa with beautiful gardens at this spot; drawing his funds for the purpose from the profits of the sale of Lixheim, which he had laid up in Amsterdam for his children.³ This erection afforded a pleasant diversion to his thoughts, and he superintended the work with great interest.⁴ From the time of its completion, it became a frequent summer residence of the King and Queen. The spring of 1628 was passed there⁵ and at Utrecht; at the latter place Lord Carleton visited them,⁶ to take leave, previous to his departure for England.⁷ They parted from him with the sincerest regret, and sent him a playful message, when he was wind-bound at the Brill, that he would find it dangerous to visit Hounslerdike, as they would send an ambuscade to lie in wait for him and bring him back to the Hague.⁸

The King and Queen repaired again to Rhenen in September and stayed until October, returning to the Hague by way of Leyden, in order to visit their family. Their long-absent children, Elizabeth and Maurice, the latter of whom they had not seen since he was an unconscious infant of a few weeks old, had recently been sent from Berlin; and, at the request of King

¹ Conway to Queen of Bohemia, 10th June, 1628, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² 1st Sept. 1628, *ibid.*

³ Vane to Dorchester, 10th Sep. 1630.

⁴ "C'est toujours un divertissement," was his plaintive reply, when remonstrated with upon the expense he incurred.—"List of Debts, King Bohem." Jan. 1633, *S. P. Holland*. When it was completed, he playfully styled it Palazzo Renense, and constructed a model of it to send to his friend, Lord Dorchester.—Frederic and Vane to Dorchester, 8th Aug. and 10th Sept. Dorchester to Frederic, 16th Aug. 1630. The building is now an inn at Rhenen, and still bears the name of Der König von Böhmen, though few indeed associate it with him in whose honour it was bestowed.

⁵ [In May Elizabeth apologises to Madame de La Tremouille for not writing; she has been four weeks at Rhenen "à la chasse," and when there she never has time to write to anybody.—"Archæologia," xxxix. 170.]

⁶ Carleton to Conway, 8th March; Lord Carleton to same, 13th April.

⁷ On his appointment as Secretary of State.

⁸ Carleton to Conway, 28th April, 1628.

Charles, the portraits of this charming group were painted, under their mother's superintendence, by Pallenburgh,—the "great portrait," as their father describes it in a letter to the King, "in which your majesty will see all your little servants and maidens, whom you bring up, or rather who live on your bounty".¹ The two youngest, being mere infants, were not included: the seven elder children are grouped in a landscape picture, as just returned from hunting.² Elizabeth loved painting, and pictorial mementoes of herself were frequently given by her to her friends, as one of the few marks of favour which it was left in her power to bestow. Many a noble family in England can boast a portrait of this royal lady, and there are several in the royal collections.³ Combe Abbey, the seat of the Earl of Craven, contains numerous portraits of her and of her family; and the tale of her troublous destiny may almost be read in the change of expression, from the buoyancy of early womanhood to the worn and faded, but still beautiful contour of after life.

As Elizabeth's elder children became of age to enter into society, it was thought expedient to remove them from the seclusion of their establishment at Leyden, where, writes a contemporary, the young princes

"kept one of the most regular courts in the world, the firm and commanding mind of their mother eliciting from them an obedience as implicit as that paid to their father, religion being the base of their education, and its superstructure of learning reared by the best instructions which Holland or England could produce."⁴

The Princess Elizabeth was placed under the care of Lord and Lady Vere, then residents at the Hague, who watched carefully and affectionately over her expanding talents;⁵ and the young heir, Frederic Henry, was also brought to the Hague, to be more fully trained in manly and military exercises.

The attainments of this Prince were already very promising.⁶ He was regarded with pride and hope, not only in Bo-

¹ Frederic to Charles I. 6th March, 1629, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² This picture is described in Harl. MS. 7639, f. 46 b, and is now in Queen Caroline's closet, Kensington Palace. During the Commonwealth it was sold for 25*l.*!—Harl. MS. 7352, f. 88 b. There are two engravings of pictures of the King and Queen, one with five, the other with ten of their children; in a third picture, the Duke of Buckingham is introduced, presenting seven of these children, in the characters of the seven liberal sciences.

³ The best collection of engraved portraits of the Queen is in the illustrated Granger, in the print-room of the British Museum. For notices of pictures see Fiorillo, "Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste," pp. 372-73; Vertue's catalogue of pictures of Charles I.; Lady Theresa Lewis's Clarendon gallery, vol. iii. p. 340; Harl. MS. 7352, ff. 91, 119, 155 b, 158 b.

⁴ Rokyezanus, "Carmina lugubrica," Lansdowne MS. 817, f. 158.

⁵ Sir D. Carleton to Lord Carleton, 13th Sept. 1628, *S. P. Holland*.

⁶ He wrote and spoke English, French and German. Latin he understood so well that his examinations in his historical studies were conducted in that language.—Frederic Henry to Sir Dudley Carleton, *ibid.*

hemia but in England, where after his mother he was the next heir to the yet childless King. His uncle, Charles I., signified his approval of the intention of his parents to train him to arms, and of their placing him as volunteer in the army of the Prince of Orange.

But his opening prospects were quickly closed by a sudden and fatal calamity. On the $\frac{7}{17}$ of January, 1629, the Prince set out with his father on a pleasure excursion, to see the fleet returned from the West Indies, in which his mother herself was interested, as a rich prize had been secured, of which a share belonged to her, by the will of the late Prince of Orange.¹ Elizabeth parted from her son in buoyant and vigorous health. The next day he was brought back to her palace a corpse. The circumstances of his disastrous fate have been given with much difference of detail; but the official record sent to England relates, that shortly before reaching Amsterdam, the vessel containing Frederic and his son came into collision with one of much larger make, and sustained so serious an injury, that it immediately filled with water, and all on board perished, except the King, who was saved by the prompt efforts of one of the sailors. The tide of the next morning brought on shore the body of the drowned Prince.²

When Frederic reached home, shocked and ill from his sufferings of mind and contusions of body, he could not bring himself to communicate the tidings to his wife, who was still in delicate health, having been confined only nineteen days before of her eleventh child and fourth daughter, Charlotte. But she soon perceived that some untoward event had occurred, and from her friend, Lord Carlisle, learned the dreadful truth. So vehement was the first outburst of grief, that apprehensions were entertained for her life;³ but she soon roused herself to forget her own sorrow in the desire to alleviate the settled mournfulness of her husband, on whose morbid spirit the idea of having saved himself whilst his son was lost left a distressing impression. She endeavoured to console him by the dictates of religion, and by pointing him to their still numerous and flourishing family, as their best earthly comfort. The beloved pleader was not disregarded. The letter which Frederic wrote to Charles I., three days after the event, expresses the most poignant grief, with an attempt at resignation;⁴ that to the Queen-Mother of

¹ "Court and Times of Charles I." vol. i. p. 440.

² True recital of the accident happened to the King of Bohemia, $\frac{7}{17}$ Jan. 1629; *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ "Court and Times of Charles I." vol. ii. p. 7; Le Strange's "Life of Charles I." fol. Lond. 1656; Johnston, p. 737.

⁴ 10 Jan. 1629, *S. P. Germ. States*.

France, written a little later, breathes a spirit of Christian fortitude.¹

The afflicted parents had the body of their son embalmed and placed in their own house, till they had communicated with the King of England in reference to its burial, as they had not the means to provide a decent interment. Their desire was to lay their child in the aisle of the cloister church, near their residence, to remain there till a way was opened for his removal to Heidelberg or Westminster. But King Charles objected, and expressed his wish that the body should be placed in the tomb of the Princes of Orange at Delft, with the proviso, that it should be allowed to be transferred to another place of sepulture at some future time.² The expense of its conveyance to such a distance proved a sufficient obstacle, and it was, therefore, privately interred in the cloister church.³

The sorrow in England was great and general: the Court appeared in mourning, and Sir Robert Carey was sent on a mission of condolence to the King and Queen. Many were the odes and elegies, in various languages and grades of merit, addressed to the royal mother, valuable to her as proving how warmly her own nation and her adopted people sympathised in her grief.⁴ Her brother testified his kindly feeling by paying the debts of the late Prince, by transferring his pension of 2,000*l.* a year to the second son, Charles Louis, and Charles's pension of 300*l.* to his brother Rupert, and also by bestowing on their eldest sister, Elizabeth, 300*l.*, instead of the 100*l.* a year which

¹ Bethune MS. 9310, fol. 65, Orig. Frederic also sent to Lord Dorchester an affecting letter, at the close of which he added—"I send you a little remembrance of him, something which he always used, because he loved you."—*S. P. Germ. States*, 6th March, 1629.

² Dorchester to Carleton, 26th Jan. 1629, *S. P. Holland*; Frederic to Dorchester, 21st Jan. *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ The poverty of the Palatine family, which obliged them to have recourse to England for any extraordinary expense, prevented their going into formal mourning for the deceased Prince; but his immediate attendants and his brothers and sisters and the establishment at Leyden, amounting to 120 persons, put on deep black, for which they humbly begged 1,000*l.* from King Charles.—Sir D. Carleton to Conway, 12th and 26th Jan. *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Daniel Souterius, a Haarlem minister, wrote on this occasion a work entitled, "Dakrua Basilika, that is the princely tears of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, over the death of her eldest son, Fredericus Henricus, Count Palatin, Duke of Bavaria," which was published in English, French and Dutch. It is thrown into the form of a dialogue in which the Queen, quoting principally from Scripture, utters the most sorrowful lamentations, whilst a minister offers her consolation mainly derived from the same sacred volume. The author addressed to the King six orations on the subject, in Latin verse. Isaac Barre, a writing-master and French teacher at the Hague, dedicated to Elizabeth some doleful stanzas, apologising for their want of grace on the ground that all ornaments are put off in mourning, and addressing her as "Great Queen, who have, in spite of all fates, curbed the Hydras of adversity which have crossed your years," etc.

Rudolf Meyer sent her a poem, written in an admonitory and religious strain, at one part of which he introduces her as uttering a wild and wailing song of lamentation over the drowned body of her son.

she had formerly enjoyed.¹ The Prince and Princess of Orange were unwearied in their efforts of sympathy and consolation, and their whole Court, by sharing in the sorrow of the bereavement, contributed to alleviate its poignancy.²

Frederic was still weak and suffering; and as soon as his wife was able to go abroad, she accompanied him to Rhenen, where they endeavoured to beguile their woe by the rural amusements in which they both delighted. More cheering, however, than their sports, was the company of Sir Thomas Roe, who paid a visit to the Queen on his return from an official residence at Constantinople.³ His stay was only short, but when he reached the Brill, on his way home, he sent a letter to Elizabeth, with a copy of elegiac verses on the death of her son, which she very gratefully acknowledged.⁴ On the 13th of March, she wrote to Lord Essex:—

“I do easily believe your affliction on the loss of my poor boy, which I cannot but think of still, and I assure you he did love you very much, as both your love to him and me did well deserve.” “I long to hear some good of the parliament; I hope that now the great man is gone you will the better agree.”⁵

The Queen's hopes in reference to the Parliament were not fulfilled. The conduct of the Commons was so displeasing to Charles that he abruptly dissolved the assembly, and was glad not only to conclude a peace with France, but to negotiate a treaty with Spain; and the King of Denmark, who had again been in the field, finally made peace with the Emperor⁶ by the Treaty of Lübeck, signed the 2nd-12th of May, 1629.

During the summer of 1629, the King of Bohemia, weary of inaction, served as volunteer in the army of the Prince of

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. viii. pt. iii. p. 38; Privy Seal Bill, 25th Jan. 1629; Burlamachi's Account, Audit Office; Charles Louis and Rupert to Charles I. 15th Feb.; Frederic to Charles I. 6th March, 1629, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Countess Lewenstein to Lord Dorchester, 16th Jan. 1629. The following extract is from a beautiful letter addressed to the Queen by a Dutch minister then at the Brill:—

“I deny not your majesty a right liberty of tender nature, but beseech you as a Christian to look upward to your first son as not lost; and down upon the rest with comfort, that God hath left more of his pledges with you than you have given him; and forward upon him that was miraculously preserved to you for some greater work of glory.”—“And thus in him you seem to have lost, in him that was saved, and in those which live your comforts, you may discern a model of God's ways and purposes toward you, by sorrows, fears, escapes, and yet plenties, to lead you to assurance in Him, that the end of his trials shall be a crown of victory. This is a secret discovered only to deep hearts, that there is a mixture of good, either really or in use, in every appearing evil of chastisement.”

³ Harl. MS. 390, f. 440. In compliance with Elizabeth's wish, Sir Thomas took into his charge, and ultimately adopted, the elder of two sisters, daughters of the old Bohemian baron, Rupa, who, with his whole family, had fled to her for protection, and for whom she had formerly solicited English charity.—Elizabeth to Nethersole, 16th July, 1628, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ $\frac{1}{2}$ March 1629; *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ Harl. MS. 6988, f. 113.

⁶ Frederic to Roe, 19th May, 1629, *S. P. Germ. States*.

Orange, engaged in the siege of Bois-le-duc, in Brabant.¹ Elizabeth, for the sake of being near her husband, spent most of her time at Rhenen, where she was again visited by Sir Thomas Roe, who passed through Holland on a diplomatic mission to the Kings of Denmark, Sweden and Poland. His orders were to wait upon the States-General and the Prince of Orange, and to communicate to the Queen the whole tenor of his instructions. He arrived at Rhenen on the 7th of July, in company with the younger Dudley Carleton, now knighted, and the King returned from the army to give him the meeting. After spending two days in deliberations with him, and friendly consultations with Elizabeth, Roe accompanied Frederic to the army, there to obtain an interview with the Prince of Orange.²

On the 14th of July the Prince's council sent a request to the Queen that she would remove further from the seat of war; the enemy had crossed the Yssel, and they feared a sudden attack upon her person. She first proposed to go only to Bommel, an island at the junction of the Waal and the Meuse, but was prevailed upon to select Vianen, *en route* towards Rotterdam. This change of abode greatly comforted her faithful servant Roe, who thus wrote to her, on the 19th of July, in acknowledgment of a letter he had received from her:—

“Your majesty's letter brought a great deal of fear with it, but none in it, as if it concerned you not. We were two days in trouble for you, and in resolution to wait upon you, but that we still heard you would grace the Hague. At last we resolved to send you a garrison, under the conduct of my Lord Paget, whose care of himself would have made your majesty safe. Since, hearing you were retired to Vianen, and that the alarm of the enemy was taken into consideration, we hope your majesty's presence will make the country safe. I will write you no news of the camp I saw, for things admirable are beyond description; but I cannot so sin against humanity, as not to acknowledge the virtue of your brave king, who is so diligent to observe the royal trade of taking towns, that it doth auger his taking more than Heidelberg, without a treaty. I have seen his majesty, without sense of an enemy, look upon them, and I beseech you to prevent that he look not too much; for no man doth more than he, that is worthy an army of men. Madam, I cannot say enough of him: he is a most brave, sad,³ just, and obliging prince, whom God bless to your majesty, as your own heart desires.

“The news of this town (Amsterdam) is that the air is in the first degree, their ditches in the next, their beer in the third, and their heads in the last degree—muddy. And lest I be infected therewith, to-morrow by God's grace, I will get into salt water.

“Almighty God balance your sufferings with his blessings, for when I can do no more, I will pray heartily for you; so do thousands, and therefore nothing is worthy acceptance that comes from your majesty's unfruitful, humble, honest, east, west, north and south servant.”⁴

The siege of Bois-le-duc advanced prosperously: the town

¹ Two letters to the Queen from her husband, written during the siege, are in the Bromley Collection, pp. 22, 26; the former is misdated 1626.

² Roe to Elizabeth, 1st and 10th July, 1629, *S. P. Holland*.

³ Serious.

⁴ *S. P. Holland* under date.

was compelled to surrender, and the Prince of Orange invited Elizabeth to witness the scene. Tents were erected, from which the King and Queen of Bohemia, the Prince and Princess of Orange, and the Prince of Denmark, with forty Dukes, Counts, and Barons, viewed the spectacle; and on the $\frac{7}{17}$ of September, first the garrison, then the sick and wounded, and lastly the governor, with the Jesuits, nuns, and friars, marched out by one gate, whilst the troops of the Prince of Orange marched in at another.¹ On the $\frac{9}{17}$ the princely party entered the shot-battered town, and attended divine service in St. John's Church, when each of them stood sponsor for a child;² and the next day the Prince of Orange celebrated his conquest, by giving a grand *fête* to the King and Queen of Bohemia and the principal personages among the States of Holland. He detained them a few days longer, after which they returned to the Hague, with the Princess of Orange.³

On their arrival, Elizabeth was seized with an attack of fever, which, with the necessary treatment, brought her very low; she went to Rhenen to recruit, accompanied by her husband, who amused himself with the arrangements of his favourite villa. Lord Dorchester, writing to her on the 24th, says:—

“ May it please your majesty,

“ Your sickness and letting blood made some of your servants here bleed at heart, till they understood the danger was past, and your majesty no further hurt than that your hunting at Rhenen was hindered; which if the weather be as bad on that side as on this, your majesty need not repent. And now, I am heartily glad all is clear in those parts, that your majesty may take your time when you please—and I wish myself often with the king to assist him in his building, wherein I figure to myself how curious and exact he is, and truly am very glad he hath that entertainment, whilst his fortune is now building again.”⁴

The King also had an attack of illness, accompanied by great weakness,—the result, his physicians said, of his sufferings in the water on the fearful night when his son was drowned. No danger was apprehended by himself or by his wife; but he had a dry, consumptive cough, and the physicians privately sent word to England that they feared the disease to which he was subject would terminate his life, before many years were past.⁵ At first he acted very incautiously, in spite of the exhortations of Eliza-

¹ “ His excellency,” wrote Carleton to Roe, “ hath invited the Queen of Bohemia to the army, where her majesty arrived on Sunday night, and was yesterday present at the time the Spaniards marched forth, and hath all the honour showed to her that can be expressed.”

² Description of Tshertogen Busch (Bois-le-duc), with prints of the siege, 4to, Lond. 1629, p. 31.

³ Carleton's Despatches, 14th and 15th Sept. *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Nethersole to Carleton, 3rd Nov. 1629, *ibid*.

beth and the friendly warnings of King Charles;¹ one relapse after another kept him under medical care the whole winter, and greatly reduced him; but at the end of several months his case assumed a less discouraging aspect.²

Political prospects were very unfavourable. Exhausted by war, Europe sighed for a general peace, and yet Frederic knew well, by painful experience, that a peace, in the present state of affairs, would leave him an outcast and an exile, dragging on an existence which every year became less supportable.

As early as 1626, after the defeat of the Danish King at Lutter, Elizabeth, who watched with earnest eye every cloud in the political horizon, began to suspect some inclination on the part of England to treat of peace with Spain, and expressed her fears that no terms favourable to her husband could be expected from that quarter.³ The Queen was assured, and probably with truth, that no such scheme was in project; but in June, 1628, she was startled to find that Lord Carlisle, who had visited the Hague to settle some shipping disputes, went on secretly to Brussels.

"My Lord Carlisle is at Brussels," she wrote; "I wonder he made that such a secret here, for he told the king and the Prince of Orange and me that he would not go: but now I hear that he had a commission to the Infanta. This doth much startle our people here; I know not what to think of these things."⁴

Elizabeth heard rumours, too, of a boast, on the part of Spain, that the King of England had been the first to break the peace, but he was glad enough to try to renew it.

The English diplomatists tried to "settle the minds" of the Queen and her friends.⁵ By degrees, Elizabeth became reassured; she used her utmost endeavours to put a stop to the rumours, and they gradually died away.⁶ The next month, however, Frederic and Elizabeth were secretly informed that a treaty was actually on foot, but that their interests and those of Denmark would be sedulously regarded; that all would be done with their knowledge; and that, meanwhile, warlike preparations would continue, so as to be ready in case the peace should fail.⁷

The following spring, Charles I. sent Sir Henry Vane to the Hague, to reconcile his sister to the hard necessity, assuring her that Spain had herself expressed a willingness to treat.⁸

¹ Nethersole to Dorchester, 8th March, *S. P. Germ. States*; Frederic to Carlisle, 10th April, *S. P. Holland*.

² Carleton's Desp. 30th Nov. 1629; Elizabeth to Roe, 5th March, 1630, *S. P. Poland*. [Printed in Camden Misc. vol. vii. p. 75.]

³ Nethersole's Desp. 11th Sept. 1626, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Elizabeth to Lord Carleton, 6th June, 1628, *ibid*.

⁵ 7th May, 1628. Points to be considered in Low Countries. *S. P. Holland*.

⁶ Sir D. Carleton to Lord Carleton, 29th June, 1628, *ibid*.

⁷ Lord Carleton, now Dorchester, to his nephew, Aug. 1628, *ibid*.

⁸ Vane's Instructions, *ibid*.

“Those ways,” he wrote, “which he, (Vane), shall shew you that I am taking, is like those physics which men call *benigna medicamenta*; which if they do no good, shall do no hurt, therefore not to be despised since they are offered. To conclude, I doubt not, since you know that one of my chiefest ambitions is to do you real service, that you will give a willing ear to the counsels of your loving brother.”¹

A promise so frankly made, by the brother who had never deceived them, satisfied Elizabeth and her husband, and they consented to the negotiation, with the express understanding that their restitution should be a *sine quâ non* of the promised peace.² After remaining two months in Holland, Vane returned home for further instructions, and to await the issue of a mission sent into Spain.³ The Queen wrote by him to Charles I., greatly commending his effective agency, and expressing her satisfaction that the eyes of her brother were fully opened to the proceedings of Spain.

State secrets are seldom secrets long. Whilst England sought, apart from Holland, to make peace with Spain, Holland, hearing of the negotiation, was treating a separate peace for herself. Each party was jealous of being left in the lurch by the other, and Vane was dispatched in haste back to Holland, to assure the States that England was willing to bind herself to make no separate peace, if they would give a similar pledge.⁴ He was eagerly welcomed by the King and Queen of Bohemia; for though, relying on the King's promise, they had not manifested any anxiety or impatience, they felt that these proceedings were to them of vital importance.⁵ The following January, Carleton was ordered to tell the Queen that the treaty with Spain was in a state of forwardness, but she was forbidden to divulge the matter to the States.⁶ She still kept up her confidence that all would go on well, and that the treaty would not be concluded on terms unfavourable to her husband. The subject is thus referred to in her letters to Roe and Carlisle:—

“Sir Henry Vane is still here, and not like to stir so soon; he carrieth himself very well, and is as little confident of the treaties with Spain as we are, though by Dudley Carleton, who is every day expected here out of England, we shall hear great matters from thence; when he comes I will let you know what it is: the speech here of truce is not so much as it was.”⁷

“I hear the treaty with Spain goeth on. You know my mind, that I am still incredulous that they will do anything, except it be upon dishonourable conditions; but I am confident that the King, my dear brother, will not suffer any such thing to be spoken on, and that you will do all that you can

¹ Charles I. to Elizabeth, 2nd March, 1629, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Conway to Anstruther, 10th April, 1629.

³ *S. P. Holland*, 26th April. ⁴ Sept. and Oct. *passim*, *ibid.*

⁵ Frederic to Dorchester, 18th Oct. 1629, *S. P. Germ. States*; Elizabeth to Roe, 9th Nov. 1629, *S. P. Poland*. [Printed in *Camden Misc.* vii. 53.]

⁶ Carleton's Letters, 4to, Lond. 1780, preface, p. 26; Charles I. to Cottington, 4th Feb. 1630, *S. P. Spain*.

⁷ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe, 5th March, 1630, *S. P. Poland*. [*Camden Misc.* vii. 75.]

in it; for I have ever found you so true a friend to me on all occasions, as binds me ever to be, honest, worthy Camel's face.¹

"Your constant, affectionate friend,
"ELIZABETH."²

Frederic was much less confident: he cautiously said that he *hoped* he might be mistaken in his expectations of the result of the Spanish embassy; ³ but, as the issue proved, he was right. King Charles' recent quarrel with, and dissolution of, his Parliament, rendered peace absolutely essential to him; and Vane, who had returned to England, was sent back to the Hague, to break to the King and Queen the tidings that the treaty was on the point of conclusion, without any more definite condition on their behalf than a general promise that the King of Spain would do his utmost to promote their interests with the Emperor, at the Electoral Diet about to be held at Ratisbon: the very terms, in fact, to which King James had consented in 1623, but which Charles, then Prince of Wales, indignantly rejected.

The mission was one of great delicacy, and Vane thought it better not to open the subject by word of mouth, but to leave it to be gathered from the King's letters to his sister. These, accordingly, were delivered at a formal audience, after which the ambassador retired, and left the royal pair to peruse them alone. Shortly afterwards he was surprised by a visit from Frederic himself. In the bitterness of intense feeling, he declared that he was forsaken by all the world: that he knew well, though they tried to conceal it from him, that the treaty was concluded and signed; that he was kept in the dark till it was too late to remonstrate; and unable longer to restrain himself, he burst into a passionate fit of weeping. The ambassador begged him not to give way too much to his feelings, and to listen to what he had to say. Frederic asked what could be said to comfort him, when the King's own letters proved that the peace, if not made, was resolved upon; and he declared again that he believed Vane had in his possession the articles of the treaty, drawn out and perhaps signed too, though he would not confess to it. He requested that, if this were not the case, an article might still be inserted for the restoration of the Palatinate, in case the negotiations at the Diet failed. Vane begged that he would weigh the reasons that had induced King Charles to adopt the present course, and judge whether he could, without ruin to his kingdom, have acted otherwise, as he was not able, single-handed, to recover the Palatinate, and the States refused their aid. With a heavy heart, Frederic took his leave and went home.

¹ The epithet by which the Queen always designated Lord Carlisle.

² Elizabeth to Lord Carlisle, 8th March, 1630, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Frederic to Dorchester, 10th April, 1630, *ibid*.

"That evening," wrote the ambassador, "I waited upon the queen, whom I found a little distracted betwixt the love of a husband and a brother ; but after I had spoken a while with her, she was very well satisfied, and submits herself, in this and all things else that may concern her, absolutely to your majesty's wisdom. And I shall beseech your majesty, upon this occasion, to permit me to tell you that I do not think there is a sister this day living in the world that can love a brother with more passion and true affection than she doth your majesty." "The next day, I waited upon the king, and the first word he said unto me was, that he was reduced to that want and necessity, by the non-payment of the queen's pension, as that, if I had not brought money with me, to supply their present wants, he was resolved to put away all his servants, himself to live obscurely with a couple of men, and to send the queen by the next passage to England, to throw herself at your majesty's feet ; for that he was not able to put bread into her mouth."¹

Vane replied that he was surprised to hear the King speak thus ; that he knew orders had been given to the Treasurer concerning the debts and the monthly pension. Frederic asserted that unless money were immediately forthcoming he would certainly do as he had said, as he had but 200*l.* left, and knew not which way to look for more. The clamours of his creditors at the Hague, or rather those of the Queen, had indeed become almost insupportable. The privy seal bill, passed several years before by Charles I. for the payment of 10,000*l.* for her debts, still remained unhonoured, though Frederic and Elizabeth made many promises that could they obtain this relief, they would not again outrun their expenditure.² Nethersole had long been in England, urgently and perseveringly pressing for money ; but without satisfaction. Charles I., who always lent an ear to the cries of his distressed sister, had given orders in the first instance that the 10,000*l.* should be paid from his private revenues as prince, with an addition of 2,000*l.* for interest ; but the moneys were diverted to another use. Failing in this, he had attempted her relief by pawning part of the Tower ordnance ; but the commission was unfortunately given to Philip Burlamachi, an Italian banker and merchant, through whom the money transactions of the Queen were carried on, and he appropriated the greater part of the sum to pay off arrears due to himself, in spite of the indignant remonstrances of the Queen's servants at his presuming to prefer himself before the King's sister. They charged him also with claiming enormous discounts.³ He, on his part, threw the blame on the Treasurer, saying that he could no longer afford to supply moneys beforehand ; that he was already greatly in arrear, and knew not how to repay himself or to get funds for the regular allowance of the King and Queen ; that a subsidy from the clergy, out of which they had lately been supplied, was exhausted. He de-

¹ Vane's Despatch, 8th Aug. 1630, *S. P. Holland.*

² Frederic to Dorchester, 1st Dec. 1629, *S. P. Germ. States.*

³ Dorchester to Vane, 6th Jan. 1630, *S. P. Holland.*

clared that those who controlled the Queen's affairs, knowing the present state of things, ought to be more managing and moderate; that for his part, he was more than willing to abandon the business; it was no advantage to him, as he often waited on the Treasurer from seven o'clock on Monday morning till twelve on Saturday night, without avail.¹ The Lord Treasurer, Weston, the other hand, pleaded the utmost good-will, but the exchequer was empty; and without money and without credit, how could he act? The Queen had, therefore, been obliged to be content with her ordinary allowance, which Burlamachi paid as a favour rather than a right; and with his promise of discharging the debt by instalments,²—3,000*l.* in December, 1629; 3,000*l.* the following March, and the remainder at an early period. Of this, however, not a penny had yet reached the Queen; the allowance had been paid with great irregularity;³ her impatient creditors had become outrageous, and had even attacked her in the streets with their importunities. Some declared they would go and state their case in England, whilst others sent a petition for relief to the provincial Courts of Holland.

All this Frederic detailed to the ambassador; he replied by charging the deficiency upon the negligence of the King's agents, who had given a promise to furnish the monthly payments.

"Hereupon," continues the despatch, "your majesty's sister, with tears in her eyes, desired (if it were possible) to avoid further disputes, that I would engage my credit, and take up 4500*l.* for three months that they were in arrear; which accordingly I have done, and was most necessary in this conjuncture; for that I judged nothing so unfit at this time as to hazard the publishing of these particularities, or the endeavouring of sending your sister for England, which nothing but this course would have prevented."

Frederic, by degrees, recovered from the disappointment which the first intelligence of the Spanish negotiation had occasioned.⁴ Dorchester affirmed that the treaty was not signed, and that it would not be so without the required promise of restitution, and would only be considered permanent if that promise was fulfilled.⁵ To soothe the feelings of his sister, which she had expressed at full in a letter to himself, Charles sent her a kind note of explanation, showing that in the present position of affairs, no course more advantageous could have been adopted; that the negotiations with Spain did not at all interfere with any assistance from France or the United Provinces which might be forthcoming, and reiterating his firm resolve, under every aspect of affairs, to adhere to her interests.⁶ This letter tended to calm

¹ Burlamachi's Letter of Exculpation, 21st March, 1630, *S. P. Germ. States.*

² Ashburnham to Conway, 5th Nov. 1629, *S. P. Holland.*

³ Ashburnham's Memorial, 5th April, 1630, *ibid.*

⁴ See private letter to his friend, Lord Dorchester, 8th Aug. *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁵ Dorchester to Vane, 16th Aug. *S. P. Holland.*

⁶ 16th Aug. 1630, *S. P. Germ. States.* Printed, but incorrectly, in Frankland's "James I. and Charles I." p. 376.

the perturbed spirits of the Queen and her husband. They felt the weight of the arguments used by Charles, and they knew that if he failed to assist them, it was not because he was unfaithful to their cause, but because the dissensions with his Parliament made it impracticable. How far he might have prevented these dissensions, by yielding to the spirit of the times, it falls not within our limits to discuss. At any rate, his course of policy inflicted on himself sufferings still more severe than those which it caused to his sister.

An Electoral diet was held at Ratisbon, in July, 1630. Frederic had hopes from it, because the Emperor, extremely anxious to conciliate the Electors and procure the nomination of his son as King of the Romans, was in a more complying mood than usual; he even permitted Frederic, for the first time since his deposition, to send an official agent to the Diet. Anstruther attended on the part of England, with a paper signed by Frederic, accepting any terms to which his brother-in-law agreed.¹

The conditions proposed to the unfortunate Prince were but little more favourable than before, and there still remained the same exactions in point of submission, resignation to his son, etc. The only alleviation was a promise of removal of the Imperial ban, and of a yearly revenue from those lands in the Palatinate which were in the hands of the King of Spain.² Yet even these terms the broken-spirited Frederic did not reject. He requested that the negotiation might be prolonged, in the hope of procuring some amelioration, either from the Emperor or from Spain.³ In his treaty with England, the Spanish monarch fully acknowledged the reasonableness of surrendering the places he held in the Lower Palatinate, but excused himself from restoring them at once, on the ground that, as there were many claimants of the lands, prudence necessitated his keeping them, till the Palatine Prince, or the English King on his behalf, could garrison and defend them, in which case he pledged himself to immediate restitution. This plea was not without reason: Charles accepted it,—in spite of the remonstrances of his brother-in-law, who suspected its sincerity,—and the peace was signed, provisionally on the fulfilment of this promise.⁴

The patience with which Elizabeth resigned herself to circumstances is shown in the following letter to the Earl of Carlisle. The quaint, uncouth mode of address is startling:—

¹ Dorchester to Vane, 5th April, *S. P. Holland*; Vane's Despatch, 8th July, *ibid.*

² Resolutions at Ratisbon, 12th Nov.; Du Puy MS. 10, f. 194, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

³ *S. P. Germ. States*, Dec. 1630; "Mercure Français," vol. xvi.

⁴ Frederic to Dorchester, 8th Sept., 3rd Oct.; Dorchester to Elizabeth, 14th Dec. *S. P. Germ. States*. At its formal announcement in Whitehall chapel, much excitement was caused by a voice from the ladies' gallery, which was heard to exclaim—"Où est le Palatinat?" This ominous inquiry was uttered by the Duchess de La Tremouille, the mother of the future Countess of Derby.—"The Non-such Charles," p. 89.

"*Thou ugly, filthy, camel's face,*

"You chide me once for not writing to you; now I have my revenge, and more justly chide you, for not having heard from you so long as I fear you have forgot to write. I have charged this fat fellow¹ to tell you all this, and that I cannot forget your villany. He can inform (you) how all things are here, and what they say to the peace with Spain; and though I confess I am not much rejoiced at it, yet I am so confident of my dear brother's love, and the promise he hath made me, not to forsake our cause, that it troubles me the less. I must desire your sweet face to continue your help to us, in this business which concerns me so near; and in spite of you, I am ever constantly

Your most affectionate
 friend
 Elizabeth

"The Hague, this $\frac{2}{1}$ of June.
 "To the Lord of Carlisle."²

In this year, 1630, and within a few months of each other, a son was born to Charles of England and a daughter to his sister, Elizabeth of Bohemia. The English Prince came into the world as the heir of three kingdoms; and his birth was the occasion of general gratulation. Public tokens of rejoicing at the Hague evidenced the cordiality with which Frederic and Elizabeth welcomed their brother's infant son, even though he diverted the line of succession from themselves and their offspring.³ But there were those in England who did not share the general joy; they muttered that there were Protestant heirs enough to the crown, in the flourishing offspring of the Queen of Bohemia; and that they needed none from the Popish stock of their French Queen.⁴ Words of ominous meaning,—the faint and early expression of the strong national feeling which afterwards hurled the elder branch of the Stuarts from the throne of Great Britain.

Elizabeth's infant was a girl, the twelfth child of a family already too numerous to be supported by the exiled parents, who required all the elasticity of parental affection to enable

¹ Sir H. Vane.

² *S. P. Holland.*

³ Dorchester to Vane, 30th May; Frederic to Charles I. 8th June, and to Dorchester, 17th June; Charles Louis to Charles I. 10th June, *S. P. Germ. States.* "I may not shut up my relation of our public rejoicing," writes Vané in his despatch of 7th June, "without adding one word more concerning their highnesses of Bohemia, who truly, ever since the coming of this news, have showed the greatest joy and alacrity that possibly can be expressed. The invitation of the King of Bohemia to christen the child, he taketh for a wonderful great honour, favour, and obligation. They are resolved, within two or three days, to send Sir John Ashburnham expressly over to congratulate."—*S. P. Holland.*

⁴ Oldmixon's "England under the Stuarts," vol. i. p. 112.

them to welcome into the world, one after another, a tribe of helpless children, without home and without possessions.¹ Who could have dreamed that this infant would become the progenitress of a race of monarchs, who should sit on the throne of England long after the "last of the Stuarts" had been laid in his unhonoured grave in the territories of that Church, for whose sake his fathers lost a crown? Yet so it was. This child was afterwards Sophia of Brunswick, the mother of George I., the direct ancestress of a queen, whose rule over dominions tenfold as great as those owning her sceptre were less honourable to her than her sway, unrivalled in history, over the hearts of millions of British subjects.

The Queen of Bohemia had spent the autumn at Rhenen and Utrecht, "where," she says, "they are hunting as hard as they can, and I think I was born for it, for I never had my health better in my life". She returned to the Hague on the $\frac{3}{8}$ of October, travelling that day from Utrecht, a distance of forty English miles,² and on the $\frac{13}{3}$ of October, at 9 P.M., her infant was born.³ The Queen's recovery was rapid; but she was scarcely convalescent, when her husband was placed under medical treatment for an attack of his former complaint, more severe than any he had yet experienced, and for some time he was confined to his room. Elizabeth tried in vain to persuade herself that there was no danger; and she entreated Sir Harry Vane, then about to return to England, to remain with her till January, when the physicians said they might be able to speak more decidedly upon the case.⁴ The improvement of the King relieved her mind from anxiety on his behalf; but another trial awaited her in the illness and death of her daughter Charlotte, the youngest child but one; she died on the 23rd of January.

Vane, writing on the 27th, says:—

"This night we lay into the ground the youngest daughter save one of their majesties of Bohemia, who died four days since, after a long and languishing sickness, being Madame Charlotte, a child of not more than two years of age, and buried by her brother Henry in the cloister church."

The baptism of the infant Sophia, delayed by these unpropitious circumstances, took place on the 30th of January.

¹ [The Princess Sophia wrote of her own birth, that as she was the twelfth child, her parents were naturally not much elated by her arrival, and in fact were even somewhat perplexed what name and godparents to give her, all the available royalties having been used up for her older brothers and sisters; they therefore hit upon the expedient of drawing lots, and the name Sophie being the one drawn, looked about for godmothers who bore it.—"Memoires," p. 33.]

² Vane to Dorchester, 12th Oct. *S. P. Holland*. They went about the 18th of August.

³ Frederic to Charles I., 13th Oct., *S. P. Germ. States*; Vane to Dorchester, 13th Oct. *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Vane's Despatches, 19th Oct. 10th Nov. 15th Nov. *S. P. Holland*, Harl. MS. 7000, f. 156.

The States of Friesland and Groningen, and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, stood godfathers; her godmothers were the Countess of Culenberg and Madame de Brederode. The godfathers presented the child with the patent for a life pension of 46*l.* in a gold box worth 50*l.* They also gave 40*l.* each, and the godmothers 30*l.* each, to be distributed in the royal nursery.¹

A change had recently occurred in the French embassy at the Hague: M. d'Espesses, who, in spite of his obstinacy about precedence, had conducted himself in a friendly manner towards the King and Queen of Bohemia,² was recalled; his successor, M. de Hauterive, proved much less complaisant. He did not visit them, nor offer the marks of respect to which they were accustomed; and moreover, he endeavoured to prevail on others to adopt a similar course. In March, 1631, as Frederic and Elizabeth were on the point of leaving the Hague for Rhenen, the Duke de Vendôme arrived in the town. According to custom, the queen's secretary, Nethersole, waited upon him with the compliments of his master and mistress, which he received courteously but coldly, and the next day but one he sent an acknowledgment by his esquire, who committed the uncourtly blunder of going to the palace between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, before the King and Queen had risen. In an hour he went again, and paid his compliments to the King, but did not visit the Queen at all. The Duke did not come in person to the Court, because, as he told the English Ambassador, though to the Queen he would pay the honours of an Empress, if she wished it, he could only give the title of "highness" to her husband, and on such terms Elizabeth was unwilling to meet him. She sent him a polite intimation that, as they were just prepared for leaving home, and most of their servants and baggage were gone, it would not be convenient to receive his visit.

The Queen was fully aware that his scruples were infused by the French Ambassador, who had tampered in like manner with the Resident of Denmark; and she was much displeased at an interference that tended to diminish those royal honours which were the only relics of the dignity she had so dearly loved. Without her knowledge, though in accordance with her feelings, the zealous Nethersole wrote these particulars to Dorchester, adding:—

"Although the queen my mistress be the lady of the world that hath least of the woman in her, and least revenge, of all other woman's humours, as

¹ "Court and Times of Charles I." vol. ii. p. 94; "Mercur. Gallo Belg." 1631, p. 80.

² Under his auspices, a friendly correspondence of letters and presents took place between Elizabeth and the queen-mother of France, Mary de' Medici.—Carleton's Despatches, Aug. and Oct. 1627, *S. P. Holland.*

your lordship well knoweth, yet I dare give your lordship full assurance that if you could find means to procure the revocation of this French ambassador resident here, your lordship never did her majesty a more acceptable, though you have done her many most acceptable services; her majesty's desire hereof being grounded on her desires of righting the king her husband, which you know is no less stirring a passion in her, than revenge of wrong is in most of her sex."

Unaware of her servant's interference, Elizabeth was equally surprised and pleased when she found that a request for the removal of the obnoxious ambassador, which was readily granted, had actually been sent to France from England.

The Duke de Vendôme, meanwhile, was much galled by the total neglect with which he was treated by the English at the Hague, who were indignant at his slighting treatment of their Princess. He saw that the Ambassador had led him to commit an error, in refusing titles which were granted by the common consent of the place, and, therefore, as soon as the King and the Queen returned to the Hague, he sent an apology; this was graciously accepted, and he called on them in company with the Princess of Orange, trusting to her presence for the avoidance of all disputes as to the form of his reception.¹ Thus ended a quarrel, ridiculous enough, were it not that names sometimes mean things, and that the recognition of a title may be more significant than at first sight it would appear.

Two characters now made their appearance on the stage of German warfare, previously unknown to each other, but possessing in common many of the qualities of noble minds, and by a singular coincidence, both rejected suitors of our Elizabeth. These were Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and James, Marquis of Hamilton. Their objects, however, were very different. Gustavus fought for the safety of Sweden, his aims widening out into the defence of the Protestantism of Germany. Hamilton unsheathed his sword in defence of the "royal daughter of Scotland," his fair and injured compatriot and relative.

The first entry of Gustavus Adolphus into Germany was in 1630,² but the results of that year's campaign, though favourable, were unimportant, except as inspiring him with fresh ardour for the future. Refusing the suggestion of the League commander that the armies should go into winter quarters, he continued his operations, and bringing the energies of a strong nature and a

¹ Nethersole's Despatches, 14th March, 26th April, 26th June, 1631, *S. P. Germ. States*; Frederic to King of Denmark, 13th Oct.

² [The Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstiern, wrote to Sir Thomas Roe that he (Roe) was the "agent" to bring Gustavus into Germany. Roe to Dorchester, *Cal. S. P. Dom. Addenda*, p. 416. There was doubtless some courteous exaggeration in the phrase, but at the time of his successful mediation between Sweden and Poland, Roe had strongly urged upon the Swedish King the advisability of making war upon the Emperor.]

devoted people to bear upon States enfeebled and exhausted by long warfare, and distracted by conflicting interests, he gained a series of brilliant victories unequalled except by those of Napoleon.

The Marquis of Hamilton obtained the permission of Charles I. to raise 10,000 troops with which to join the Swedish King, who as yet was fighting almost single-handed.¹ They were to be levied and sent out at the expense of Charles, and he entered into an agreement to pay them, but this was to be kept secret, lest it might be prejudicial to his treaties.² Hamilton went over to the Hague to explain his designs to Queen Elizabeth,³ and then, as soon as the men were mustered, he set out with 6,000 English and 1,000 Scots for Germany. He was not very cordially welcomed by the King of Sweden, who was annoyed that his directions had not been obeyed as regards the landing place of the British troops. Gustavus presently sent them to Frankfurt on the Oder, where scanty food, sickness and lack of discipline soon reduced the six thousand to one, without their being allowed to take any active part in the campaign which culminated at the Battle of Leipsic or Breitenfeld:—⁴

“For which success,” says Gustavus in his letter to Charles I., “let all praise be rendered to Almighty God, as unto the author of it; unto whose divine goodness it ought of due to be ascribed, that hereby appears an easier hope, (which hath by the prayers of so many thousands been heretofore so much desired,) both to restore religion and liberty to their former conditions, as also to set up again the distressed estate of the King of Bohemia. We nothing doubt but that your highness will make judgment hereupon, that there is reason not only to rejoice heartily for this victory, but withal to make advantage of so fair an opportunity, and that all your forces are from henceforth to be employed this way.”⁵

The tone of the concluding remark intimates that the King of Sweden did not consider Charles to have entered as yet heartily into the contest, neither in truth had he, for he was glad by any means to be spared recourse to the costly experiment of foreign war. He professed to place great faith in the negotiations still going on at Vienna,⁶ and in the promises of the King of Spain to restore the Palatinate.

¹The States-General allowed him 5,000 florins a month towards the expense of the war.

²Life of James, Duke Hamilton, 18mo, Lond. 1717, pp. 22-26.

³Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 31st March, 1631, *S. P. Germ. States*. [Charles granted him 11,000*l.*; he afterwards received a grant of 15,000*l.*—See Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 22nd March, 1631, *ibid.*]

⁴[During the following winter, Hamilton made fresh levies, and went to join Baner, then besieging Magdebourg. In the spring of 1632, he was with Gustavus (see pp. 291, 294 below), but soon afterwards returned to England without having really accomplished anything.]

⁵Harl. MS. 3786, f. 44.

⁶[In which Sir Thomas Roe had no faith at all. “My opinion is,” he wrote to the Queen on 24th May, “that we stay and defer until the first letters of Sir Robert Anstruther after his first audience at Vienna, and by such hopes as we shall receive

"They talk much," writes Elizabeth, "of a letter from that king to my brother, where all is promised; yet since we cannot have a sight of that letter I fear there is nothing in it."

It was, however, decided that Sir Henry Vane should be sent to the King of Sweden.¹

"I wish," she writes, "Vane's employment may be to some good purpose, but I fear it, since they are set so much upon their treaty at Vienna. Yet my dear brother did assure me, by a letter that my Lord Wimbledon brought me, that he would not be lulled asleep by that treaty, in which he will not trust, but be provided for the worst, and will never quit our quarrel; this is his very words, and I am confident he speaks as he thinks; but there are so many devices to change him, as I believe nothing but what I see; for he gave me as much assurance that he would never make truce or peace with Spain, without the entire restitution of the Palatinate, and yet you see the contrary, so as I am confident of nothing but my brother's love, and this also be sure, that the king will never be forced to any dishonourable condition whatsoever those wise statesmen put out."²

Now that the Swedish conquests gave hopes of restitution by another medium, Frederic would willingly have put a stop to treaty, and he was less pliant in reference to terms. He declared that he cared not to return to his own country, unless it were as Elector; that to the predominance of the Romish religion he would never consent; but that rather than endure the weary continuance of exile, he would accept any amicable adjustment of the Electorate which should secure its reversion to his family.

The summer months rolled by, still no end was made to the treaty, and no succours arrived from England to second the King of Sweden.³ Elizabeth, therefore, took the bold step of conveying her views freely to her brother in the following letter:—⁴

of him, to guide our resolution, which is a dangerous course at this conjuncture; for if the Emperor find himself pressed in Germany he will say anything to hinder us from uniting . . . and then if the King [of Sweden] and Princes do prosper without us, certainly they will not take our cause into their care who would not partake in the charge and danger."—*Cal. S. P. Dom.* Addenda, Charles I. p. 410.]

¹[Roe was first fixed upon, but when all possible information had been "fished out of him" he was put aside in favour of Vane, on the ground that a man must be employed "who would advance peace," to which he himself was esteemed an enemy.—Roe to the Queen, 20th Nov., see *Cal. ibid.* Charles I. Addenda, p. 420.]

²Elizabeth to Roe, 1st July, 1631, *S. P. Germ. States.*

³[Gustavus was fast losing patience, and when Vane urged the Palatine cause, the King reminded him that James had just signed a treaty with Spain without demanding the Palatinate at all (the Treaty of Madrid, Nov. 1630). "I will re-establish the Elector," he said, "if your Master will conclude an alliance with me against Spain, and give me twelve thousand men." For this, Vane said, he had no powers. "In that case," retorted Gustavus, "do not talk of re-instating the King of Bohemia. You come too late. I have promised to acknowledge the neutrality of the Duke of Bavaria, and I cannot take from him either the electoral dignity or the Higher Palatinate."—Charvériat, ii. 145; Gfrörer, *Gustav. Adolf.* p. 720; "Mercuré François," xvi. pt. 2, p. 454, xviii. 121, 155.]

⁴Carleton Letters, 4to, Lond. 1780, original in *S. P. Germ. States.*

“ My only dear brother,

“ This worthy Lord Wharton gives me means to write these lines to you, and humbly beseech you now, to shew your favour to your brother and me. You shall understand by his letters to the Lord of Dorchester, more particularly all things; I only beseech you to give me leave to say truly to you, that if this opportunity be neglected, we may be in despair of ever recovering anything; for by treaty it will never be done, as you may easily see by the delays they have already made; and let not yourself be deceived, that it may be some will persuade you, that now the treaty will be easier than ever; for assure yourself, if they give you good words now, it will be only to gain time, and keep you from assisting, so that the king of Sweden may be disheartened to do anything for us, and make his own peace, so as we shall never have anything, but live to be a burden to you, and a grief and affliction to ourselves and posterity. Therefore I most humbly beseech you, my dear brother, now show the effects of the love you are pleased to bear me and mine, and let none persuade you from it; for your own honor is as much interested in it, as our good; for if you now do nothing but treat, I beseech you give me leave to say, that the world will wonder at it. I have need to ask you many pardons for this free and plain writing to you; which I protest proceeds as much out of my love to you and to your honour, as for the king and myself, whose good is now to be procured or never; and therefore I beseech you to pardon this freedom of mine, which necessity doth force me to, and ever to love me, that am, what fortune soever come to me,

“ My only dear brother,

“ Your most affectionate sister and humble servant,

“ From the Hague, this 17th October.

ELIZABETH.”

This letter excited much surprise, and even displeasure, in the mind of Charles. His courtiers were in the habit of eulogising his love for his sister, his liberality in equipping Hamilton's troops, in fitting out embassies, etc.,¹ and the King was, therefore, the less prepared to receive with patience such a rebuke. After perusing the letter, he sent for Lord Dorchester, and bade him read it aloud to him. Whilst so doing, he was often interrupted by exclamations from the King, that his sister mistook the whole course of his proceedings; and when Dorchester came to the passage “ *if you do nothing but treat,*” he vehemently declared that it was unkind in her to say so, and that if he did treat, it was with the pen in the one hand and the sword in the other; that he was maintaining Hamilton's troops in her behalf; that Anstruther's despatch to the Emperor was at her husband's request; that Vane's mission to the King of Sweden was not to cry, “ peace, peace”; but to consolidate a war alliance, in case the Imperial embassy should fail; that his brother and sister were his chief occupation and anxiety, and that he was, therefore, the more pained to be suspected of indifference.

The King of Bohemia also had written to Charles, more haughtily than judiciously, that he hoped soon to hear from the King of Sweden, and then to have no occasion further to trouble his brother of England. This expression led to the belief that Frederic and Gustavus were in secret treaty together; it was

¹ See Reliq. Wott. p. 156.

confirmed by a report that Frederic was soon to march at the head of 15,000 men, to join the victorious monarch.¹

Charles did not reply himself to his sister and brother, but his sentiments were faithfully communicated to them by Dorchester.² In responding to them, Frederic remarked at great length on the business points of the letter and Elizabeth also penned long epistles to the King and Dorchester, in which she warmly vindicated her husband from all underhand dealing, and justified the free and faithful style of her late communication to the King, by the very urgent need which existed for prompt assistance and exertion.³ Dorchester took the letters to St. James's Palace, where, as he writes to the Queen, he found his royal master—

“In the midst of his antique pictures, no less earnestly employed than I know your majesties are, in like businesses, when you take them in hand in right order; which work being ended, I besought him that, now he had done disposing his emperors, he would think of supporting the kings.”

Charles read the letters attentively; his displeasure had subsided, and Dorchester wrote to assure the Queen that—

“All is fully rectified betwixt you and his majesty, who is so far from excepting against your freedom of writing, that I know no pen from which he doth more willingly and gladly understand the state of affairs than your majesty's own.”

Sir Robert Honeywood, one of the Queen's faithful servants, then in England, was called in to a consultation upon the letters; he pleaded earnestly in behalf of a present arming for his master and mistress, yet an exchequer two millions in debt was an incontrovertible argument on the other side,⁴ and the King declared his resolution to await the issue of an express sent into Spain; which power was bound, by the articles of the late treaty, to deliver up, that very month, the lands it possessed in the Palatinate.⁵

The letters reporting this decision were sent by the hands of Honeywood. The Queen, in her answer to Lord Dorchester, referred to the successful progress of Gustavus Adolphus as much more likely to tell upon Spain than all King Charles's arguments, and strongly represented the advisableness of her husband's co-operation in his movements.⁶ This letter was in-

¹ Hulme to Vane, 29th Nov., *S. P. Sweden*. In the course of the negotiations, the Emperor calmly proposed to Charles I. to prevail on the King of Sweden to quit the Palatinate, as his presence there would greatly impede their success!—*S. P. Germ. States*, 17th Dec. 1631.

² 10th Nov., Dorchester to King and Queen Bohemia; originals in *ibid.*; printed in Carleton's Letters, pp. 61-62.

³ Frederic expressed similar sentiments in a letter to Dorchester, 6th Dec., *ibid.*

⁴ “Court and Times of Charles I.” vol. ii. pp. 138, 153.

⁵ Slingby to Puckering, 21st Dec. Harl. MS. 7000.

⁶ 18th Dec. 1631, *S. P. Germ. States*.

tended to meet her brother's eye; to her friend, Sir T. Roe, Elizabeth expressed herself with more freedom.¹

"Honest Tom,

"This good old duke² will deliver you this in thanks for yours by Honeywood and Gomelton. I see by what Honeywood brought me from England that we are like to have little assistance from thence, they will still be blind, and not see what time and reputation they lose by their fruitless treaties. Now that all the world is in action, we must sit still and treat. That with the Spaniard will quickly be ended by the King of Sweden, who hath left them nothing but Frankenthal and Creutznach, so as they may oblige my brother with a small matter in delivering them up, if he will take it for good. And now in your conscience think what you would have the king³ to do, if the King of Sweden said to him to go and relieve his country, and help to take the rest; should he stay till the Spaniard and emperor give him leave to treat to take it? Yet this is thought reasonable on your side the sea, but I fear the king will follow what shall be said to him from the King of Sweden by Slavata, whom we expect daily, and likely will come before you have this letter, which I wrote to you principally, because I know not how soon I shall be taken.⁴ I am glad my dear brother hath used you so well, but I had wished you now where the other⁵ is, who is at Frankfurt; we are not made acquainted with anything that he treats there, though they say it is for our good. You may judge what comfort that is to us, to be used as little children that cannot keep counsel; for when we desire to know what is treated, we are answered that it is not fit that such things should be divulged abroad. I write this freely to you, because I have a sure messenger; and to sum up all, I confess that I look for no help from my brother, whose nature and affection I know are as good as can be, but is deceived by those he trusts. I would you might be believed in what you would counsel, but I know it will not be. The king commends his love to you, and we both desire you to be assured of our love, which, if ever we have means, you shall find; believe this from

"Your most constant friend

ELIZABETH."

"The Hague, this 1st of January.

"I pray commend my love to your wife."

The assistance requested by Gustavus from Charles was, an army of 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse, to be maintained during four years;—terms with which the King was utterly unable to comply. Frederic, on his own behalf, had sent the Bohemian refugee, Slavata, to the Swedish head-quarters, offering to join the King as volunteer, with the little money he had, and declaring himself willing to pawn his jewels and risk all he had upon this chance.

Gustavus had for some time been anxious to secure the presence of the King of Bohemia in his camp, because it would be a guarantee, in the eyes of Protestant Germany, of the sincerity of his intentions towards the Prince whom they had formerly regarded as their head, and because he hoped that the whole Pala-

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*, 1632.

² [Probably the Duke of Lennox (cf. p. 293 below). But in 1636, she calls Sir Ferd. Knightley her old Duke (*S. P. Dom.* under date 21-31 Dec.); so it was perhaps merely a term of friendship.]

³ King of Bohemia.

⁴ The queen was daily expecting her confinement.

⁵ Sir Henry Vane.

tinatè would rise to support their Prince.¹ He urged on him, in the first instance, to seek assistance from England, and to raise an army for himself.² Frederic replied that he had neither men nor money to raise them. "No!" exclaimed the King; "what, a brother of the King of Great Britain and protected by the States, and must he come to me in his doublet and hose? Let him come, however, and I will do my best to restore him to his patrimony."³ The King offered to form an alliance with him on the same terms as with the other Princes of the Union, leaving the arrangements for the restoration of his territory to be made subsequently.⁴

Moved by his sister's eloquent pleadings, or yielding to a necessity which he could no longer control, Charles I., after much hesitation, gave his consent to the King of Bohemia's projected journey.⁵ Before acting upon the permission, Frederic waited the expected birth of his thirteenth child, the commencement of a "second dozen," as a humourist termed it, who came into the world on the $\frac{2}{12}$ of January, 1632.⁶ This was the first son born since the melancholy decease of Prince Frederic Henry, and the father was anxious that he should bear the same name,⁷ but Elizabeth preferred to call him after the living rather than the dead, and the boy received the name of the hero of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus.⁸ The baptism took place on the $\frac{1}{2}$ of January, in the cloister church. The sponsors were the King of Sweden and William Lord Craven, a young Englishman now at the Hague, who, having already served with credit under the Prince of Orange, burned to distinguish himself under the banners of Gustavus and in the cause of Elizabeth, and had offered to raise 3,000 men and transport them at his own expense to join the Swedish army.⁹ He was one of the most chivalrous and devoted of the noble spirits who fought and

¹Vane's Despatch, 3rd Dec. 1631, *S. P. Germ. States*. A number of Vane's despatches about this period, missing from the State Papers, are in a MS. volume formerly in the possession of Lord Wharton. A volume of Transcripts from them forms Middlehill MS. 4880.

²*S. P. Germ. States*, 15th Dec. 1631; "Court and Times of Charles I." pp. 136, 138.

³Harl. MS. 7000, f. 174.

⁴Vane and Nethersole to Dorchester, 21st Dec. 5th Jan. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵Comptroller to Vane, 21st Dec. 1631; Frederic to Charles I. 4th Jan., and to Dorchester, 5th Jan. 1632, *ibid*.

⁶[By a curious mistake, Princess Sophia states that this little brother was born when the Queen was in great sorrow after her husband's death. He was very pretty but very delicate, and died as a child.]

⁷This name was actually entered in a brief catalogue of the Palatine family, printed in the early part of 1632, which closes with the following sentiment—"God of his unspeakable mercy bless, protect, and defend this noble queen, with her royal progeny, to the enlargement of his church, to the farther ruin of Antichrist, to the comfort of all the godly, dispersed through the world."—Harl. Miscel. vol. iii. p. 76.

⁸Nethersole to Dorchester, 3rd Jan. 1632, *S. P. Germ. States*; "Gazette Franç." 1632, p. 64.

⁹Pory to Puckering, 1st Dec. 1631, Harl. MS. 7000.

suffered in Elizabeth's behalf, and was intimately associated with her later life.¹

Frederic took leave of the States-General in full council, thanked them for their past favours, and recommended his wife and children to their further protection, during the few months which must necessarily elapse before he could be prepared to send for them into his own dominions; promising that his future conduct should amply compensate the courteous liberality with which they had treated him. They, on their part, assured him of their best wishes for his prosperity, and gave him a handsome present of 150,000 francs towards the expenses of the war. In addition to this sum, the Prince of Orange presented him with 20,000 francs for his private requirements. The King had pawned plate to the value of 20,000 more, and drawn from the Bank of Amsterdam 150,000 francs of the money laid up for his children's use, hoping to employ it most effectually for their benefit, by the recovery of their patrimony.² Before his departure, Frederic drew out a clear account of his property and its various deposits; committed to the hands of authorised agents the inventories of all his personal goods;³ and wrote farewell letters to Charles I., commending earnestly to him the care of his wife and children.⁴

His preparations completed, on the $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶th of January he took a fond farewell of Elizabeth and his elder children, and, attended by Lord Craven, set out on his journey. The Queen was much disappointed that she could not accompany him to the Palatinate; but her health was not sufficiently recovered to permit it.⁵ Frederic was escorted out of the Hague by the States-General in full procession, under a guard of 2,500 of their cavalry, and amidst the prayers and acclamations of the people. He went first to Leyden, to visit his little nursery there.⁶ The people flocked round him with their congratulations, and in the excitement of leaving those with whom his family were so associated, he gave his hand to any of the good burgesses who wished to shake hands with a King. Sleeping at Rhenen, he next proceeded to Wesel, whither the Prince of Orange accompanied him; and thence to Hesse-Cassel, where the Landgrave William received him kindly, sent home the troops of the States, and provided him with a guard for his further journey to the camp of the Swedish King.

"On the 6th," wrote Sir H. Vane, "the King of Bohemia sent an express to the King of Sweden and myself, to give notice of his coming. On

¹ To his godchild he presented plate to the value of 1,500*l.* and a pension for life of 200*l.*—Pory to Puckering, 26th Jan. 1632; Harl. MS. 7000, f. 173.

² List of debts of the King of Bohemia, Jan. 1633, *S. P. Holland*.

³ Boswell to Coke, 17th Dec. 1632, *ibid.*

⁴ Frederic to Charles I. 16th Jan. 1632, Holograph, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Pory to Puckering, 12th Jan. 1632, Harl. MS. 7000.

⁶ "Gazette de France," 1632, p. 64.

the 7th, I went to Hanau, and a Dutch mile beyond the town had the honour to meet him and kiss his hands. That night he came to Hanau, where he was received with much joy and affection, as well by the court of that place as by all the people; for they came out to meet him two Dutch miles from the town, and as he entered the same, the people flocked all about him, making great acclamations of joy, and crying, 'Vive le roy de Boeme!' The great rains that fell having made the ways so ill that neither his coaches nor baggage could come up, he was enforced to rest himself the 8th and 9th."¹

On the 10th of February, Frederic, with an escort of seventy horses and forty coaches, entered the city of Frankfort, the head-quarters of Gustavus, and finding the King gone on to Höchst, six miles farther, he followed him thither.²

"On the 11th," continues Vane, "the King and Queen of Sweden being at Höchst, at 7 in the morning, himself, with some twenty cavaliers more, went to Höchst, without giving the king notice thereof, having resolved to avoid all formalities; but he could not so surprise him but that he met him in the middle of the court, and having passed some compliments with him, the King of Sweden taking the right hand, led him up into his lodgings, where having entertained him with the discourse of the battle of Leipsic, using him with all respect and civility, his majesty stayed him at dinner, and there at the table gave him the right hand. After dinner, the queen,³ with the two kings, came to Frankfort, and in the coach, the King of Sweden gave him also the right hand. The King of Bohemia brought their majesties to their lodgings, and after some compliments passed, he took his leave, and besought the king that he would permit him to go and come as one of his domestics, without ceremony; but the king would by no means consent thereunto, but brought him down the stairs into the court. This modest carriage of the King of Bohemia is much approved by the King of Sweden and all of this place."⁴

Gustavus constantly greeted his guest by his royal title, gave him the precedence over himself, and exacted the same courtesies towards him from all his camp, not few in number, for more than twenty German Princes, Dukes and Counts, and foreign Ambassadors swelled the train of the victorious monarch.⁵ From this time the two Kings shared together such recreation as a camp life afforded,⁶ and Frederic took part in all the warlike expeditions of the Swedish King.

¹ Middlehill MS. 4880, f. 7.

² That same day Charles I. wrote to Gustavus, recommending in cordial terms the Prince Palatine, by this time in his camp, to a speedy restoration. The King of England did not give him the royal title on which the King of Sweden insisted! —*S. P. Sweden.*

³ Frederic had himself been instrumental in bringing about the marriage of the King of Sweden with this Princess, Eleonora of Brandenburg, a House with which his own was allied by a twofold marriage, that of his sister and brother to a Prince and Princess of Brandenburg.

⁴ Middlehill MS. 4880, f. 9.

⁵ Harl. MS. 7000, f. 237.

⁶ Dineley to Roe, 28th April, *S. P. Germ. States*.—"As you were glad that the King of Bohemia went upon his journey, so he found upon his arrival it was necessary for him so to do. He is present at all actions and adventures, and I do believe he taketh such a gust of the wars waged by so rare a general, that he will not think of resting while he is in the field." "As to the King of Sweden," he adds, "he is the man whom neither seas, nor mountains, nor armies, nor rivers, can resist, and yet his enemies have a film upon their eyes, and will not see the hand that guideth

They now advanced into the Palatinate.

"The people," writes Lieutenant Munro, "were overjoyed to see the King of Sweden, but chiefly their affections most abundantly did extend towards his majesty of Bohemia, which is impossible for any tongue to express."

"Wonderful welcome," says Sir T. Roe, "was this prince to his own subjects of the Palatinate, who every where ran out to see his majesty, with infinite expressions of joy and contentation, with many a hearty prayer, and tear, and high-sounding acclamation."

The whole Lower Palatinate had already yielded to the arms of the victorious Swede, excepting the three fortresses of Kreuznach, Frankenthal, and Heidelberg. To the siege of the first-named they now advanced. Gustavus, in crossing the Rhine, declared he was careless of incurring the enmity of Austria and Spain, if he could only render service to his dear and oppressed sister, the Queen of Bohemia. The English and Scottish regiment in his employ was full of ardour:—

"Who," exclaims Munro, in his record of the expedition, "would not then press to discharge the duty of valorous soldiers and captains, in sight of their master and king, having crossed the Rhine fighting for the queen of soldiers, being led by the king of captains, and captain of kings?"

Such enthusiasm was a pledge of success. Kreuznach soon yielded to the invading army; Lord Craven, in particular, distinguished himself by prodigies of valour, and though wounded, was the first to mount the breach. The soldier-King himself chided his too rash self-exposure, and clapping him on the shoulder, rallied him on the chances he had that day given his younger brother of inheriting his estates.¹ The citizens rejoiced at the capture, and threw open their doors to the Swedish soldiers.² A review of the whole army took place, in which Frederic came forward to salute the English brigade, to thank them for the services already performed, and to request the continuance of their valour.³

Frederic and Elizabeth loved to commemorate the leading events of their lives by medallic representations. On their exile into Holland, a coin was struck, bearing their portraits and the motto "*Spes sola superest*," "Hope alone remains"; now Elizabeth struck another, bearing on the obverse their joint profiles; on the reverse, the sun setting behind the sea, with the motto

him." A dateless fragment in the Holland Correspondence mentions a masque, at which the King of Bohemia played the part of a Jesuit, and the King of Sweden that of son of the host.

¹ Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 176.

² Rowe's Swed. Intelligencer, p. 79, Harl. MS. 7010, f. 228; "Gazette de France," p. 119.

³ Munro's Expedition with the Scots Regiment, p. 110.

"*Sol occidens renascitur*," "The setting sun rises again," in allusion to the anticipated restoration of her husband.¹

The joy of conquest in the hearts of the King and Queen of Bohemia was checked by the tidings of the partial burning of Heidelberg Castle, the happy home of their early married life. It was more than suspected that the Spaniards had set fire to the building, desiring, in anticipation that the town would be retaken, to render it as useless as possible.²

The mustering of the troops under Tilly in Franconia compelled Gustavus to recross the Rhine, leaving Frankenthal and Heidelberg still untaken. Frederic was now anxious to come to some definite terms with his royal friend: Vane thus writes to the English Secretary of State:—

"The King of Bohemia is well looked upon by the king for what concerns his person, and is often with him, but cannot come to any resolution how he shall dispose of himself, though he often presses the same, to which the king gives the answer that he intends to restore him his countries, but he will first make an alliance with him; that he will send him a minute thereof, which he hath promised since the King of Bohemia's first arrival, but hitherto it cannot be gotten. This last night the King of Bohemia, with divers other princes, counts, and ladies supped with the King and Queen of Sweden. They were *aux petits jeux* till 12 of the clock: the queen and the ladies then retired, but the two kings and the rest of the company did *chopiner* till 3 in the morning. The two kings did caress one another very much, there being nothing but *mon frère* every word—the King of Sweden assuring the King of Bohemia that he would restore him his countries, though the King of England should not give him such assistance as he thought fit, and then he should owe the obligation to him only. I have advised him that whithersoever the King of Sweden goes to follow him, until he get some resolution from him."³

Frederic reluctantly took this advice, and followed the Swedish monarch; but he took every opportunity of urging his request for permission to raise and head an independent army.⁴

"Upon discourse between the two kings," writes Lord Craven, "the King of Bohemia, with a great deal of modesty and reason, desired liberty from the king to levy troops, that he might accompany him with a better garb. The king demanded him where he would make his levies, upon which he told him that in the Palatinate there were diverse of his own subjects which he could draw together, in a short time, and at a little expense. This was so unwelcome to the king, that he told him plainly that he already levies himself in those parts, and that it was not secure to have more than one chief; besides he said, if he had a mind to be in action, he would give him Oppenheim to fortify, and when that were done, furnish him with men for to take in Heidelberg. Since this displeasing compliment from the King, his good majesty of Bohemia is treated with more courtesy and fair show of

¹ Van Loon, *Nederlandische Historipenning*, vol. ii. p. 120.

² "*Mercuré Franç.*" 1632, p. 155. It was previously rumoured, that had Gustavus attacked the town, it would have yielded at once; and then when he and his officers were all lodged in the castle, it would have been exploded, and blown them to atoms.

—Vane's Desp. 8th Dec. 1631; Middlehill MS. 4880.

³ Middlehill MS. 4880, p. 17.

⁴ Abstract of Vane's Letters, 1632, *S. P. Sweden*.

welcome than what he hath been heretofore, which I think is only to take away the ill relish of this sour pill."¹

The King, however, felt the refusal keenly. He thus wrote to Elizabeth upon the subject:—²

“My dearest heart,

“I received your letter yesterday, between Aschaffenburg and here, marching with the King of Sweden, who continues to treat me very civilly. As to the rest, I know not what I am about; I see clearly that *the King of Sweden*³ does not desire me to have *troops*; he said that if I raised any, it would ruin *his army*—I know not therefore what I shall be good for, nor why *the King of Sweden* has desired me to come. If there be nothing more to do than what I see as yet, I had better have stayed at *the Hague*. Now that the king is going to meet *Tilly* or visit *the Duke of Bavaria*, I am resolved to follow him, although the trade of a volunteer is tiresome enough. After that, if I cannot get some resolution, I shall go to the *English ambassador*, to consult what I must do.”

The ambassador here alluded to was Sir Henry Vane, employed to negotiate the conditions of the restoration of the Palatinate on the part of Charles I. The King offered to pay 10,000*l.* a month towards war expenses, and Vane was also commissioned to add that, in case of Charles's failure to perform this promise, some places in the Palatinate should still remain in the hands of Sweden, as guarantee for the full payment. To this condition Frederic objected in the strongest terms. With his natural apprehensiveness, he augured the worst results from such an arrangement; and going to Hamilton and Vane, declared, with tears in his eyes, that he wished himself out of the world, and desired no treaty at all, rather than one that should place him in eternal subjection to the King of Sweden; that he would rather accept any portion, however small, of his estates, unfettered, than be curbed with a condition which he thought dishonourable.⁴ He entreated Vane to sup-

¹ 18th March, 1632, *S. P. Holland*.

² Bromley Letters, p. 31, date $\frac{2}{8}$ March.

³ The passages in Italics are in cipher in the Bromley Letters. The editor of those Letters, extremely valuable though they are as a collection, performed his task with more zeal than knowledge. Instances frequently occur where the original is palpably misread, and the ciphers, when not interpreted in the original, are frequently mistaken. The comprehension of a few of them has baffled all the pains bestowed upon them, as the correspondence is brief, and the same ciphers sometimes occur only once. For the information of those interested in the Bromley Letters, the following corrected decipherings are given:—

116. Charles I.	170. Sir Henry Vane.
140. Prince d'Orange.	181. Ambassadeur.
129. Duc de Saxe.	192. Argent.
149. General Vere.	199. Armée.
165. La Haye.	214. Duc de Simmern.

⁴ “There is a strange article,” he writes to the Queen, “in the points to be treated with *the King of Sweden*; it is that if *the king* failed to give *the money* promised to *the King of Sweden*, *the Palatinate* should remain in pledge to him for it. I have told *Vane* that if that were put in, *the king* would disoblige me much, and that in such a case, I would rather *he* did not treat for me.”—Bromley Letters, p. 43. The Italic passages are in cipher in the original.

press this article, adding, that if the treaty failed, he feared not to throw himself on the generosity of the King of Sweden, who had promised him full restoration, independently of all treaties. The ambassador obtained Charles's consent so to do, though with the remark that he could offer no other security for payment, and therefore if the treaty fell through on that score, the King of Bohemia would be the only person to blame.¹

Vane was unequal to the difficulties of his position. He treated the King of Bohemia imperiously, and his manner was unconciliating towards Gustavus himself, whose hasty temper ill brooked control; he quarrelled with the ambassador, and then repented of the quarrel.²

"I did hear," wrote the Queen to Vane, "of the *mal-entendu* that passed between the King of Sweden and you, which I was sorry for; I am glad that all is well again. I know that he himself was sorry for it after that his choler was passed. It is a great pity that he is so subject to that, he hath so many other good parts. I pray make the best of all, and remember his good actions, and forget his words."³

Had the cautious and friendly policy of Sir Thomas Roe been in operation at the Swedish Court, the treaty had probably taken effect, but Vane did not succeed in completing it.⁴ The parties could not agree either as to the amount of the subsidies or to the time of payment; Charles's necessities inducing him to urge delay, and Gustavus declaring he would be no man's servant for a few thousand pounds.

Meanwhile Elizabeth led an anxious and excited life at the Hague, or at Rhenen, hearing from her husband and writing to him several times a week, and indulging eager hopes of

¹ Vane to Treasurer, 1st July, 1632, *S. P. Germ. States*; Frederic to Elizabeth, 8th March, Bromley Letters, p. 31.

² Pufendorf, *Comment de Reb. Suec. fol. Utrecht, 1686*. "It is usual with this king," writes Vane, "to repent himself when the blow is given, for he hath often told me, since the occasion at Munich, speaking with regret of that proceeding, that he would give all he had to be master of his passions, but that when he begins but to be moved, he hath something rises in his brain that makes him forget what he says or does; that this he finds in himself, and the inconveniences that grow thereof as soon as he is composed again; but yet he cannot get it mastered, though he has often desired the same, and therefore he hopes God and all the world will forgive him."—Middlehill MS. 4880, f. 124.

³ 12th July, 1632, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ [Amongst the State papers is a document written by John Durie, declaring that the King of Sweden had intended to restore the Palatinate freely, but that Sir Harry Vane "was like to have marred the whole business," irritating the King so much that he would fain have had him out of the way, and said to the King of Bohemia, "Brother, I see that you and I must make an end of our business alone". Moreover, as Durie was credibly informed, when they were at Nuremberg, Gustavus "devised conditions intolerable to the King of Bohemia only in order to get rid of Vane, and while Sir Henry was there, hindered him from making levies, yet after Vane left, entered into a treaty to give him Mainz and the Elsass, with command of the armies there.—See *Cal. S. P. Dom. Addenda, Chas. I. p. 446*. It must however be remembered that Durie was a protégé of Roe's, and probably jealous of Vane for having obtained the post which Sir Thomas had hoped to have.]

speedily rejoining him in Germany. The best illustration of her history will be found in her correspondence. Many of Frederic's letters to her are in preservation, but none of hers to him. We have, however, several which she wrote to Sir Harry Vane. The following extract, half droll, half earnest, was written on the $\frac{5}{15}$ th of April.¹

"Honest Harry,

"I hope these letters by Home will pass as well to you as my little monkey, Astley's, did to me. He can tell you all the news of England, *en matière de dames*, and of the Hague. The prince² is preparing to go into the field, and most of our officers are come. His old grace is here,³ and saith that his gracious aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, will come to see me this summer, with all her white staves.⁴ She doth write so to me herself, but I confess I do not believe her. We look for my Lady Strange every day, and my wise widow."⁵

"I hear your pretty gentleman, Mr. Gifford,⁶ is laid by the heels, and another towards it for talking foolishly. I long to hear the end of your treaty; I see by the king's letters the King of Sweden doth not desire he should make levies, saying it would spoil his army. If my dear brother would have been pleased to have granted the king's request by Robin Honeywood, it had been better both for him and your treaty, for then, the king having troops, might have had more *voix en chapitre* than now he hath, being but a volunteer, which is a very wearisome profession; but I hope God will turn all to the best, and am confident that you will still continue to do your best for him. I pray believe me ever,

"Your most constant affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH."

"The Hague, this 15th of April, St. N.

"To Sir Harry Vane."

A few weeks later she writes:—

"I can assure you that the king is very well satisfied with your actions there, and hath written to me how much he is beholden to you. He is still as he was concerning his own particular; the King of Sweden doth still use him very well. I hope when you follow the King of Sweden's army you will find it at Munich, where I think they were going. I confess I do not pity the Duke of Bavaria of all men. The King of Sweden doth but pay him for what he lent us."

When it is remembered how long and tedious were the sufferings which the Duke of Bavaria had been the means of inflicting on the Palatine family, the Queen's expression in reference to him cannot be wondered at. Her wish was accomplished, and Frederic dined in the princely palace of his rival

¹ *S. P. Germ. States.*

² The Prince of Orange.

³ The Duke of Lennox. He went into Spain. A long letter, holog., from him about his aunt is in *S. P. Spain*, May, 1632.

⁴ Alluding to the duchess's absurd love of state. It is recorded of her, that in the article of death she ordered all her household officers to surround her bed, with their staves of office, and thus to remain till she expired!

⁵ The Countess of Lewenstein.

⁶ [Mentioned by Roe in a letter of 1st March, 1632 (when he was sent to England with despatches), as "the famous Mr. Gyfford, a person of whom . . . were as difficult and strange a theme as any monster of Africa".—*Cal. S. P. Dom.* Chas. I. Addenda, p. 435.]

with the monarch who had won it, and who significantly told him that, as he was dining in Munich, he might hope soon to sup at Heidelberg.¹ From Munich he thus wrote to Elizabeth:—

“ I came this morning with the king to the handsome house of my good cousin. The Marquis of Hamilton admires it, and says he never saw any thing handsomer. He has had his best goods taken away; there are yet plenty of handsome things, but which could not easily be removed; however, even if that were not the case, I should have none of them.”²

The Swedish King maintained with strictness his resolution not to plunder the cities which he took. The expressions of conjugal and parental tenderness in the letters of Frederic are numerous and touching.

The Queen informed her husband of a present made her by Charles I. of his share in the property of their grandmother, the lately deceased Queen-Dowager of Denmark, assuring him of her anxiety to employ her anticipated wealth on his behalf. Alluding to this, he writes:—

“ I have seen the grant of the king, your brother: he shows you much affection: I am greatly rejoiced at it, and still more so to see yours, in your desire to employ it for my good. I cannot thank you enough for it; but I had rather you should keep that inheritance, and put it out to interest, and so by degrees pay your debts. I ask nothing from you, except that you love me always as much as I love you. You may rest assured that no absence can ever cool my love, which is entirely yours.”³

Writing from Nuremberg, on the 13th of July, he says:—

“ All these ladies wish much to see you in Germany; God grant that may soon be! but you may be assured that I love you with all my heart, and that my thoughts are ever with you. I have no letters from you this week; I fear they are intercepted, with the portraits of my two daughters, for which I should be very sorry.”⁴

The portraits alluded to were two of a series of miniatures of his little ones, which were painted at their mother's command for their father, and highly prized by him.⁵ His letters contain many allusions to the children. In 1622, he expresses concern that his eldest son has had some disagreement with his tutor, and his pleasure in the learning of young Rupert (then not quite three years old), who “ understands so many languages ”;⁶ and he repeatedly utters his fond and earnest hopes that they may all be spared to grow up in health and vigour, and to see brighter days.

In another letter Frederic expresses his fears that he shall not be at Frankfort during the fair, otherwise he would be sure to remember the “ stuff ” which his wife had commis-

¹ Harte, vol. ii. p. 225.

² Bromley Letters, p. 40.

³ *Ibid.* p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 44, 47.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 21.

sioned him to purchase. This fair has already been mentioned as a resort for all classes during the seventeenth century; nobles and peasants alike laid in their stores, and bought presents for each other from its miscellaneous collections. Vane had promised to buy fairings both for the Queen and the Princess of Orange on this occasion, and Elizabeth makes merry allusions to them in her letters:—

“We look for your fairing, in great devotion, not doubting but that it will be some rare device, and we will not fail to recompense it with one from hence.”¹ And again, “I thank you very much for your wine, and will be no less thankful for my fairings; the princess, my Lady Strange, and I having provided some for you out of the great Kermesse of this country, which you should have had by my little monkey,² if he had gone this way; but now we must stay for a rare messenger, because such precious things must not fall into the enemy’s hands.”³

After having passed several months with the King of Sweden, Frederic at length requested his dismissal, and at the same time entreated that such of his dominions as were already in the hands of that monarch, should be restored to him; a favour which he was the more emboldened to ask, because a similar privilege had just been accorded to his brother Louis, Duke of Simmern. Gustavus at once consented that his royal friend should return to the Palatinate, which he accordingly did, early in September, but he waived the latter part of his request, saying that the Duke was *petit prince* and not on the same footing, and that as there were two important towns in the Palatinate still untaken, Heidelberg and Frankenthal, it was premature to talk of restoration.⁴ He renewed his assurances that this was the object he had ultimately in view, but he had certain conditions which he was resolved to carry out. He was a strong Lutheran; Frederic an equally determined Calvinist; the opposition between the two parties was then as strong as that between the Roman and Reformed Churches; and Gustavus wished to obtain for his fellow-religionists in the Palatinate, not only toleration but protection.⁵ He demanded, therefore, equality of rights for the Lutherans and an acknowledgment that Frederic owed his restoration solely to Sweden. A close examination of the original state papers and correspondence of the period leads to the conclusion that religious zeal was the sole cause of the policy adopted by

¹ 12th April, *S. P. Germ. States.*

² Sir Jacob Astley.

³ 2nd July, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁴ Vane to Treasurer, 28th Aug. *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁵ Addit. MS. 11403, f. 166. Vane in one of his despatches writes: “There is one thing of importance which I must represent unto your lordship; which is that the king is resolved, what paction soever shall be hereafter made between himself and the king of Bohemia, that he will have the Lutheran religion established in his country, which doth not a little dishearten and discourage the Calvinists, since he permits the free exercise of the Catholic religion in all places wheresoever he comes: the truth is the hatred of the Lutherans to the Calvinists is great, if not greater, than to the Romanists”.—Middlehill MS. 4880, f. 6.

the Swedish monarch, and that he was perfectly sincere in the repeated declarations of his intention to replace Frederic in his dominions.

Unfortunately, in the Courts of Kings there are never wanting those who are too ready to throw fuel upon the flames of discord, and to inspire and foster jealousy and suspicion; men of this class worked successfully upon the mind of Frederic, in whom these tendencies were inherent.¹ Under their influence he wrote to Charles I., expressing his dissatisfaction with the requirements of Gustavus, and asking advice in the matter.²

"You will see," he writes to the Queen, "by the enclosed paper, what the king of Sweden has declared, which is no great thing." "I send Dingen to him with a letter, to beg him to be satisfied with my preceding declaration, or to restore me my country, as he has done to my brother. If he will neither do one nor the other, I know not how I should act."³

Frederic's letter to the Swedish King was tinged with the jealousy under which he was smarting. He begged Gustavus to restore him to his dominions, and then make reasonable terms; or at least to act in some way which should give proof of confidence and affection. The reply of Gustavus was full of noble feeling. He reminded Frederic that he had long undergone the perils of war; that as regards the Palatinate, the only recompense he asked was the free exercise of the Lutheran religion there, a recognition of himself as benefactor and assurances of fidelity; which terms could not be considered injurious, when, had he been guided by custom, he might have kept the Palatinate (which he had taken not from Frederic but from the enemy), or at least retained it in his possession till the war-expenses were paid; whereas for his pains, and the blood and blows of his people, he demanded nothing at all.⁴ This letter fully reassured King Frederic, and set at rest all his brooding suspicions.

Early in October, Frederic went from Frankfort to the Palatinate.⁵ But his pleasure in visiting once more his dominions was tempered by the aspect of devastation which everywhere met his gaze. Writing to the Queen from Alzey, he says:—

"On Tuesday I arrived at Oppenheim, which is very unlike what you have seen it; the house is in ruins, the half of the town burnt. On Wednesday I arrived here. The place where we lodge is still in fair condition, but the house opposite has neither doors, nor windows, nor stoves, and not a lock in the whole house. But all this would be easy to restore. I thought the Spaniards had done something in fortifying; but I find one cannot even be safe against a surprise, and Frankenthal is only four leagues from here. I have thought it necessary, therefore, to play a sure game; I have resolved to

¹Spanheim, *Soldat Suedois*, p. 225.

²24th Sept. 1632, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³Bromley Letters, p. 57.

⁴Gustavus to Frederic, 18th-28th Oct. Harl. MS. 7015, f. 160; Grisley to Puckering, 3rd, 16th Jan. Harl. MS. 7000.

⁵Spanheim, *Soldat Sued.* p. 225.

go and stay some time at Mayence, where the Rheingrave and the king's people have granted me a lodging in the castle: it is more pleasant there than here, and I shall get your letters oftener; I have had none this last week." "I have been hunting once with harriers; you may believe I wished for you by my side, with the dogs. I caught two hares."¹

A few days later, Frederic expresses great weariness of his residence at Mayence, and makes some allusion to a proposed return to the Hague; a return which was never to take place.

On the 6th of November, old style, was fought the celebrated battle of Lützen, in which the victory of the Swedish army was dearly purchased by the loss of its heroic monarch;² a loss which none had greater cause to mourn than the King and Queen of Bohemia. By a singular fatality, one after another of those who had espoused their cause had died within the space of a few years; Schlick of Bohemia; Maurice of Orange; Christian of Brunswick; Ernest, Count Mansfeld, and now Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

After the first shock of dismay, Elizabeth collected her energies, and sent into England to request her brother to grant to Frederic the monthly allowance which he had offered to the King of Sweden, that he might be able to pursue the war, whilst she forwarded to the States-General a petition for the continuance of their war allowance. She rejoiced that the Marquis of Hamilton was in Scotland, as she knew his strong influence there would be exerted in her favour.³ King Charles, at her request, drew out instructions to his agent to endeavour to procure for Frederic the vacant leadership.⁴ But another destiny was in store for him: the tidings of the death of his royal friend and protector reached him at an unfortunate moment; he had paid a visit to his cousin the Duke of Deuxponts, in whose dominions the plague was raging; and feeling indisposed, had returned to Mayence, where, by care and repose, he began to recover his strength. But at this crisis of promising improvement, the fatal news arrived, and overwhelmed him with anxiety and sorrow.⁵

"Wearied with his anxious solitude, and wishful for diversion," writes the physician who attended him, "he went out of doors, though the air was not free from infection, and on the fourth day he even went to a church where was a great concourse of people. On his return, he complained a little of his head, but took his dinner as usual, the two Counts Isenberg dining with him."

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 28 [misdated 1631].

² [Dark rumours were circulated after the death of Gustavus. Duke Franz-Albert of Saxe-Lauenbourg was suspected of having treacherously killed him, but the testimony of the page Leubelfing (who bravely stayed by his master to the last) and of the Chamberlain Truchsess show that this accusation is absolutely false.—See Gfrörer, "Gustav. Adolph. König von Schweden," p. 795.]

³ Dineley to Roe, 29th Nov., *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Instructions to Elphinston, Nov. 1632, *ibid.*

⁵ "D'Ewes' Diary," vol. ii. p. 85.

During this interval of relief the King was able to attend to his affairs and gave orders for the garrisoning of Frankenthal, which, from the effects of plague and famine upon the Spanish soldiery, had been brought to surrender.¹ He received and read the despatches of Oxenstiern, the Swedish chancellor, on whom the conduct of the war now devolved, and who renewed the professions made by his master of desire for his restitution; but with the same provisoes for the Lutheran form of faith, which greatly disturbed his excited nerves.² Still he did not anticipate serious results. His secretary, Curtius, thus writes from Frankfort, on the 19th of November:—

“On Friday last, the 15th of this month, I had the honour of conversing with his majesty of Bohemia, in his bed in the morning; and he told me that his fever had quite left him, but that the swelling in his neck troubled him a little, and he hoped when that had burst, he should be cured. For the rest, he spoke of business, and smiled at the physicians who wanted to charge him with the plague; so I returned to this town.”³

The very evening of that day, however, delirium came on; the fever raged with fearful force, and a physician, Dr. Spina, was summoned from Darmstadt: the doctor records that he found him, on the 16th, extremely weak, his face swollen, his eyes red, and his brain wandering. Sudorifics were given, which had a tranquillising effect, but three fatal tubercles became distinctly apparent.⁴ The plague spots grew larger and more virulent, and the physicians declared the case to be desperate, and that nothing short of a miracle could effect a cure; but the following night the King gained some tranquil rest, and the dangerous symptoms began to abate. He availed himself of this respite to write a few lines to his beloved Elizabeth, to relieve the anxiety under which he knew she must labour. He told her that the physicians pronounced the worst to be passed, that the fever had left him, but that he still found himself extremely weak, and wished to be resigned to the will of God; yet, might he but live to see her once more, he could die contented.⁵

This was the last effort of his pen. Weakness, oppressive and distressing, rapidly increased; he himself felt that the decree had gone forth—“thou shalt die, and not live,” and he read his sentence in the tearful countenances of his servants, who strove in vain to repress or conceal their sorrow. At first the tenderness of earthly love led to yearning thoughts of wife and children far away, so soon to be left alone to struggle with difficulty and adversity. His dying request implored, on their

¹ “Court and Times of Charles I.” vol. ii. p. 199; Spanheim, “Sold. Swed.” p. 485.

² Curtius’ Desp. 21st Nov. 1632, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Curtius’ Desp. 19th Nov. *ibid.*

⁴ Spina to Rumph, physician to the Queen of Bohemia, 20th Nov. 1623, *ibid.*

⁵ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe, 12th April, 1633, *S. P. Dom.*

behalf, the care of the States-General, the Prince of Orange, and the King of England; ¹ and falling back upon the high religious principles which he had long held and practised, he was able calmly to resign them to the same Omnipotent love to which he trusted for his own hopes of eternal happiness, and by his firmness and devout expressions, he became the comforter of the mourners who surrounded his dying bed. His troubled career was exchanged for one of endless repose at seven A.M., on Tuesday, the $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁹th of November, 1632.

Various rumours became current as to the immediate cause of his death. Some said that he had never recovered the loss of his eldest son, and its concomitant physical hardships; others that he died of a broken heart for the death of the King of Sweden; some whispered of poison; but the general and correct opinion was that his days were cut short by the plague, acting upon an enfeebled constitution and an agitated mind. ²

¹ Queen of Bohemia's proposals to States, 23rd Dec. 1632.

² The grandson of his physician, Peter de Spina, expressly says that his grandfather declared repeatedly the three swellings which appeared in his body to be pestilential pustules.—Miscel. Hist. Palat. 4to, Frankf. 1725, p. 254.

CHAPTER VI

Elizabeth's emotions on her husband's death—Letter of Charles I. to her—Her reply—Letter of her children—Embassy of condolence—Invitation to England declined—Burial of Frederic—State of his affairs—Pecuniary arrangements—Charles Louis claims to be Elector—Elizabeth addresses the States-General—German politics—Nethersole's scheme to gain money for the Queen—He is disgraced by Charles I.—Elizabeth's sons—Difficulties in England—Nethersole's anger—He is sent to the Tower—The Queen intercedes for him—Elizabeth's political activity—She claims her grandmother's inheritance—But fails to obtain it—Swedish policy about the Palatinate—Elizabeth suspected of leaning to France—Her private life—Fortitude—Illness—Visited by Oxenstiern—Correspondence with Archbishop Laud—Charles Louis and Rupert sent to England—Rupert projects an expedition to Madagascar—Elizabeth prevents it—Attempts made to change his religion—They fail—King of Poland woos the Princess Palatine—She refuses to become a Catholic—Match broken off—Emperor totally excludes Elizabeth's children from succession—She appeals to England—Charles I. temporises—Arundel's embassy—Elizabeth opposes half-measures—Distress in the Palatinate—Failure of Treaty—Charles Louis sues for aid—Partially granted—Death of Emperor, and election of his successor—Elizabeth anxious to have her son in action—Charles I. assists him—Mary de' Medici visits the Hague—Charles Louis defeated, and Rupert imprisoned—Hamburg treaty—Charles Louis wishes to head a German army—Is taken prisoner on his route through France—But liberated—Imperial diet—Charles Louis returns to England—Parliamentary aid promised—Compromise with Emperor proposed—Rupert liberated—He and Maurice go to England—Elizabeth gradually withdraws from public life.

THE mournful tidings of her widowhood were brought to Elizabeth just at the time when, relieved from serious apprehension by her husband's last letter, she was indulging hopes of the termination of long years of exile, and of happy re-union with him in their own land; for he had sent her word that, on the surrender of Heidelberg, which was weekly expected, he should come to fetch her back to their beloved Germany. Dr. Rumph, for many years the physician and faithful friend of the Palatine family, was deputed to break the news to her. He fulfilled his mission as cautiously and discreetly as possible, but still Elizabeth was completely stunned; the stupor of grief was so overwhelming that, for three days, she remained cold and immoveable, though not senseless; she could neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep; and neither spoke a word nor shed a single tear.¹

At the time of her husband's last illness, Elizabeth had been attacked by intermittent fever, which had not yet left her, and she was, therefore, the less able to withstand the shock. During

¹ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe, 12th April, 1633, *S. P. Dom.*

eight days she never left her bed, and serious apprehensions were entertained for her life.

"I cannot but let you know," writes Sir J. Meautys, then at the Hague, to Lady Bacon,¹ "what an afflicted and grieved lady the Queen of Bohemia is, for the death of the king, who died at Mayence in Germany. Certainly no woman could take the death of a husband more to heart than this queen doth."

"Whether the queen will long be able to bear the grief thereof, they who are nearest about her do much doubt," writes Boswell, who had succeeded Carleton as English Ambassador at the Hague.²

Rusdorf speaks in terms very similar of her grief and consternation,³ and the elder Countess of Solms, mother of the Princess of Orange, writing to Vane, on the 13th of December, says :—

"The queen's affliction is greater than any one can imagine. God comfort her and preserve her the heart of your king, who should comfort her on this occasion. I can assure you that the good princess has need enough of counsel and assistance ; she can only look for it from God and the king. It pains my heart to see her in this state ; I hope then that the king's good disposition will be touched with compassion towards his sister the queen. The good queen has ordered me, in her great affliction, to show you that she hopes you will have a care of her affairs. If I could only have the honour to see the king, I would freely tell him my most humble affection towards this good princess ; I entreat you to excuse that my passion makes me speak so freely ; you know me, and how little wit women have you know better than any one."

Charles I. needed not the prompting of his sister's friendly companion, nor yet of the Prince of Orange, who wrote most cordially on her behalf.⁴ He expressed the deepest concern for her loss, put himself and all his Court into mourning, and sent Sir Francis Nethersole⁵ as the bearer of the following letter :—

"My dearest and only sister,

"Never did I rail at any opportunity for writing to you excepting this one—and though I do not wish my hand to be so unfortunate as even to name it, yet I will not have the vanity to imagine that I can, by a few lines, efface the just grief which this last misfortune has brought upon you ; but still I would hereby express the love and service which I owe you on this occasion (knowing that good friends are best proved in the greatest adversities) ; and I know not how you can just now reap as much fruit from, or have as true a knowledge of my efforts to serve you, as in coming to be with me. Therefore, my dearest sister, I entreat you to make as much haste as you conveniently can to come to me, where I doubt not but you will find some

¹ 2nd Dec. 1632, Cornwallis Letters.

² Boswell's Desp. 29th Nov. 1632, *S. P. Holland*.

³ Rusdorf to O'Neal, March, 1633, Sylburgius, p. 91.

⁴ 14th Dec. 1632, *S. P. Holland*.

⁵ Beaulieu to Puckering, 5th Dec. 1632, Harl. MS. 7010, f. 203 b. The King provided Nethersole with passports for different routes, that he might select that for which the winds were most propitious.—Dec. 1632, *S. P. Germ. States*.

little comfort for your own sadness, as you will greatly relieve that of him who is, in life or death,

“My dearest sister,

“Your most affectionate brother to serve you,
“Whitehall, 30th Nov. 1632. CHARLES.”

“I have told Nethersole to repeat to you a conversation which passed between him and me about your coming here, when we had not the least idea of this fatal accident, by which you will see that it was not for want of love that I have not sent for you before.”

It was some time before Elizabeth could summon nerve to reply to this letter. When she did so, it was in the following terms, which, unfortunately, are only to be conveyed through the medium of a re-translation from the French:—¹

“My dearest only brother,

“I know not how I can sufficiently express my most humble thanks for the two most affectionate letters which I received at the same time from you, by your agent Boswell and our faithful servant Nethersole. They found me the most wretched creature that ever lived in this world, and this I shall ever be, having lost the best friend that I ever had, in whom was all my delight; having fixed my affections so entirely upon him, that I should have longed to be where he is, were it not that his children would thus have been left utterly destitute. But now I have another reason for wishing to live, in order that before I die, I may have the only comfort of which, in the affliction of my infinite loss, I am capable;—that of having the happiness of visiting you, according to your command: a favour which I shall take care to accept, since it is so great a testimony of your affection towards me, that I know not how sufficiently to render you my most humble thanks for it. And I entreat you to believe that it is not possible for any one to desire anything more ardently than I long to have this happiness; being the greatest that I can hope for in this world. Nevertheless, I entreat you to pardon me, if I cannot at present obey your command and my own wishes;—the custom in Germany being not to stir out of the house for some time, after such a misfortune. And since I was married into this country, I should wish to observe its customs carefully, so as to give no occasion for scandal. And moreover, I doubt whether, even after the expiration of the aforesaid term, I shall be able so soon to enjoy this happiness, until my poor children can be re-established in the empire, or at least in a fair way of being so. You may judge yourself whether my reasons are not just, according to your own opinions, expressed in your conversation with Nethersole; which opinions, I think, remain as forcible, if not more so, than before.

“I entreat you also to notice a very strange coincidence in all this affair: which is, that the said conversation took place on the very day of my dearest husband’s death, and whilst I was writing to tell you of the death of the King of Sweden; being myself ill of the same fever as was your brother at the same time; and all this upon your birthday. I give myself up to your judgment, returning you yet once again my most humble thanks that you have been pleased to send to me, in a manner so intimately affectionate, and particularly that you have made choice of the person of this honest man, our faithful servant, since you could not have sent another at sight of whom I should have been so pleased. I entreat you always to allow him to remain

¹No copy of these letters has been met with in England. The above are from French translations in the Conrart Collection, in the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris, MS. No. 575, Art. 29 *et seq.* The letter of Charles to Elizabeth is noted as “written with his own hand, the very hour that he learned the news of her husband’s death, and translated word for word into French”.

with you, to attend to my affairs, since we have both so much confidence in his prudence and sincerity. I will not detain you longer this time than to entreat you most humbly, to be well assured that the extreme affection with which it has pleased you to cherish me in this affliction, gives me all the consolation of which I am capable, and that I put no small constraint on my inclinations is not obeying your commands to come to you : for God knows that it would be my only comfort, but I must prefer the welfare of my poor children to my own satisfaction. The last request that their father made me, before his departure, was to do all that I could for them ; which I wish to do, as far as lies in my power, loving them better because they are his, than because they are my own. Wherefore I must entreat you to take us all into your protection, for after God, our sole resource is in you. Pardon me that I write you this, instead of obeying your command—doing it against my will—but my misfortune constrains me ; although, whilst I am in the world, it can never force me to be other than,

“ My dearest and only brother,
 “ Your most affectionate, although most unfortunate sister,
 and most humble servant, ELIZABETH.”

“ The Hague, this $\frac{1}{4}$ December, 1632.

“ Postscript.—I have ordered Nethersole to let you know the care and affection which the Prince of Orange shows me and my children, and that he is also your most faithful servant.”

This letter was accompanied by a touching note from Elizabeth's orphan boys.

“ Sir,

“ In this great affliction which God hath laid upon us all, we see no hope of comfort or relief, but from your gracious majesty ; for God hath taken from us our dear lord and father, and in him the care of us all. Hitherto we have been brought up by your bounty, and now are fit subjects of your compassion. The enemies of our father deceased are the enemies of our House, which they would quickly destroy, if your majesty forsake us. Therefore we commit ourselves, and the protection of our rights, into your gracious arms, humbly beseeching your majesty so to look upon us, as upon those who have neither friends nor fortune, nor greater honour in this world, than to belong unto your royal blood. Unless you please to maintain that in us, God knoweth what may become of,

“ Your majesty's most humble nephews and servants,

“ CHARLES,

“ RUPERT,

MAURICE,

“ EDWARD,

“ Leyden, 12th December, 1632.¹

To the king.”

Charles replied in a letter to his eldest nephew, assuring him that all the love he had felt for his late father now descended to him, adding :—

“ I can truly say that I have lost more than you, for you have only changed your father, since I will now occupy the place of the deceased ; but I have irreparably lost a brother.”²

The King also deputed a formal embassy to wait upon his sister with his condolence. At its head was the Earl of Arun-

¹ *S. P. Germ. States.*

² MS. 575, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, *ut supra*, date 28th Dec.

del, selected on account of his former intimate association with Elizabeth, when he conducted her into Germany; and with him was joined Sir Robert Anstruther, the experienced diplomatist who was appointed to consult about the state of her affairs.¹ They were to offer renewed assurances of the King's desire to see her in England, either with or without her children, or with any number of them she might choose to bring.²

The sincerity of King Charles's invitation is proved by the preparations made for his sister. A contemporary writes:—

“In case the queen do come for England, I hear her lodging appointed in court is the cockpit at Whitehall, where she lay when she was a maid, and in the country assigned her his majesty's house at Eltham.”³

A memorandum in Secretary Coke's handwriting still exists, in reference to the needful provisions for the Queen's voyage. The ships, with their furnishing, including one meant expressly for the children, the place of landing in England, the route to London, place of meeting with the King, etc., were all pre-arranged with accuracy and minuteness.⁴

The Earl Marshal Arundel, with Anstruther and Lord Goring, and a train of 150 persons, arrived in Holland on the 2nd of January, 1633, and, though it was late in the evening, they hastened privately to the Hague, and were admitted to an audience with the Queen of Bohemia.⁵ She welcomed them with cordiality, and struggled, with some success, to keep up the semblance of composure and cheerfulness. The white robes which were the garb of earliest widowhood were put off, and the deep mourning dress was assumed, which she never afterwards laid aside.

Those around her spoke of the comfort she had derived from the sympathies of her friends.⁶ One of her faithful servants writes:—

“Her majesty, the most afflicted woman, and yet the greater for her trials, hath passed through fire and water, sighs and tears, though not without some marks of her agony. The first that came in to her relief was the excellent Prince of Orange, no worse a comforter of ladies than conqueror of his enemies. The next were the States, firm and open in their affections; but the next, under God, was our royal sovereign, who exceeded in all demonstrations of love. Sir Francis Nethersole brought it over in haste, my lord marshal in solemnity, and Sir Robert Anstruther in all sincerity. Though her heart before was petrified with grief, yet these cordials have

¹ Instructions to Arundel, 26th Dec. 1632, *S. P. Holland*; Howard's "Anecdotes of Howard Family," p. 70.

² "Court and Times of Charles I." vol. ii. p. 218. The King's ready affection on this occasion is warmly eulogised in a panegyric upon him by Sir H. Wotton, printed in "Reliquiæ Wottonianæ," p. 156.

³ Harl. MS. 7000, date 3rd Jan.

⁴ Memo. about transportation of Queen of Bohemia, Jan. 1633. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Arundel's and Anstruther's Despatches, 3rd Jan. 1633, *ibid*.

⁶ *Ibid*. 11th Jan.; Rusdorf to O'Neal, March, 1633.

made it supple, and not unwilling to be preserved, for the preservation of her children."¹

Elizabeth touchingly described her state of feeling in a confidential letter to her old friend, Sir T. Roe.²

"Though I make a good show in company," she wrote, "yet I can never have any more contentment in this world, for God knows I had none but that which I took in his company, and he did the same in mine; for since he went from hence, he never failed writing to me twice a-week, and ever wished either me with him, or he with me."

Concerning the proposed visit to England, Goring wrote:—

"'Tis now concluded openly, what was before resolved privately, that this good Queen of Bohemia comes not at this present: she vows she hath not been dissuaded by any, but that her present sad condition, outward and inward, the affairs of Germany as they now stand, and what the German princes now on foot may think of this her so sudden departure—whereby they may conceive she abandons the cause—hath only caused this adjournment of her passage into England to a more convenient time, which when that will be, God above knows; I fear I shall never. To all these, sir, my noble Lord of Arundel replied so like a faithful servant to our great blessed master, and with so much true wisdom and clear good nature for his sister, as more would have been too much; for though I should joy to venture my life and fortunes for her in the due time, yet would I not she were now pressed herein beyond the just limits." "Doubtless, there hath been much working here by these principal powers, to detain her majesty, till first somewhat be done from England, to assure Germany that the king our master intends more to the cause than only the care of his sister."³

Failing in the principal object of his mission, that of prevailing on the Queen to accompany him, Arundel proposed to return home, but Elizabeth urged him "exceeding earnestly" to stay and give her his assistance in the pressing matters of business, which claimed her earliest reviving energies.⁴ Her first efforts were directed to the arrangement of funeral honours for her deceased husband. His body had been embalmed, and still lay, with little state, in the house where he died, whence the Queen ordered it to be conveyed to the principal church in Frankenthal. She then consulted her brother on the choice of a sanctuary where remains so sacred to her could best be guarded from the affronts of the enemy; but there was for the present no suitable place to which to convey them, and they therefore remained in Frankenthal, to be transferred to the ancestral sepulchre on the first fitting occasion.⁵ Even in death, the unfortunate Prince was made the victim of mutable fortune. In 1635, when Frankenthal was on the point of

¹ Dineley to Roe, 24th Feb. 1633, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* Chas. I. Addenda, p. 448.

² 12th April, 1633, *S. P. Dom.*

³ Goring to Coke, 5th Jan. 1633, *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ Arundel's Desp. Jan. 1633, *ibid.*

⁵ *S. P. Germ. States*, Dec. 1632, and instructions to Curtius, Feb. 1633.

falling into the hands of the enemy, the brother of Frederic appealed to the Queen to know what was to be done with his body. She suggested its removal to Sedan; and in spite of the opposition of some adherents of the House, who were reluctant that the Prince's remains should seek shelter on French ground, the urgency of Elizabeth about their safety prevailed, and after performing this last journey, they were lodged in the home of his early boyhood.¹

Pecuniary affairs came next into consideration. The prudence with which, before leaving the Hague, Frederic had arranged and inventoried his personal property,—even including his cabinet of curiosities, pictures, medals, and antiquities, etc.—rendered the task comparatively easy.² In spite of his encroachments (for the building at Rhenen and his journey to the Swedish camp) upon the small fortunes which he had reserved for his children from the sale of Lixheim, there was left a sum, amounting to 300,000 francs, one half of which was deposited in various banks in Holland, the other lent on pledge for jewels left in bond by the Duke of Buckingham. Large sums were owing to him by the King of France, but these were little better than paper debts, as it was impossible to obtain their discharge.³

The Queen's affairs were not so easily adjusted. The income of 6,000*l.* a year allowed to her husband from England had been chiefly appropriated to the support of the nursery establishment at Leyden, and of the agents who were obliged to be maintained in foreign countries. Neither of these sources of expense ceased with his death, and it was therefore urged that unless this income were continued to the Queen, she would be involved in endless difficulty, more especially as the English pensions due to her and her children were nearly 32,000*l.* in arrears, and she was deeply involved in debt.⁴

The failure of Burlamachi, the merchant through whom the moneys of the Queen were received, added to the difficulties. Elizabeth herself was no loser, as the English merchants at Delft, with whom her credit was unbounded, had caused his arrears to her to be paid; they, in their distress, applied to her, and she wrote to the King requesting his kind interference to prevent their suffering loss on her account.⁵ Her business was now transferred into the hands of her agent in England, Sir Abraham Williams; King Charles graciously awarded to her her husband's income, and ordered, that as the clergy subsidies upon which it had formerly been made payable were almost exhausted,

¹ "Rusdorf, *Epistolæ*," vol. ii. p. 129.

² The only goods he took with him, were, his wearing apparel, a writing-table, eight packages of books, and one of maps of the country, two portraits, and a dinner-service of pewter, marked with the letters J. R.—List of the King of Bohemia's goods, April, 1633, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ List of debts of King of Bohemia, 4th Jan. 1633, *ibid.*

⁴ 18th Feb. 1633, *ibid.*

⁵ 29th April, 1633, *ibid.*

it should be paid out of the customs.¹ The annual sums with which Charles now stood chargeable on behalf of his sister, and which, as long as he was able to do it, he paid with punctuality, were as follows :—

	£
For the queen, 1,500 <i>l.</i> per month	18,000
Ditto for wood, charcoal, beer, and liveries	1,150
Pension to Prince Charles Louis	2,000
Ditto to Prince Rupert	300
Ditto to Princess Elizabeth	300
Total	£21,750

This amount may be considered equivalent to about 60,000*l.* of our present money, and besides this, the King frequently discharged any extraordinary expenses that occurred.² Elizabeth had great hope of recovering the revenues of her long-sequestered dower-lands. The citizens of Frankenthal, whose allegiance to her had never swerved, even in the most trying circumstances, were longing once more to acknowledge her as their liege lady; and Oxenstiern declared that he would omit nothing that could prove his respect for the Queen of Bohemia.³

Far more important to Elizabeth than the settlement of her private affairs was the investment of her eldest son, Charles Louis—who now assumed the title of Elector Palatine—with the estates and honours of his ancestors. Charles I. proposed sending Sir Henry Vane to the Emperor, to procure the recognition of the young Prince; but to this Elizabeth strongly objected, on the ground that her son's estates had just been won back at the point of the sword, and she would not risk them to the fate of Imperial treaties.⁴ As the young Elector was still in his minority, it was necessary to provide an Administrator for the Palatinate; and by the laws of the Empire, the office devolved upon Louis Philip, Duke of Simmern, younger brother of the late King Frederic. He at first shrank from a post so onerous, but his acceptance of it was of the greatest importance, as, in case of his refusal, it must have been committed to the Roman Catholic Duke of Neuburg. The entreaties of Elizabeth, the gifts and courtesies of Charles I., and the commands of his mother, the old Electress Palatine, who conjured him by his love for her never to forsake the cause of "so good a woman" as the Queen of Bohemia, at length prevailed, and he accepted the offered dignity.⁵

At the dictation of the Queen, Rusdorf prepared an eloquent

¹ Sir Abraham Williams' Account, Audit Office, Declared Accounts.

² Demand for monies for Queen of Bohemia, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ *Ibid.* 27th April, Curtius's Desp. 5th Feb.

⁴ Nethersole to Charles I. 6th Dec. 1632, *ibid.*

⁵ Curtius's Desp. Jan. 1633, Instructions to Honeywood and Peblitz, Dec. 1632, *ibid.*

harangue to be delivered to the States-General, in which Elizabeth made a feeling statement of her desolate condition, and that of her children: she expressed, with much confidence, her reliance on the countenance and support of the States, resting her hopes on the friendship they had hitherto shown her, and on the recommendation of the late King, her husband. Nor did she forget to thank them for having anticipated her wishes by sending Ambassadors into England and Germany, to ask the succour of which she so much stood in need.¹

The King of France sent her a courteous letter of sympathy and promises of assistance;² and Oxenstiern, now the director of Swedish policy, on behalf of the Queen-regent, Eleanora of Brandenburg, and her young daughter, the celebrated Queen Christina, responded to an application from Elizabeth by assurances that he would act precisely as his lamented master purposed to have done, in the plenary restitution of the Palatinate.³ An assembly of Protestant Princes was convened at Heilbronn; Sir Robert Anstruther attended on the part of the Queen of Bohemia. Her instructions to him were definite and luminous, though modestly given by way of information rather than advice. Referring to the two "parties" in Germany, the Romanist and the Protestant—the former headed by the Princes of the House of Austria and the members of the League—the latter, by the Protestant Princes, including the three secular Electors of Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate,—she said that she doubted not Brandenburg's recognition of her son's rights, but was not equally sure of the Duke of Saxony, and therefore recommended that he should be courted, and have the leadership of the Protestant party offered to him, in order to secure his adherence. As to the other party, though the death of Frederic removed many difficulties, his children being neither pretenders to his Crown nor included in his ban, Elizabeth urged that no overtures of peace should be made to the House of Austria, nor any terms accepted from them that did not include the complete restitution of her son to his ancestral rights.⁴

There were present at the assembly the Chancellor of Sweden and, personally or by deputy, most of the Princes forming the Protestant Union; also the ambassadors of England, Holland, and

¹ Busdorff's propositions, *S. P. Holland*, 23rd Dec.; Merc. Franç. p. 427.

² Harl. MS. 7010, f. 207 b. [The King of Poland also sent condolences. His letter and Elizabeth's answer are amongst the MSS. of Earl Cowper. The King addresses her as cousin and Electress and speaks of Frederic only as Prince Palatine of the Rhine; but Elizabeth addresses him in reply as "brother and cousin," and alludes to her husband as the late King of Bohemia of glorious memory.—See Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the Coke MSS. ii. 2.]

³ Oxenstiern to Elizabeth, 8th Jan. 1633, *S. P. Holland*; Anstruther to Coke, 7th Feb., Harl. MS. 7010, f. 219 b.

⁴ Queen of Bohemia's Memorial, Feb. 1633, *S. P. Germ. States*.

Denmark. The meeting was presided over by the English Ambassador, as representative of the youthful Palatine, and the Princes signed a resolution not to dissolve their Union till all Protestant Electors and Princes were restored; the Chancellor of Sweden being requested to undertake the general direction of the war.¹

At the same juncture, Heidelberg was surrendered, and Oxenstiern agreed with the Administrator of the Palatinate to restore the whole inheritance (with the exception of Mannheim), on condition of its being kept in a state of defence till the end of the war; the free exercise of Lutheranism allowed; a league offensive and defensive entered into with Sweden; and the sum of 6,000 rix-dollars paid for expenses. These terms could not be accepted without the co-operation of England, as it was impossible to obtain the needful sum from the war and pestilence-scourged Palatinate. The Administrator pledged himself to furnish half the amount if the King of England would provide, not only the other half, but also money for the defence of the country, that is, for repairing the fortifications when needful, and keeping up the troops already on foot.²

The Queen sent Kōlb, one of her most trusty German counsellors, and her faithful Nethersole, to press these points upon the attention of her royal brother. The tardiness of proceedings in England much annoyed her; and she complained of it to her trusty friends, Roe and Nethersole. They concurred in the opinion that it was necessary to act whilst the memory of Swedish victories was yet fresh, and not to allow Austrian flattery or Spanish gold to mar the general cause.³ But Roe was out of office, and could do nothing more than send to the Queen long and judicious letters of advice; Nethersole proceeded to his business with an earnestness that had nearly proved destructive to him. The memorial which he was deputed to present on the part of his royal mistress, embodied her earnest desire for a general contribution in England in aid of her cause; representing that the necessity of affairs in Germany required all its Princes to be in arms, and that without considerable resources the young Elector could not hope to raise the army which was so essential to his safety and dignity. She ventured to calculate on the readiness of the English people to submit to the tax, and anticipated all objections by a stipulation that the money thus raised should not be appropriated to any other use, nor be regarded as a precedent. The Queen hinted that the order for this collection was confidently expected by her friends abroad, and that it would afford

¹ Articles of Assembly at Heilbronn, 18mo, Paris, 1633.

² *S. P. Germ. States*, 14th April; Coke to Queen of Bohemia, 22nd May *ibid.*; Wotton's Letters to Bacon, p. 95.

³ [See Roe's letter of 21st Feb. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* Charles I. Addenda, p. 449.]

an occasion to illustrate the benevolence both of the King and his subjects.

Charles assented to the wishes of his sister, and Nethersole drew out the draft of a circular letter to be issued in his name to the magistrates of the different counties. In his zeal to promote the success of the scheme, Nethersole suggested, by way of giving security for the legitimate appropriation of the collection, that Sir Abraham Williams, the Queen's known agent in England, should subscribe the circular letters, and that the money should be paid to two treasurers, one appointed by King Charles, the other by the Queen of Bohemia. Meanwhile, orders were given for the payment of the sum required to redeem the Low Palatinate.¹

The King refused to give any pledge in his circulars about the calling of a Parliament; consequently, the people, who ardently desired it, and feared that it might be retarded by their voluntary contributions, did not come forward with the hoped-for liberality. Nethersole, therefore, formed a plan of appealing to them in the name of the Queen of Bohemia alone; and, aware that aid to be effectual must be immediate, proposed to raise money beforehand on the strength of this scheme; but the King called it a mere chimera, and denounced it as rash and extravagant. The Secretary of State thus wrote to the ambassador at the Hague, in order that Elizabeth might be duly informed of Nethersole's proceedings :—

“He took upon him the boldness, out of zeal (as I believe), mixed with some other humours, to offer to his majesty a proposition that, without using his majesty's name, or power, or any engagement of his majesty or the state, to raise the sum of 30,000*l.* for the service of the queen his mistress, and to repay it by a contribution to be levied amongst the subjects, only in the name and by the respect borne to the queen his mistress, and her cause. With this plausible pretence, he moved the Lord Craven, who showed a great forwardness, if his engagement might have any assurance to build upon. By the Lord Craven's name, he engaged Sir William Curtius, who will be ready to give the bills of exchange upon assurance of repayment, which the Lord Craven not answering so fully as Sir Francis did desire, he would needs apprehend that the Lord Goring had done some ill office in this business; and to that end, writ him idle letters, whereby he charged him with forgetting his duty to the king, and his love to the queen; but expressed not wherein. This so nettled the Lord Goring, that he appealed to the king and got the examination to be referred to the council board.”²

At the board, Nethersole comported himself with a rashness and irritability that led him further into trouble. He was in an ill mood to demean himself with the respect due to the august assembly. In the first instance, he refused to kneel,

¹ Clarendon State Papers, vol. i. pp. 57-58; Charles I. and Coke to Queen of Bohemia, 21st, 22nd May, 1633, Dineley to Roe, 15th May, *S. P. Dom.*

² *S. P. Holland*, June. See also Cottington to Vane, 3rd June, *S. P. Dom.* and many other letters in June, 1633, *ibid.*

saying that his position as the Queen of Bohemia's servant rendered submissive acts improper, and that she had forbidden any such; and when sentence was given against him, and in favour of Lord Goring, he committed the further imprudence of writing an angry letter to the King, condemnatory of the council's proceedings.¹ Charles was highly offended, but as Nethersole was his sister's servant, he did not choose to punish him without her leave, and therefore simply requested her to put the conduct of her affairs in England into hands more steady and discreet.² The Queen expressed her sincere regret at what had occurred, but pleaded earnestly with the King in favour of her servant; she wrote also to Nethersole, begging him, for her sake, to suppress his angry feelings, and to make the proper submission to the council. He accordingly did so, expressed his gratitude for the favourable manner in which the King, at the intercession of his mistress, had dealt with him, and was pardoned, though with the penalty of deprivation of his office.³ This was a great inconvenience, as it transpired, in the course of the proceedings, that there were state secrets which Elizabeth had confided to Nethersole, and which he neither could nor would reveal.⁴

Sir John Dineley, for some time tutor of the young Elector, and recently employed as the secretary of Elizabeth, was sent temporarily to supply the place of Nethersole, who made disinterested efforts to procure his own dismissal from her service, on the ground that, owing to the prejudice with which he was regarded, he could no longer benefit her, and that, should she recall him to the Hague and then adopt any counsel disapproved in England, it would be believed to be done by his influence, and she would be so urged to discard him that she would hardly be able to refuse. He entreated her, as the King would not be disabused of his false impressions, not to let the sweetness of her temper bias her better judgment, and assured her that he could despise the contempt and glory in the disgrace if incurred in her service.⁵ But she persisted in desiring his continuance as her agent; and he still maintained an active correspondence with her, and was assiduous in his private exertions on her behalf. Sir Thomas Roe, in a letter to the Queen, declared that she did herself honour by her firmness in supporting her servant;

¹ Privy Council Records, 31st July, 1633, Council Office; Clar. State Papers, vol. i. p. 63.

² Coke to Boswell, 3rd July, *S. P. Holland*.

³ Privy Council Records, *ut supra*; Nethersole to Charles I. 6th June, *S. P. Dom.*; Boswell to Coke, 19th July, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Nethersole to Secretary, 9th June, *S. P. Dom.*; notes of proceedings, 14th June, *ibid.* Privy Council Records, *ut supra*; Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 20th June, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ Dineley to Nethersole, 19th Oct. *ibid.*; Nethersole to Queen of Bohemia, Nov. 1633, *ibid.* [But calendared under 1634 (4th Jan.).]

and as to the offence committed by Nethersole, he could not but think that envy had much to do with it. He intimated a wish that the Queen would come over to England, and begged her to be cautious how she refused another invitation, as nothing could so effectually serve her cause as personal intercourse with the King. He argued that she had tried absence without effect, and that her presence would revive love, quell opposition, and gain her an interest with those in power; but if she could not come, he advised her not to show any impatience at the tardiness of her affairs in England, and assured her of the sincere regard, not only of the King, but of Queen Henrietta Maria.¹

Elizabeth did not at present desire to visit England, lest it should appear as though business and not affection prompted the journey; and she was also much occupied in the affairs of her children. Early in spring she obtained the consent of the King of England and the Duke of Simmern for the young Elector to accompany the Prince of Orange into the field. "His mind and his body is so fit to go," she writes, "as I have given him leave." "I think he cannot too soon be a soldier in this active time." Charles I. complimented his nephew by bestowing on him his father's place in the Order of the Garter. The robes and jewels were conveyed to the Hague by Somerset herald, and a form of ceremonial was drawn out and presented to Elizabeth for approval. She decided that the forms observed should be on the model of those adopted with the Prince of Orange, who had received the Garter at her request. Accordingly, the heralds followed the young Prince into Flanders, and there, in due state, performed the ceremony.²

Young Rupert, though only a boy of thirteen, already showed so restless a desire to take up arms, that the Queen permitted him to follow his brother to the field, and the Prince of Orange received and treated the fatherless boys with as much tenderness as though they had been his own children. They distinguished themselves throughout the campaign by such "ingenuous and manly carriage," that they gained respect beyond their years, and were even allowed to take an occasional part in active service.³

Elizabeth was proud of their bravery, and when the Administrator,—who was now settled in Heidelberg,—sent to request her permission for his nephew, the Elector, to join him there, and by this means become known to his subjects, she gladly consented,⁴ and applied to her brother for his sanction,

¹ Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 20th June, 1633, and 6th Feb. 1634, *S. P. Dom.*

² *S. P. Germ. States*, 24th June and 12th Aug.; Privy Council Orders, June, 1633; Boswell to De Vic, 22nd Aug. *S. P. Holland.*

³ Honeywood's Despatch, 26th May, 1633, *S. P. Germ. States*; Boswell to De Vic, 2nd May, Harl. MS. 7000.

⁴ Boswell's Desp. 2nd Dec. 1633, *S. P. Holland.*

suggesting that it would be most advantageous if her son could go the following spring, at the head of a small army, by the aid of which he would, in all probability, regain most of the High Palatinate. Neumarkt had just surrendered to the Swedish general, and needed only 3,000*l.*, for which Elizabeth also petitioned, to garrison and fortify it, and it would at once be placed in her son's hands.¹

The campaign, on the whole, had been advantageous to the Protestant party. Elizabeth wrote to congratulate Oxenstiern, and at the same time to warn him to take heed lest a cold neutrality should take the place of the active co-operation which they had a right to expect in certain quarters.² She feared especially that the King of France, owing to his recent advances to the Duke of Bavaria, was determined not to give the title of Elector to the Palatine Prince, Charles Louis;³ and the King of Denmark did not take so prominent a part as was hoped.⁴ The latter had suffered a severe family bereavement: his youngest son Ulric, a promising youth, who had shown great ardour in the cause of Elizabeth, was murdered in Silesia while walking with Piccolomini by one of the general's men; but the circumstances which led to the perpetration of this dark deed remain unknown.⁵ Elizabeth thus mentions the subject in a letter to Roe:—

“I am sure you are sorry for my poor cousin, the Duke Ulric's death: I have lost in him a faithful loving kinsman. My uncle was at the first much moved at the news; but since, I see he doth not resent it as so brave a son deserved; but as he is my uncle, I will spare to speak what I think. For myself, I was very, very much afflicted for him, seeing my misfortunes have no end, but I must still lose my best kindred and friends.”⁶

Both the Queen and her agents in England had much need for patience. Charles was irresolute: he questioned the trustworthiness of the Duke of Simmern, who would be the recipient of the moneys solicited; and when assured by his sister that the Duke was most worthy of confidence, and had been proved by the Princes of the Union to be a strict accountant, he intimated that he might send his nephew, with an army, at some future time; but meanwhile took no steps to raise the necessary funds.⁷ Elizabeth proposed to meet the emergency by levying two regiments herself, with the remainder of the sum given by the States-

¹ Queen of Bohemia's instructions to Dineley, 14th Sept. 10th Oct. *S. P. Germ. States.*

² Elizabeth to Oxenstiern, MS. Chur. Pfalz-Engelland, U. 39, No. 31, in the Royal Library, Munich, Cooper's Appendix C. p. 58.

³ Boswell to Angier, 28th March, 1633, Harl. MS. 7001; T. Maurice to Dineley, 6th Aug. *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ Charles I. to King of Denmark, 15th Aug. 1633, *S. P. Denmark.*

⁵ Dineley to Roe, 18th Sept. *S. P. Dom.*

⁶ *S. P. Dom.* 10th Oct. 1633.

⁷ Elizabeth to Dineley, 16th Oct. *S. P. Germ. States*; Dineley to Nethersole, 19th Oct., 19th Nov., 1633, *S. P. Dom.*; T. Maurice to same, *S. P. Holland.*

General for the war, part of which only was yet employed; but this was not considered sufficient without help from England.¹ Dineley, in a letter to Roe, declares that he is likely to be sent away empty, not for want of affection but of money; and that, if the country so cheaply restored be lost again, the second devil will be worse than the first, and not so easily conjured out.²

Nethersole was more irritated and less prudent. Instead of venting his indignation in the friendly ear of Sir Thomas Roe, he wrote an angry letter to Secretary Coke, declaring that the Palatinate had been lost in the first instance by his negligence, and that of his former master, King James, and that if Charles did not at once aid the Queen of Bohemia and her children, he would be the cause of its being lost a second time.³ This letter came to the knowledge of the King: he was exceedingly displeased, and though he did not choose to arrest the offender, he placed him under guard in a private house, and ordered his papers to be seized. Still urged on by his impetuosity, Nethersole committed another and more flagrant offence, by escaping to the house of the Dutch Ambassador, and thence writing a long, though hurried letter to his royal mistress, assuring her that henceforth she might relinquish all hopes of aid from England, and sue to others for warmer charity than was to be found with her brother.⁴ He also sent her a copy of his letter to the Secretary, which had been the cause of the King's displeasure. His motive for seeking shelter with the Dutch ambassador seems to have been only the wish to secure an opportunity of writing fully and freely to his mistress. The next day he returned to his appointed residence, and was there met by a royal order for his committal to the Tower, whence he continued to write letters which, it was said, could only be excused by supposing them the offspring of a disordered brain.⁵

This movement caused great consternation to the Queen of Bohemia and her servants, which was not mitigated when they found that all Nethersole's letters and papers, including those of the Queen, had been read at the council-board. Roe and Dineley were alarmed lest expressions used by them should be misconstrued and bring them into trouble;⁶ but their apprehensions proved needless. Elizabeth wrote to the Earl of Arundel:—

“I am very sorry that Nethersole hath again so highly offended the king my dear brother. I can say nothing of his offence, because my brother hath not as yet been pleased to let me know the particulars; which he hath

¹ Dineley to Nethersole, 10th Nov. 1633, *S. P. Dom.*

² Dineley to Roe, 18th Sept., *ibid.*

³ Grisley to Puckering, 23rd Feb. 1634.

⁴ John Durie to Roe, 16th Jan. 1634, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ Privy Council Order, 2nd Jan. 1634; Coke to Boswell, 7th Jan. *S. P. Holland.*

⁶ Dineley's Desp. 8th Feb. 1634, *S. P. Dom.*

promised to do. Only I will say this, that I am confident he hath not offended out of any evil mind, but in his too hot zeal to the good of that cause which so nearly concerns my dear brother's honour and my good, which might make him to write so indiscreetly as Mr. Secretary Coke's letter saith he did. For I dare answer he is a right, true, and faithful servant of my dear brother and mine; for those that are so to the one, cannot but be so to the other. Therefore I entreat you to help me in the suit I make to the king my brother that he may be quickly released, and I will take order he shall no more trouble him there."

Referring to the seizure of the papers, she added:—

"As for my brother, if he at any time should have desired to have seen what I writ to Nethersole, or what private commands I did give him, I was very willing he should see all, as I had given Nethersole that charge that whenever my brother should command him to shew him any thing to him of my private or public commands, he should do it. For I do not desire to hide the least thought of my heart from my dear brother; but I own that this that the council hath done doth trouble me; I am confident you had not a hand in it, I know your mind to be too generous to do so—besides the honest affection you have ever borne me."¹

To Sir Thomas Roe the Queen wrote with her usual frankness:—

"I hope you do not wonder that I have not written to you by Sir William Boswell. There are already but too many of my letters seen by the council; they need no increase of them; for though I know and trust Sir William Boswell, like a true honest man, yet he is a servant, and must obey to deliver what he carries; this is enough of that, and you may easily guess what content I can receive by the usage of poor Nethersole, for nothing but for writing a private letter to Secretary Coke, where he desires him to beseech my brother to give Curtius a good despatch, that the king be not the second time accused for the loss of the Palatinate; these are the very words which are so heinously taken. I tell them to you, because I hear his offence is kept secret; but I pray do not say from whence you had them, for none knows that I know so much; howsoever, being my servant, they might have used him more gently. I am sure they would not have done it to any other foreign princess' servant, of [what] country soever."²

The testimonies in favour of Nethersole's honesty and zeal were universal, and the Queen would not abandon him.³ At her intercession he was permitted, after a few months, to remove to a house in the country, and there to remain, under guard and on parole, during the pleasure of the King; but Charles expressed himself as equally sorry and surprised that his sister did not regard one of the least of his faults as sufficient to merit all the punishment inflicted on him.⁴

In the autumn of 1633, the King paid Elizabeth the compliment of inviting her, in association with her son and the

¹ Addit. MS. 4163, f. 182, copy by Birch, ¼ Feb. 1634.

² *S. P. Holland*, ¼ March, 1634.

³ Coke to Boswell, Jan. 1634, *S. P. Holland*; Roe to Dineley, 6th Feb., *S. P. Dom.*; Boswell's Despatch, 6th Nov. 1633, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Privy Council Records, 31st May, 14th Sept., 25th Nov.

Prince of Orange, to stand sponsor for his son James. At her brother's suggestion, she requested the Duchess of Richmond to officiate as her proxy.¹

In the spring of 1634, the Queen sent Rusdorf to her uncle of Denmark to solicit the long-delayed payment of her grandmother's legacy. There was much underhand dealing at the Danish Court in reference to this legacy. The ready cash was all distributed before any agent arrived from England.² One of the daughters of the deceased Queen, who watched her in her last illness, was supposed to have stolen a valuable jewel, and, in order to avoid detection, to have burnt the Queen's jewel inventory; and the absence of so important a document occasioned great dissatisfaction among the other claimants.³ By degrees and with difficulty the necessary inventories were made out, and Avery, the English agent at Hamburg, who acted for the Queen of Bohemia, put in his claim for the amount due to the English branch of the family, which was stated to be 432,584 rix-dollars, equal to about 150,000*l.* sterling.⁴ The whole of this, by the cession of Charles I. to his sister, before mentioned,⁵ was her property; but instead of paying it over to her, the King of Denmark first endeavoured to shirk the affair altogether, by asserting that, as Queen Anne of Denmark, when married to James I., had received her dower from Denmark, she had no further claim on any inheritance.⁶ A reference to precedents confuted this argument: he then declared that the whole amount, and more, was due to him on account of sums lent to James I. in 1620, which sums he had himself borrowed from his mother,⁷ and that he should therefore retain the money in part payment.⁸ However just this might have been, as regards the portion due to Charles I., it could not certainly be considered so in reference to that belonging to the Queen of Bohemia. Charles sent the Earl of Leicester on a special mission to Denmark, with instructions to state that his portion of his grandmother's property had been assigned to his sister, before the receipt of any letters from the Danish King to make known his claims; which being done, could not be undone, and—

“we hope,” added King Charles, “our good uncle, in his royal justice and favour to our sister his niece, and her many distressed children, will not add

¹ Dineley to Nethersole, 19th Oct. and 10th Nov. 1633, *S. P. Dom*; Prince of Orange to Charles I., 20th Nov. *S. P. Holland*; Charles Louis to Charles I., 11th Dec. *S. P. Germ. States*; Coke to Boswell, 26th Oct. *S. P. Holland*.

² Avery's Desp. 18th July, 1632, *S. P. Denmark*.

³ Dineley to Nethersole, 1st Oct. 1632, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ *S. P. Denmark*, July and Aug. 1632; *S. P. Sweden*, 31st March; Sanderson's "Charles I." p. 191.

⁵ See p. 294, *supra*.

⁶ Remonstrance sent to Denmark, 16th Aug. 1632, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁷ See King of Denmark's Account of Monies, 26th Feb. 1627, *S. P. Denmark*.

⁸ Declaration and Information, *ibid.* 1631-32.

affliction to affliction, but rather give them help by his forwardness in this our gift, which we can no more revoke".¹

But the Danish King was firm in his resolution. He declared that he had been very ill-used by England; that the King had promised him 30,000*l.* a month, when he had engaged in war in 1626, and had never paid it; that of the other debt, he could obtain neither principal nor interest; and that he would not trust the King's promises. But if the Queen of Bohemia pleased, he would, on condition of her acquitting him of all claims on his mother's estate, hand over to her the obligations which he held from England for considerably more than this amount; and as she was so much beloved in her own country she might probably be able to procure their discharge, though he could not.²

Elizabeth hesitated at first to accept these terms, but as nothing better seemed to offer, she at length consented to the proposed arrangement, which would have been completed had not Anstruther injudiciously started doubts about the accuracy of the calculations of the English debt, which put an end to the transaction. The documents which Elizabeth thus failed to secure would, however, have proved only useless parchments, as her brother was never in a position to honour his bonds.³

On the return of Rusdorf from Denmark, the Queen sent him to Heidelberg to negotiate with the Administrator various minor points, the list of which, given in her instructions to him, shows the scope and extent of her personal supervision in all affairs, whether domestic or political. Her agent was to consult whether the funeral of her late husband could not now be performed with safety; to secure and inventory such jewels and money as he might have left at Heidelberg; to send the Queen several tuns of Rhenish wine for her own family and for presents to her friends; to reward the fidelity of her subjects at Frankenthal, by obtaining for them certain civic privileges; and also secretly to store a quantity of corn in the place, in case of any future contingency of siege; and to secure the Queen's full admission into her dower-lands. She also wished a person of rank and trustworthiness to be recommended to be always about the person of the young Elector, and an agent, who might be employed in her English affairs.⁴ Dineley, who best understood them, was now partially in disgrace, because he was suspected of influencing the Queen to support Nethersole;⁵ and Charles desired his Amba-

¹ Instructions to Earl of Leicester, 1632, Addit. MS. 4188.

² King of Denmark to Queen of Bohemia, 17th Oct. 1632, *S. P. Germ. States.*

³ Information of Danish Debt, 1632; Boswell's Desp. 20th Sept. 1633, *S. P. Holland; S. P. Denmark*, 31st Dec. 1633; *Eliz. Memoir*, 12th Feb. 1634.

⁴ Instruction de la Reine de B. pour le Sieur Rusdorf, printed in Cooper's Appendix, from the original at Munich Library; Rusdorf, *Consilia*, etc. vol. ii. p. 109.

⁵ Notwithstanding his protestations of innocence and his promises that he would in future use his influence with his mistress to forward the views of the English king, he was not allowed to return to England, even to transact some pecuniary matters.—Boswell's Desp. 20th April, 16th June.

sador in Holland, Sir William Boswell, to negotiate all matters between himself and his sister. Elizabeth was also very solicitous about the result of an assembly of German Princes, summoned at Frankfort by Chancellor Oxenstiern, to which her brother sent Sir Robert Anstruther as his representative, instead of Sir Thomas Roe, whose appointment she requested.¹

The Swedish council of regency were now anxious to recall their forces and to leave the course of affairs in Germany to work its own way. The Germans, jealous of the occupation of their territories by the Swedes, were willing to facilitate their departure;² but Oxenstiern saw that the miserable condition of the Palatinate would, for some years to come, render it incapable of supporting itself, and he sent his son, young Axel Oxenstiern, into England, to ascertain decisively what help was to be expected from that quarter. It was whispered that he was commissioned to propose a marriage between the young Queen of Sweden, then twelve years of age, and the eldest Prince Palatine, on condition that the English King would openly protect his nephew and give him a force of 10,000 men; but as this rumour is not authenticated by the original correspondence of the period, much reliance cannot be placed upon it.³

The young diplomatist passed first through the Hague, and was most cordially received by the Queen of Bohemia, who frankly acknowledged her many and great obligations to his father. At the Court of St. James's he met a less friendly reception. Charles I. declined, at present, to give any pledge of aid in men or money, though he renewed his assurances that this refusal augured no ill-will to his sister's cause,—which he was still resolved to defend to the uttermost,—but arose from his pecuniary embarrassments.⁴ He contrived to muster 100,000 rix-dollars, which he sent to pay the regiments in the Palatinate,⁵ and a present of silver plate, with a gold chain for the Administrator, to encourage him to perseverance in his difficult duties.⁶

The consequence of the inaction of England and the neutrality of Denmark was, that on the retirement of the Swedish troops to Mayence in Oct. 1634, the Palatinate remained open to the first Power that chose to come in, and that Power was France. Cardinal Richelieu had recently cemented an alliance with Holland,⁷ and was believed to have entered into a secret

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 10th March, 1634, *S. P. Dom.*

² Instructions for Dineley, 15th May, 1634, *S. P. Germ. States.* Treaty between Emperor and Elector of Saxony, 12th Nov.

³ "Gazettes de France," p. 158.

⁴ He offered a present of gilt plate to young Oxenstiern, who refused it, saying that he would not receive benefit himself from an embassy which had not advantaged those who sent him.—"Gazettes de France," p. 286.

⁵ Maurice to Boswell, 21st June, 1634, *S. P. Holland.*

⁶ Maurice to Nethersole, 14th Jan. 1635, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁷ *S. P. Holland*, April, 1634.

understanding with the Administrator of the Palatinate:¹ so that no sooner were the Swedish garrisons withdrawn, than those of France entered into Mannheim and many other towns; and though Heidelberg at first fell again into the hands of the enemy, it was rescued by the French, who declared that they held these places only till the rightful owners were prepared to maintain themselves unaided.²

Charles I. now became uneasy lest his sister, failing to obtain from England the succours for which she hoped, should throw herself into the arms of France. The Queen had no predisposition to this course; she clung to her own nation with all the tenacity of affection of which she was so susceptible, and declared that she deprecated falling into the hands of France as much as death itself.³ "I fear the physician as much as the disease," she says in a confidential letter, "for though the French have succoured Heidelberg, yet I cannot trust them as long as they call not my brother-in-law Administrator, nor my son Elector." Yet in England it was reported that the Queen and all her party were inclining towards France.

"I see that in England," she writes again, "we are all French, but I assure you there is no such thing; for my brother-in-law never meant to put himself in the French protection, neither did ever the Prince of Orange counsel it, but the contrary."⁴

Lord Arundel wrote to warn the Queen of what was reported about her, and to him she repeated the assurance of her strong preference to adhere to England, if she could only obtain efficient help.⁵

Charnacé, the French Resident at the Hague, took the opportunity of introducing the subject of the French alliance to the Queen, by presenting himself early at her drawing-room before the other guests arrived. He asked what news she had from England; to which she replied that the King her brother was expecting Ambassadors from France and Spain, and that he would accept those proposals which were most advantageous to herself and her children. Charnacé replied that it would all end in delays, and nothing would be done for her in England. Elizabeth told him he might be deceived, when the following conversation ensued:—

Ch. "Well, but suppose I be not, what will be the end? What will your majesty do?"

Q. "That which God and my friends shall advise me."

Ch. "Why, Madam, if you would seek to the king my master, you might have assistance or protection."

¹ Boswell's *Desp.* 27th Sept.

² *Ibid.* 6th Dec. 1634, *S. P. Holland*, 9th and 17th Nov., 6th Dec., Rusdorf's Letters, vol. ii. p. 112.

³ 2nd Dec. 1634; 26th Jan. 1635, *S. P. Holland*. ⁴ 11 Feb. 1635, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ Addit. MS. 4163, f. 182.

Q. "Since you speak of that, I will tell you my mind freely, because I take you to be my friend. The king my husband, before his death, sent to the king your master, and required his assistance, but was altogether neglected. Since his death, I wrote unto the king your master, as I did to all other princes, but to this day he never thought me worthy of an answer, either by letter or word of mouth, and I cannot bring my mind to seek to those where I am neglected. Besides, judge yourself, what small reason I have to trust in the king your master's help, so long as he denieth the unquestionable right and title to my son, and giveth it to our mortal enemy, an usurper."

Ch. "Why, what would you have the king to do? He cannot make an Elector?"

Q. "No, nor unmake him neither."

Ch. "Why, Madam, the king hath done no more than the king your brother, who gave him not the title of Elector till he sent him the order; or the Marquis of Brandenburg, who doth not give it yet."

After some further argument, tending to persuade the Queen to cling to France rather than to England, she added:—

"Believe me, neither fair means nor foul shall ever make me do any thing that shall give the least touch to the king my brother's honour; I will sooner see all my children lie dead before me rather than do it; and if any of them should be so degenerate to consent to any such thing, I will give them my curse."

The company, who were beginning to flock in, then put an end to the conversation.¹

The Queen was now in continual association with her elder children. Charles Louis, Rupert and Elizabeth were her frequent companions at the Hague, except when love of adventure led the boys to the standards of the Prince of Orange. The absence of the gossiping letters of Sir Dudley Carleton leaves a blank in the domestic details of Elizabeth's life: Boswell records little of her private movements. About this time he mentions her journeys to and from Rhenen; her visit to Sir James Sandiland, formerly her *maître d'hôtel*, on a christening occasion, when, in conjunction with her son, as representative of the King of England, she stood sponsor to his child;² and her attendance at a ballet performed by her sons in hunting characters, interspersed with many jests and buffooneries, a recreation which gave great affront to the English Puritans, who were accustomed to hold up Elizabeth's Court as a model of propriety, forgetting that poverty might have a large share in checking its festivity.³

The Queen's cheerful fortitude, in circumstances of great perplexity, called forth the surprise of those who surrounded her. One correspondent writes:—

"You have let me know the years of her adversity, which have been long and many; yet I dare assure you that what power soever they may have over her body, they have had none over the magnanimity of her mind, which is

¹ Boswell to Charles I. 29th March, 1635, *S. P. Holland*.

² Boswell's *Desp.* 21st and 28th Aug., 9th and 11th Sept., 8th Nov. 1634, *ibid.*

³ *S. P. Germ. States*, 2nd Feb. 1635; "Gazettes de France," p. 96.

still the same, undaunted and unshaken as the hope by which she lived was rooted in heaven and not in earth."¹

"I do often look upon her with wonder," writes Dineley to Sir T. Roe.² "when I see how inflexible she is to the blows of time, and conclude that she hath an antidote in her heart against all the poison of her enemies. Though all goes backward in Germany, yet she looketh forward to another country, where she is at rest. Here she liveth for her children's sake, in whom is all her joy; although I remember that when you passed once by Leyden, the sight of them made your eyes to water. I hope God hath filled her quiver so full of shafts rather to gall her enemies than pierce her heart, and increase her comfort not her sorrow; she purposeth to shoot them abroad when they are well headed and (fit) for use; meantime they take a seasoning and hardening here, in these sober wars, that they might not startle at them in their own country. God's blessing be ever with them, for they must support their House, since their House cannot support them."

Elizabeth had long been engaged in negotiations with the English Court, in reference to sending her son into Germany; but Charles I., finding no means at hand to send him thither in becoming style, had started obstacles: he urged that his going would be useless, because a boy-Prince, with a small army, could never hope to stem the torrent of a war which had so long resisted the efforts of two English Kings; and inexpedient, because acts of hostility against the Emperor, committed whilst a minor, would embarrass his future restoration.³ On the other hand, his uncle, the Administrator, represented that by the laws of the Empire he ought to be under the guidance of his governor; and that his subjects repined at his absence.⁴ His mother, though regretting that she could not obtain an army for him, therefore resolved on sending him with such a retinue as would secure his safety.⁵ The opposition of England, however, and the ill success of the Protestant cause in Germany induced her to defer her purpose.

In spite of the Queen's sanguine temperament, constant wearing anxiety told its tale upon her constitution, and in the spring of 1635, she had violent attacks of intermittent fever or tertiary ague, which, lasting many weeks, greatly reduced her strength and left her thin and pale.⁶ An English lady at the Hague thus writes to Elizabeth's friend, Lady Cornwallis:—

"I was very lately by her majesty the Queen of Bohemia, who hath been very sick of an ague. She was pleased to tell me she had been that day six weeks sick that I was with her majesty, and that in the time, she had twenty-

¹ R. Stoner to Sir S. D'Ewes, 2nd Feb. 1636.

² 14th Feb. 1635, *S. P. Dom.*

³ Coke to Boswell, 7th Jan. 1634, *S. P. Holland*. [He writes with the utmost seriousness of the immense efforts made by England.]

⁴ Coke and Rusdorf to Queen of Bohemia, 26th Feb. 21st April, 1634, *S. P. Germ. States*; Duke of Simmern to Charles I. 7th June; Rusdorf's Letters to Charles Louis, 29th April, 26th, 31st May, Sylburgius, pp. 100-2; Coke to Boswell, 8th Oct., *S. P. Holland*.

⁵ Bouillon to de Vic, 19th June, Harl. MS. 7000, f. 60; Charles Louis to Charles I. 12th July, *S. P. Germ. States*; July, 1634; Instructions to Rusdorf, *ut supra*.

⁶ Boswell's Desp. 1st and 11th May, *S. P. Holland*.

three fits ; first she was so extreme ill that every fit held her majesty twelve hours long. Her majesty told me she was so weak that she was not able to stand upon her legs ; but now, praised be God ! she begins to mend finely."¹

Charles I., sympathising with his sister's affliction, sent Henry Murray, one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, to condole with her.² Chancellor Oxenstiern arrived about this time at the Hague with a long train of officers and attendants, to pay his respects to the Queen, and to consult with her upon Palatinate affairs.³ Rising above the sense of physical debility, Elizabeth resolved to see and converse with her visitor, and reclining on the bed which she was not yet able to quit, she gave him a private audience of nearly three hours ; yet such were the fascinations of his conversation, and the interest of the subjects under discussion, that she felt no weariness. Former days were talked over—the gallantry and misfortunes of the brave Gustavus ; his love to herself and her house ; the virtues and untimely death of her husband ; and the importance of now making a final stand against the reviving power of Austria. Oxenstiern assured her that, next to the good of Sweden, that of the Palatinate lay nearest to his heart, because he was sure of the entire "justice of the cause".⁴ He departed shortly after, leaving behind him the character of the most accomplished statesman that had ever visited the Low Countries.

About this time, the Queen became associated with another character of historic note,—William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Writing to Sir T. Roe,⁵ she says :—

"For my lord of Canterbury, I am glad you commend him so much, for there are but a few that do it. I have been willing enough to enter into correspondence with him, since he was archbishop, but you know I do not love to begin ; he hath indeed sent me sometimes a cold compliment, and I have answered it in the same kind. I have now written to him, at the entreaty of the administrator, in the behalf of the poor preachers of the Palatinate, by this honest man, one of them, who will deliver you this letter ; I have also recommended a slight business to him about two preachers, but I have not done it with my own hand ; I will see how he takes it, and either end or continue my correspondence as he will answer me."

In her letter to the Archbishop, the Queen suggested a contribution for the distressed ministers of the Palatinate ; Laud responded to her request, and prevailed on the King to order a general collection on their behalf.⁶ Elizabeth professed herself

¹ Cornwallis Letters, p. 275.

² Dineley's Desp. 16th June, *S. P. Dom.* ; Cornwallis Letters, p. 273 ; Stratford Despatches, vol. i. p. 435.

³ Boswell's Desp. 18th April, *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ Boswell's Desp. 2nd and 29th May, 1635, *ibid.* ; Dineley to Roe, 16th June, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ 11th Feb. 1635, *ibid.*

⁶ *Fœdera*, vol. viii. pt. 3, p. 124. A similar collection had already taken place, at Elizabeth's request, in 1628 and 1629. See lists under dates 8th and 31st Dec. 1628, *S. P. Dom.* See also Calendar, *ibid.* for 1629-30.

extremely beholden to him, and hoped that they should continue the correspondence and be very great friends;¹ she wrote soon afterwards to congratulate him on his admission into the privy council,² and henceforward maintained frequent communication with him.

The young Elector was now approaching the age of eighteen, when, by the laws of the Empire, he would assume the administration of his estates; and his mother took the resolution of sending him over into England to plead his own cause with King Charles. She consulted no one and did not even reveal her plan to the English Ambassador, Boswell, fearing lest it might be thwarted;³ but wrote at once to announce that, being now of age, the Elector wished his first act to be a visit of thanks to his uncle of England, and was coming over accordingly.⁴

The young Prince was met at Rochester and Gravesend by nobles deputed by the King and Queen, lodged at Whitehall, with an allowance of 50*l.* a day, and admitted to familiar intercourse with the royal family; his pliant disposition and subserviency to his uncle's wishes soon raised him into high favour.⁵ The people welcomed with exultation the son of their favourite Elizabeth, and for her sake as well as his own, the nobles vied with each other in paying him civilities.⁶ He acquitted himself with more grace than his mother had given him credit for.

"For Charles," she wrote to Sir H. Vane, "I pray let him have your best counsel and advice, both for his own carriage as for his affairs. He is young (*et fort nouveau*), so as he will no doubt commit many errors, which your good counsel may hinder him from. I fear damnably how he will do with your ladies, for he is a very ill courtier; therefore, I pray, desire them not to laugh too much at him, but be merciful to him."⁷

The favourable reception given to Charles Louis prompted Elizabeth to send over her second son, Rupert, "*Robert le diable*," as she jocosely termed him; whose heedless impetuosity and innate bravery were early developed, and rendered him at once a favourite with his mother, and the object of her constant anxiety. She sent him, like his brother, without invitation or ceremony. Writing to Sir H. Vane, to express her gratitude for the King's kindly attentions to her elder son, Elizabeth adds, in reference to Rupert,—

"I fear that *mon envoyé* will not make altogether so many compliments as my lord of Carlisle doth; yet I hope for blood sake he will be welcome,

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 1st April, 1635, *S. P. Dom.*

² Elizabeth to Laud, 20th April, 1635, *ibid.*

³ Boswell's Desp. 29th Sept. 1635, *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ Elizabeth to Laud, 1st Oct. *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ Cornwallis Letters, p. 280; Clarendon Papers, vol. i. p. 391; Strafford Despatches, vol. i. p. 489; Laud and Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 20th Jan., 1st May, 1636, *S. P. Dom.*

⁶ Rusdorf, Epist. etc. p. 404.

⁷ 18th Oct. 1635, *S. P. Dom.*

though I believe he will not much trouble the ladies with courting them, nor be thought a very *beau garçon*, which you slander his brother with, for I fear it is but a slander what you say of him, and to shew you have not forgot to be a courtier. . . . Give your good counsel to Rupert, for he is still a little giddy, though not so much as he has been. I pray tell him when he doth ill, for he is good-natured enough, but doth not always think of what he should do."¹

Hardly, however, had the wild young Prince reached England, before his mother had cause to repent his departure. His active spirit ill brooked idleness, and as he had no regular occupation, he became restless. The Queen received a gentle hint from one of her friends that it would be advisable to recall him; she wrote to that effect, but yielded to the King's request that he might remain a little longer.² Led away by his love of adventure, the fitful Rupert formed the idea of heading a merchant squadron, to be sent out to colonise the Island of Madagascar, of which he was then to be governor! This hare-brained scheme took strong hold of his imagination. One who knew him well says, "whatsoever he wills, he wills vehemently";³ in vain did Counsellor Rusdorf remonstrate—urging his position as a German Prince, the opening for him to win fame in fighting against his ancestral enemies, and the grief he would cause his mother and sisters and his aged grandmother, who all opposed the scheme. The youth listened in silence and agitation; but the streets of London were ringing with popular ballads about the brave Prince Rupert and his Madagascar expedition, and, enthusiasm prevailing over reason and affection, he declared his resolution to be unmoved.⁴

To gratify his nephew's whim, King Charles sent a proposition in writing to the East India Company in reference to his intended voyage, requesting their advice and assistance. The Company replied that, being in heavy debt, they could not take any part in the affair, though they had no intention of opposing it, and were inclined to regard it as an honourable enterprise. A private merchant, however, told Sir T. Roe that though it was a gallant design, it was one on which *he* would not venture a younger son; and Roe, as a faithful servant of the Queen of Bohemia, felt it his duty to warn her that, in his opinion, the scheme was absurd and impossible.⁵ Elizabeth fully agreed with him.

"As for Rupert's romance of Madagascar," she writes, "it sounds like one of Don Quixote's conquests, where he promised his trusty squire to make him king of an island. I heard of it some fourteen days ago, and thereupon I writ a letter to him to divert him from it, as a thing neither feasible, safe,

¹ 2nd Feb. 1636, *S. P. Dom.*

² Bromley Letters, p. 308.

³ Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 20th July, 1636, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ Con's Desp. 23rd March, 24th April, 15th June, 1636, Vatican Transcripts, vol. xxxix. p. 23; Rusdorf, *Consilia*, etc. p. 193.

⁵ Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 8th May, 1637, *S. P. Dom.*

nor honourable for him. Since this, I have received a letter from (Sir H. Vane?), who writes of it as a fine thing, which I cannot enough wonder at. I answered him plainly I did not like of it; I thought it not fit nor safe to send him, the second brother, on such an enterprise, when there was work enough to be had for him in Europe. Besides, I thought if Madagascar were a place either worth the taking or possible to be kept, the Portuguese by this time would have had it, having so long time possessed the coast of Africa near to it; and I entreated him to do his best in hindering of it. What he will answer, God knows, I long to have it."¹

The letter of the Queen to her wayward boy proved effectual;² for with all his faults, Rupert tenderly loved his mother, and had never yet disobeyed her; but he became restless, after the abandonment of his favourite scheme, and his mother urged his return home. In a letter to Laud she says,—

“I have written to the king my dear brother to beseech him to give Rupert leave to come over now speedily, that he may accompany the prince this year in the field, and he shall be at all times ready to obey the king's command to go elsewhere, whensoever he will command him. I think that he will spend this summer better in an army than idle in England, for though it be a great honour and happiness to him to wait upon his uncle, yet, his youth considered, he will be better employed to see the wars.”³

The King accordingly dismissed him, in June, 1637, with a monthly pension of 800 crowns, and leave to travel incognito through the world if he pleased.⁴ On his return to the Hague he was subjected by his mother to a rigid examination on the firmness of his Protestant principles: she found that there were persons in England, at the head of whom was Queen Henrietta Maria, who had tampered with his religion, and the wild boy gave her so little satisfaction, that she declared, had he been ten days longer in England, he would have come back a Catholic! On hearing this, Queen Henrietta Maria could not help observing, that had she known his conversion was so near, she would certainly have contrived some means to detain him in England a while longer.⁵ But the fears of Elizabeth were needlessly aroused. Rupert's future conduct proved that though he might be no theologian, he would not lightly abandon his faith.

The Protestantism of her children was very near the heart of the Queen of Bohemia, and their position was such as frequently to necessitate sacrifices to their principles. The eldest Princess, Elizabeth, at this very juncture, lost a Crown because she would not become a Catholic. Her earliest suitor was the

¹ 6th April, 1637, *S. P. Dom.*

² Goring to —, 14th Feb. 1637, *S. P. Holland.*

³ 10th June, 1637, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ Con's Desp. 7th July, Vatican Transcripts. [A letter to Lord Wentworth says, “Both the brothers went away unwillingly, but Prince Rupert expressed it most, for being a-hunting that morning with the King, he wished that he might break his neck, so he might leave his bones in England”. *Strafford Papers*, ii. 88.]

⁵ Con's Desp. 11th Sept. Vatican Transcripts.

Count de Soissons, a French Prince, who, in 1627, sent privately into England and Holland to request her hand, but the French King interfered to prevent his marrying a Protestant. Her next offer was from no less a person than Vladislas IV., King of Poland. The proposition for the match was first made in 1631, when he was only Prince of Poland,¹ and after his election to the Crown the suit was renewed. A private hint of the honour intended for her daughter was given to Elizabeth and also to her mother-in-law, the Electress-Dowager; both were of opinion that the affair should be treated with great caution: the King was much older than the Princess; had been already twice married, and having children by both wives, it was not, of course, to be expected that the offspring of a third marriage, if such there were, would come to the Crown.² Another and still more formidable objection lay in the reluctance felt by the Polish senate to the union of their King with a Protestant. Vladislas, whose heart was bent on the match, tried to soften down their opposition by caresses and bribes; failing this, he persuaded them that an alliance with England would be of great advantage to his Kingdom; as, thus supported, he might hope to obtain aid from England to vindicate his claim to the throne of Sweden, from which his father Sigismund had been deposed in 1599.³

But he little knew the temper of Queen Elizabeth, if he supposed that her daughter was to be won by terms injurious to the orphan child of her best and noblest friend, Gustavus Adolphus. She gave a hint on this subject, in a letter to her friend Roe:—

“I know you hear much speech of Poland and mine; I pray do not believe it till I bid you, for if things hold as they do, it is very unlikely to be ever effected; for I am of opinion that old friends, both tied by blood and religion, are better than new that are neither one nor other. Poland seeks to draw us from the first; this is all the light I can give you of this, which I tell you in a riddle, not to break the promise I have made to keep it secret from all but my brother and the Prince of Orange; I pray keep it to yourself.”⁴

And again:—

“For the Polish business, you may see by what I wrote to you by Mr. Dury, that his last proposition did much scandalise me, for I cannot find it in my heart to consent that his child should be disinherited, to whom we have had all so much obligation.”

Referring to other points in the negotiation she says:—

¹ Pory to Puckering, 8th Sept. 1631, Harl. MS. 7000.

² Anstruther's Desp. 16th June, 1637, *S. P. Denmark*; Elizabeth to Roe, 12th April, 1633, *S. P. Dom.*

³ Gordon's Desp. 6th April, 1633, *S. P. Germ. States*, 19th May, 7th Aug. 1634; 7th Jan. 1635, *S. P. Poland*.

⁴ *S. P. Dom.* 17 Jan. 1635.

“The answer my brother hath given is well enough that way, but I would he had not written of this match to the States there, for methinks he shews to be too desirous of it, which may prejudice the business, and make them think us more desirous of it than either we are or should be. For myself, if it be found good for my son’s affairs, and good conditions for religion, I shall be content with it; else, I assure you, I shall not desire it, my son being more dear to me than all my daughters. For the greatness of the match, ‘*Madame vaut Monsieur*,’ it is an old French proverb; but for the king’s person, there is nothing to be said against it, being a brave and worthy prince, whom I honour very much. I have entreated the gentleman to tell him, that whether this business go forward or not, I will ever be his servant.”¹

The Polish sovereign sent to Rome for a dispensation, and declared that even if his Diet refused its consent, he would marry after his own heart, and not be bound to follow their wishes in such a point; and embassies travelled between Holland and England to consult upon several points which were submitted by the Queen to her brother’s consideration.²

At this juncture a report arose that the King of Poland was insincere, and was actually proposing to a Florentine Princess.³ Elizabeth thus expresses herself on the subject:—

“I have certain news that the King of Poland is to marry with the Duke of Florence’s sister. It is so far advanced that there passed an ambassador from that king through Venice, with the articles of the marriage, and the duke has sent one to the pope for a dispensation, and to entreat the pope to send the wedding-ring blessed by him. This is no bruit, but I have it from a good hand, to whom it was written both from Venice and Florence, besides, it is in the gazettes. I leave you to judge of it. For myself I am very indifferent and care not much, as you know.”⁴

The next despatch, however, from Poland, brought tidings that the Diet would probably withdraw their opposition to the Palatine match, on condition that the religious services of the Princess should be performed only in French, which would not be intelligible to the people; and the ambassador, Gordon, in great glee, pronounced the business concluded.⁵ Elizabeth was much offended by his precipitancy.

“He publisheth,” she writes, “that it is all done and agreed upon, as if it could be so without my being acquainted with it, and for myself, I have had nothing said to me in it since the gentleman you saw was here; and he doth it in such a manner that he makes people think that my brother doth rather seek it than that he is sought to for it. I have made Dineley write to him concerning this that I hear, but as not believing it, yet giving him warning of it; for if he or any body should conclude articles for a match for

¹ *S. P. Dom.* ¼ Feb. 1635.

² Gordon’s Desp. 14th March, 19th May, 7th Aug. 1634; *S. P. Poland*, 17th Dec. 1635; Boswell’s Desp. 1st Dec. 1634; Coke’s Desp. 4th and 27th Jan. 1635, *S. P. Holland*.

³ Coke to Gordon, 23rd Dec. 1635, *S. P. Poland*; Boswell’s Desp. 6th March, *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe, 1st April, 1635, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ News Letter, 16th April, *S. P. News Letters, Germany*.

my children without my knowledge, I assured him let them be never so reasonable but I would break the match, for none should marry my children without me; and I knew it was not my dear brother's intention."¹

Still in England and Holland the marriage was looked upon as settled; and persons were even suing for places in the household of the Princess, when she should become Queen of Poland.²

As Elizabeth was dissatisfied with Gordon's conduct, another agent, Sir George Douglas, was sent over, who, on his arrival, at once declared that he did not believe the King of Poland to be sincere.³ Elizabeth was still doubtful about it.⁴

"For Poland," she writes, "I fear some have gone too fast in their advertisements to my brother, for I see that that business is as far off as ever. I thank God I have not been deceived in it, for I never believed it would be, neither am I any way engaged in it. I wish others had declared themselves no more in that than I have done."⁵

After many refusals and tergiversations, the Diet of Poland at length agreed that a formal embassy should be sent to England to demand the Princess; the persons employed being a Polish noble and the English envoy, Gordon. On the evening of his setting out and when his instructions were duly signed, Gordon was waited upon by a deputation of the clergy, who gave him a new set of instructions, containing an article to the effect that the Palatine Princess should be persuaded to change her religion; these he brought to the King for his signature. Vladislas positively refused to sign them, on the ground that he knew the Princess would never change. At length, however, he yielded so far as to permit the ambassador to name the subject to the English Queen; and if she thought it practicable, then to mention it formally.

On his way through Holland, Gordon waited on the Queen of Bohemia; and without entering into particulars, hinted at the possibility of her daughter's changing her faith. Elizabeth spoke against it in the strongest terms, and assured him that her brother would not be less firm than herself. Arriving in

¹ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe, 2nd July, 1635, *S. P. Dom.*

² One who was present when the Polish Ambassador was introduced at the Court of the Hague, says,—“I did observe that when he saluted the young lady, his discourse did make her blush very remarkably; whereby I did conjecture that he spoke something to her concerning the King of Poland's intentions to her. At court every body doth speak freely of it, so that it is not doubted of any more.”—Durie to Roe, 18th Oct. 1635, *ibid.*

³ Coke to Gordon, 23rd Dec. 1635, *S. P. Poland*; Coke to Boswell, 20th Dec. 1635, *S. P. Holland*. See letter from Grotius to Chancellor Oxenstiern, Dec. 1635, *Grotii Epistolæ*, fol. Amst. 1687.

⁴ “It seemeth,” writes Roe, “for all the opposition of the States, he will not suffer his love to be a subject whiles himself is a king; which brave resolution, if it were not in him, he would not be worthy of such a lady. If the king be as sincere in his pursuit as the diet hath been in their denial, then there will lie the point of deliberation betwixt the king and the kingdom.”

⁵ Elizabeth to Sir H. Vane, 2nd Feb. 1636, *S. P. Dom.*

England, he applied to Queen Henrietta Maria, but she prudently declined to interfere in so delicate a matter.¹ In spite of these rebuffs, at his second audience with Charles I., Gordon publicly proposed that the Princess should be induced to become a Roman Catholic. Charles was indignant and demanded to see his instructions, when he was obliged to confess that that point was not named in the instructions of the King, but only in those of the clergy.² Charles, however, sent a strongly-worded letter to the Polish King, stating his surprise at the duplicity which had introduced into a treaty nearly on the point of conclusion, an article so important, and one which never could be granted.³ Further correspondence ensued,⁴ in the course of which earnest attempts were made by Queen Henrietta Maria to bring the Princess over into England and place her under her own influence, in the hope that, by accomplishing her conversion to Popery, the obstacle might be removed. The Princess was reported to have said that she "did not like any one the worse for being a Catholic"; and the Spanish Ambassador, when her mother's stern Protestantism was named as the greatest difficulty, scornfully observed that "as for Madame Palatine, it was in his power to make her a good Catholic; that if one thing were done (the restitution of her son), she would be a Catholic to-morrow!"⁵ Vain boast! the futility of which was proved by after circumstances.

The Polish marriage fell through, because Vladislas did not dare to withstand the strong opposition of his subjects, and declared that if he prosecuted it, his life would be in peril.⁶ Charles I. wrote to his sister:—

"He is unworthy of either of our thoughts, except it be to make him smart for his base dealing with us; for, in a letter to me, he justifies his last ambassador's proposition concerning the change of my niece's religion; of this I desire you to take no notice, for it is fit for us to misknow it until we find a time to make him repent it at the roots of his heart."⁷

The following year, 1637, Vladislas married a daughter of the Emperor,⁸ who had long paid court to him, and who now accepted him as her husband, on conditions of domestic arrangement too disgraceful to be named, and which the Palatine Princess would have scorned.⁹ The Polish King was scouted,

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 71.

² Roe's Desp. 20th July, 1636, *S. P. Dom.*; Gordon's Desp. 14th Oct.; *S. P. Poland*; Charles Louis to Queen of Bohemia, Bromley Letters, p. 72.

³ *S. P. Poland*, June, 1636.

⁴ *Ibid.* Feb. and July, 1637.

⁵ Con's Desp. 28th Aug., 16th Sept., 6th Nov. 1636; 18th Feb. 1637, Vatican Transcripts.

⁶ Gordon to Coke, 2nd June, 1637, *S. P. Poland*. [See also Elizabeth's alusion in her letter to Roe of 3rd Nov. 1637, Appendix B.]

⁷ 20th Dec. 1636, Tanner MS. No. 84, vol. i.

⁸ Cecilia Renata.

⁹ Elizabeth to Roe, 4th Dec. 1637, *S. P. Dom.*

and his Ambassadors refused audience at the Courts both of England and Holland.¹

Had the enemies of the Queen of Bohemia sought to increase her popularity by eliciting fully the strength of her Protestant principles, and thus rendering her more than ever dear to the great body of the English people, they could hardly have adopted means more effectual than those actually employed. They now renewed the effort made in 1623, but speedily abandoned, to hinge the restoration of her family upon their religious faith; but she declared that she would rather strangle her son with her own hands, than see him forsake his faith from motives of mere expediency. For some time past the prospects of the Palatine house had been growing darker and darker; and on the marriage of the Duke of Bavaria, aged sixty-three, with the Emperor's daughter Maria, aged only twenty-seven, a treaty was concluded at Prague, on the 30th of May, 1635, by which the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony agreed to maintain the Duke of Bavaria as Elector, and failing his issue male, to bestow the entail of the dignity on the collateral branches of his house, and also to keep on foot an army of 80,000 men, if needful, to carry out their objects. This treaty blighted all hopes of compromise, and called loudly for vigorous combination among the counter-party. Elizabeth urged her cause strenuously, yet almost hopelessly, at the Courts of England, Denmark, and Brandenburg.² She sent her brother a copy of the treaty, with her own remarks upon it, pointed and strong.³ Writing to Roe, on 2nd July, 1635, she says:—

“I would all were of your mind concerning my affairs, but I fear, as you do, that the old maxims will not be left. If ever anything will move them to do it, it must be the despatch which I hope will be ready to send with this passage: it is all the articles of peace concluded betwixt the emperor and the Elector of Saxony, which is as base a one as can be. I have it from Berlin, it being sent to that Prince Elector: in it my children are quite excluded from their country and the electorate, which the emperor confesses he had promised long ago to the father of this Duke of Bavaria and his descent; but if my children will humble themselves to the emperor, he will give them some means to live, of his grace, but of no right. This is the substance of that article. Now do you judge whether this will not open the eyes, on your side the seas, if they be not shot out with pistols.”⁴

Charles I. assembled his council to deliberate on the despatches of the Queen, but the impracticability of finding funds

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 3rd and 14th Nov., 4th Dec. 1637, *S. P. Dom.*; Boswell's Desp. 4th Sept. *S. P. Holland*; Roe to Elizabeth, 2nd Oct. *S. P. Dom.*; Con's Desp., Vatican Papers, vol. 38, f. 72.

² Queen of Bohemia's Memorials, 7th April, and 11th July, *S. P. Germ. States*; Boswell's Desp. 19th and 23rd June, 8th July, *S. P. Holland*; Durie to Roe, 9th July, *S. P. Dom.*

³ Boswell's Desp. 6th Aug. *S. P. Holland*.

⁴ *S. P. Dom.* 2nd July. See also Letters to Land, 2nd and 10th July, *S. P. Dom.*

for war still cramped all their energies. They resolved to send an ambassador into Spain, then an ally of England, to see if that power could not assist them. They affected to doubt whether the Emperor would not concede more than was promised in the articles, and proposed sending an agent to Vienna to ask explanations.¹ Elizabeth made no objection to their inquiring the truth about the treaty, but Boswell, who visited her at Rhenen to consult with her on the subject, adds:—

“That any thing should be asked or insinuated of grace, or more than of justice, doth very much trouble her; besides the fears that the emperor’s answer will be so ambiguous and dilatory, (as ever heretofore,) that before his majesty shall be so fully cleared as expected, the emperor will have underhand wrought an imperial diet, and therein passed this treaty into a pragmatical sanction and constitution of the empire; after which the party yet on foot and in good strength against the emperor being dissolved, by accord or otherwise, she saith she doth not see but her son’s affairs may prove irreparable.”

The King assured his sister that he should consider any delay as equivalent to a refusal, and act accordingly. He also suggested to her the propriety, when her son attained his majority, of demanding his legal investiture;² but to this Elizabeth saw a great obstacle in the fact that the Emperor had already bestowed it upon the Duke of Bavaria.³ As, however, it was still urged upon her, on the ground that, if not attended to in due form, difficulties might in future arise from the omission,⁴ she most reluctantly ceded the point,⁵ and Taylor, the agent at Vienna, was commissioned to make the demand, and also to solicit the restitution of her dower-lands in the Palatinate.⁶

The Emperor, as the Queen had anticipated, was well aware that it was his interest to tamper with England; and Taylor, a Roman Catholic and partly of Spanish blood, was too ready a tool. He sent home most favourable accounts of the good disposition of the Imperial house, and stated that the Duke of Bavaria saw no way of establishing peace in Germany but that of ceding the Lower Palatinate and Heidelberg, and leaving the question of the Electorate open; and that he even proposed to marry his nephew to one of the Palatine Princesses. The Emperor suggested that Charles Louis should come to Vienna, in a style befitting the son of an Elector, taking possession of the Lower Palatinate on his way,—receive, as a favour, the removal of the ban pronounced against his father and presumed to descend upon him; and cement the peace by marrying a daughter of the

¹ Coke to Boswell, 30th July, 1635, *S. P. Holland*.

² Boswell’s Desp. 18th Feb. 6th March, 20th April, 1635, *ibid.*

³ Elizabeth to Laud, 5th Sept. 1635, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ Laud to Elizabeth, 6th Oct. 1635, *ibid.*

⁵ Elizabeth to Laud, 1st Jan. 1636, *ibid.*

⁶ Clarendon Papers, vol. i. p. 404.

Imperial House.¹ Charles I. could not make up his mind, but resolved to send the Earl of Arundel, Elizabeth's intimate friend, on a formal embassy to the Imperial Court.²

Sir Thomas Roe conveyed to the Queen the news of the proposed embassy, and received from her a reply, of which the following is an extract:—

“ You may easily believe the news of the embassage to Vienna did a little surprise me, but, as you say, since there is no remedy, we must make the best of it that we can. I am glad my Lord of Arundel is chosen, for he being the greatest, I hope he will be the last sent, and that another lesser man will not be fit to be sent after so great a one hath failed; for I am confident he will do nothing, but have such another delaying answer as Taylor had. I have sent my son another of his propositions, and could hold no longer but write with it a very plain and free letter to the king my brother, where I let him know my thoughts of that fellow's proceedings at Vienna. I fear now all is in the dust till Arundel's return, and then a new delay will be found out. Do not blame me for this fear, because I have some cause for it. I hope he hath commission to accept of nothing but all: else, I hope, my son will not condescend to any thing; at the least by my consent he shall not; for, first, there is no great honour in it, and if he accept of a little, he will never have more, but draw on the other suit till Doomsday; I am for *tout ou rien*.”³

Arundel's instructions⁴ were to demand the absolute restoration of both the Palatinates as well as of the Electorate, and these were certainly the terms which he proposed to the Emperor,⁵ but when he was at the Hague, in order to confer with Elizabeth, she saw plainly that he was empowered to take less, and would be willing to accept the restitution of the Lower Palatinate, leaving the other dignities open to treaty. He arrived at the Hague on the 10th of April, 1636, and though late in the evening, was at once admitted to kiss her hand. Business was postponed till the next day, when, he relates:—

“ At two of the clock after dinner, I went to the Queen of Bohemia, unto whom I delivered his majesty's letters, informing her at large of all matters concerning my negotiation; who, desiring to see the instructions, they were read unto her, and in conclusion I find her willing to apply herself wholly to his Majesty's order and direction.” “ The matter she most blanched at was the marriage with the emperor's daughter, as being many years older than the prince, and of no comely person. To which I replied that princes in marriages did rather respect states than persons, and that in this, the Prince-Elector married the Palatinate rather than the emperor's daughter, and therefore should more endeavour to advance his estate than please his eye or fancy. In conclusion I found her willing to apply herself wholly to his majesty's order and direction.”⁶

¹ Taylor's Desp. 16-26th Jan. 1636, *S. P. Germ. Empire*; Cooper's Appendix C. to Public Records; Clarendon Papers, vol. i. pp. 447, 455, 511.

² *Fœdera*, vol. ix. pt. ii. p. 3.

³ 4th April, 1636, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ *S. P. Germ. Empire*, 1st April, 1636.

⁵ Arundel to Coke, 13th, 20th, 22nd June, *ibid.*

⁶ Arundel's Desp. 12th and 14th April, 1636, *ibid.*

Though Arundel reported the Queen as satisfied with his mission, she herself expressed her views very differently. She had held long disputes with him on most of the points in his instructions, particularly that relating to taking off the ban;¹ to which the young Elector also strongly objected, as involving the admission of his father's guilt.² In a letter to Laud, she said that though she would not dispute the King her dear brother's will in anything, she could not but regret the Viennese embassy, and urgently begged the King not to accept part of her son's dominions without the whole. To Sir Thomas Roe she wrote more freely.

"I was never in more despair of good success in our business than now; for though I think my lord marshal doth love my person and children well, yet I see he is no enemy to the House of Austria; and I know he loves not the Dutch, neither high nor low; and would have the honour to end this business any way, so it be peaceably; for though he be marshal, yet I think he is not martially given in this business."³

Roe sympathised fully in her sentiments,⁴ but Laud took the King's part, using such arguments as he could in favour of the measure, and expressing his surprise that the opinions of Elizabeth should be so at variance with the report of them sent by Arundel.⁵ On this point the Queen replied:—

"Concerning that you are unsatisfied with what I have written, of my dislike to accept of a part of my son's country, and my lord marshal writ the contrary, I do assure you he knoweth better, for he and I had many disputes about it; for the Prince of Orange's opinion, he did, I see, mistake it; for the prince said that if all the Lower Palatinate were restored freely, without any conditions to tie my son to anything but as he was before, that then he might accept it, and seek the rest as he could, by fair or foul means. But neither he nor I, nor I think anybody, do believe that the Emperor, and the King of Spain, and the Duke of Bavaria will do it; for either it will be upon such conditions to quit all his friends, and other dishonourable articles, or to have the country so cut off and maimed, as they may take it again when they list, and keep him always under; for as for the Electorate and the rest to follow, I can never believe they mean it; for it is the opinion in all Germany that at this Electoral diet they mean to settle it upon Bavaria and his house, which they may easily do, there being but one of the Electors for us, and all the rest professed enemies; for the recovery of it by pieces, I grant with you that if it were by arms, it must be so; but by treaties, if they had a mind truly and really to do it, they may as well give all as a part; for what I have in my hands, I can give all if I will; but what is so snatched from me must come by pieces, yet it will come, without being obliged to any prejudicable conditions. But I fear this last speech of mine may make you think (as my lord marshal told me many thought when I said this to him), that I would rather have my son restored by force than by treaty: but I must answer as I did him, that it is all one to me by what ways he be restored, so he be so fully and honourably; but indeed I do not think he will be restored fully, otherwise than by arms: sixteen years' experience makes me believe it. All this I have written to you is also the substance of what I said to my lord

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 4th June, *S. P. Dom.*

² Bromley Letters, p. 304.

³ 14th April, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 1st May, *ibid.*

⁵ Laud to Elizabeth [30th April?], 1636, *ibid.*

marshal; but as I told him, so now also I do you, that this is not to censure or dispute the king my dear brother's actions, but only to let you know freely my mind, which I did take the boldness myself to do to the king, about the same time I write to you: and I have received a very comfortable answer from him, that he will not suffer one thing to be done that shall be prejudicial to my son's honour or rights, which I am most confident of, for I never mistrust him, but I do extremely the emperor and his side, who have so long deluded my brother."¹

To several parts of this letter the Archbishop took exception. He professed, that though Charles I. was dissatisfied with the Emperor, he had never been deluded by him; that he should not consider the restitution was by piece-meal, if the whole of the Lower Palatinate were restored at once, and he thought this expression must have been dictated to the Queen by others.

"Your majesty," he added, "denies that you said to my lord marshal that you had rather have your son the prince restored by force than by treaty; but you grant it all one to you by what way he be restored, so he be restored fully and honourably. Under favour, good madam, not so. For it cannot be all one to Christendom, nor to yourself, to have him restored, be it never so honourably, by arms as by treaty. It may be there is soldier's counsel in this, madam; but I am a priest, and as such, I can never think it all one to recover by effusion of Christian blood, and without it, provided that without blood right may be had."²

In reply to his remarks, Elizabeth acknowledged and vindicated her expressions, and added:—

"I confess, as a woman and a Christian, I should rather desire it (the restitution) by peace, but I have lived so long amongst soldiers and wars, as it makes one to me as easy as the other and as familiar, especially when I remember never to have read in the chronicles of my ancestors, that any king of England got any good by treaties, but most commonly lost by them, and on the contrary, by wars made always good peaces. It makes me doubt the same fortune runs in a blood, and that the king my dear brother will have the same luck. I know your profession forbids you to like this scribbling of mine, yet I am confident you cannot condemn me for it, having hitherto seen little cause to have a contrary opinion, by my experience in this our great business; all I fear is that you will think I have too warring a mind for my sex; but the necessity of my fortune has made it."³

The option of accepting pacific measures was not long left to the Queen. On his journey to Vienna, Arundel was struck with the miserable condition of the Palatinate—towns ruined, villages depopulated, and wretches lying dead in the roads, with the grass in their mouths, by which they had in vain endeavoured to still the cravings of hunger. When he arrived there, hopes of a favourable response were long held out, though even then the Emperor was giving away to others some of the dower lands of the Queen of Bohemia.⁴ The object of this tem-

¹ 1st June, 1636, *S. P. Dom.*

² Laud to Elizabeth, 26th June, 1636, *ibid.*

³ 27th July, 1636, *ibid.*

⁴ *S. P. Germ. Empire*, June, 1636; MS. St. Germain Harlay, No. 239, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

porising policy was self-evident;—to keep England aloof till the summer campaign was over, or till the other powers engaged in the war had been prevailed upon separately to lay down their arms.

Elizabeth maintained a friendly correspondence with Oxenstiern; and with cordial expressions of good-will he associated plain hints that Sweden, unless well supported, would not much longer sustain the contest,¹ though at present that power was engaged in vigorous and successful warfare.² Elizabeth writes:—

“The Swedes prosper still against Saxe, and Lesley is come with troops to be in Kniphausen’s place: if all these should lay down their arms, do you judge if it will be possible to make them take them again, and then either we must sit down with shame, or undertake a war alone: what that will cost, God knows well. I pray God my patience be not so long stretched that it break.”³

In September, Arundel returned home, bringing with him tidings that the Emperor had absolutely confirmed to the Bavarian house the Upper Palatinate and the Electorate, and would only give up the Lower Palatinate on condition of its being purchased at a heavy rate.⁴ The Emperor had accompanied his decision by a letter to Elizabeth, which as it was not addressed to her either as Queen of Bohemia or Electress Palatine, Arundel indignantly sent back unopened. Calling at the Hague on his way home, he told the Queen frankly that there was nothing to be gained at Vienna, and that all would be ruined unless King Charles could render prompt and active help to his nephew.⁵ Elizabeth gave him her hearty thanks that though he had been unable to obtain what he desired, yet he had forced the Emperor to cast off the mask of hypocritical friendship.⁶

The question remained, what was next to be done. Elizabeth was more than ever dependent upon England, because her son was there; and though he still corresponded with her, and professed the strongest desire to fulfil her wishes, she thought him too subservient to the pacific policy of England, and ex-

¹ Charles to Queen of Sweden; Oxenstiern to Queen of Bohemia, 31st March and 24th Jan. 1636, from MS. Chur-pfalz. U. 30, in the Library at Munich; Cooper’s Appendix, pp. 54, 56, 136.

²[Saxony had declared war against Sweden in October, 1635. Lesley is Alexander Lesley, afterwards Earl of Leven. Kniphausen was killed 31st Dec. 1635.]

³ Elizabeth to Sir T. Roe, 4th April, 1636, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴*S. P. Germ. Empire*, Sept. to Nov.; Clarendon Papers, vol. i. p. 678.

⁵ Elizabeth to Roe, 21st Dec. 1636, *S. P. Dom.*

⁶ Elizabeth to Laud, 20th Dec. Cal. *ibid.* Addenda, Charles I. p. 539. A pamphlet was printed and circulated in several languages, entitled “*Evaporatio pomi Palestinæ*,” in which Imperial promises were compared to the apples growing near the Asphaltine lake, fair and beautiful without, but within, full of dust and ashes.—MS. St. Germain Harlay, No. 239. The King prohibited its circulation; but in spite of this, many copies were secretly distributed, and the Prince Palatine himself carried a copy of it to an Italian diplomatist, not venturing to trust it to a servant.—Con to Barberini, Vatican MS. 38, f. 270.

pressed her regret that she had ever allowed him to leave her.¹ As it was well known that he had gone over in quest of aid, the young man was unwilling to depart unless he were placed at the head of an army, with which he could make an appearance suited to his rank, and meanwhile he was indulging in the amusements of a Court life, without bestowing much consideration on the welfare of his cause. The Queen's instructions to her son at his going into England, confirmed by the advice of those of his friends who best knew the temper of Charles I., were, that he should not press his uncle at once on business matters, but should rather endeavour to win upon his affections. Acting on this principle, he gained an interest in the King's regard strong enough to secure him affectionate entertainment, but not to surmount the formidable obstacles which impeded his essential support.

The Queen sent a memorial to her brother, by Arundel, urging him now that treaty failed, to use the other means which God had placed in his hands, and to give efficient assistance to her son.² The King replied, he could only assist him by the sea, and allow him 1,000*l.* a month to support himself and to join any army his mother might select. The young Elector was greatly disconcerted: Roe advised him to show a good face abroad, but in presence of the King to give way to dejection and grief, so as to touch upon his sympathies.³ In response to the reiterated entreaties of his sister, the King at length consented to lend his nephew a fleet with which to act in the common cause, and to permit his subjects to assist him, though not openly authorising them, till a treaty with France, which had long been negotiating, should be concluded, so that he need not fear to incur the jealousy of Spain.⁴ The Elector, conveying personally these tidings to his mother, declared he was so overjoyed, that it seemed to him like a dream; Lord Craven had already offered him 10,000*l.* towards his expenses, and it was expected others would follow the example.⁵ The Queen was much pleased, and with her usual readiness to hope, augured wonderful things as the result.⁶

Much of the prosperity of Elizabeth's cause depended upon the conclusion of the treaty between England and France. After long negotiations, during which the Queen often expressed her fears that the "Monsieurs" were insincere, and would, after all, play her brother "*un tour de Breton*,"⁷ a general treaty

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. i. p. 522.

² Clarendon Papers, vol. i. p. 678.

³ Ferentz to Roe, 15th Oct. 1636; Roe's Reply, 19th Oct. *S. P. Dom.*; Vatican Transcripts, vol. 39, ff. 127, 288.

⁴ Laud to Elizabeth, 13th Oct.; Elizabeth to Roe and Laud, 18th, 21st Nov. 1636; Roe to Elizabeth, 17th March, 1637, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ Bromley Letters, p. 96.

⁶ Elizabeth to Laud, 4th Feb. 1637, *S. P. Dom.*

⁷ Elizabeth to Laud, 25th March, 13th April, 19th May, 10th June, 1637; *ibid.* [Concerning her reasons for distrusting the French, see her letter to Roe of 14th Nov., Appendix B.]

of alliance was arranged, and a meeting was appointed to take place at Hamburg early in 1638, when the representatives of England, France, Sweden, Holland, and the German Protestant powers were to devise the terms of a fresh Union.¹

Decisive measures were rendered imperative by the death of the Emperor, Ferdinand II. in February, 1637, and the election of his son Ferdinand III., King of Hungary, recently chosen King of the Romans, as his successor. Elizabeth urged, that as the Duke of Bavaria, the supplanter of her husband, was not a legitimate Elector, the election of the new Emperor, in which he took part, was illegal; that consequently the Empire was vacant, and her son might assert his ancestral right to execute the office of vicar-general during the vacancy.² She was well aware that he had no power to discharge the functions of the *vicariate*, but still thought that an assertion of his claim was essential; and at her desire, not only did Charles Louis issue a protest against the election, but Councillor Rusdorf published a vindication of the rights of the Palatine House on this point.³ The Queen was extremely anxious that no Protestant Power should acknowledge the new Emperor.⁴ Charles I. refused to give him the title, but it was said that he could not long stand out, if France and Holland granted it.⁵

At this juncture, Elizabeth lost one of her best friends, in the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, long one of the firmest adherents of the Protestant cause, to whose death she alludes in a letter to Sir Thomas Roe:—

“Honest Tom,

“I have not written to you a long time for lack of matter, for when I was at Rhenen, I could send you no news of any thing but the death of hares, and which horse ran best, which, though I say it that should not say it, was mine; but at my coming away, the joy of the taking of Breda was much abated by the loss of the brave worthy Landgrave, which, I confess to you, troubled me not a little. You know how much cause I have for it, but we must not lose courage for all that, and my son has now more reason than ever to seek to make himself considerable; therefore he is desirous to take the Landgrave's army to himself, and did send Hornece, one of his gentlemen, thither, to sound the minds of the officers and the Landgravine, who show themselves all willing to have him, so that he can find means to make them subsist. Therefore he has given Sir Richard Cave order to humbly beseech the king my dear brother that he will bestow something upon him to help his beginning. Cave will tell you more fully all his reasons why he desires to have this army, which is levied to his hand, and will make him something

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 11th July, *S. P. Dom.*

² 12th June, *S. P. Germ. States*; Roe to Elizabeth, 19th June, *S. P. Dom.*; *Holland Correspondence*, July, 1637. [Ferdinand was crowned King of Hungary in Dec. 1635, Bethlen having finally renounced his claim in May, 1634.]

³ Rusdorf, *Consilia*, etc. p. 199.

⁴ Elizabeth to Laud, 4th April, 1637. Protest of Charles Louis, “Court and Times of Charles I.” vol. ii. p. 280.

⁵ Laud to Elizabeth, 3rd May; Elizabeth to Laud, 19th May. [See Appendix B.]

considerable in this treaty, more than otherwise ; or if it do nothing, yet he is armed, and so may have some better hopes than heretofore."¹

The Queen's earnest desire that her son should appear with dignity at the approaching Hamburg treaty led her to counsel his writing at once to the Hessian Government, offering, in the hope of assistance from England, to head their army, with levies of fresh troops. But they were firm in explaining that, though they would gladly hail him as their leader, they must have something more than mere hopes to depend upon.² As the time for the campaign of 1638 approached, Elizabeth strongly deprecated the idea of her son's remaining inactive, and yet she feared the result of an application to her brother, and wrote despondingly to Roe in reference to it :—

"I pray continue your counsel and assistance to Sir Richard Cave and Robin Honywood, that, if it be possible, we may have some assistance in this conjuncture, that we may not lose this good occasion, as we have done many others. I fear more than I hope for the effects : I pray God I may be deceived ; but, freely to tell you what I think, I assure you I expect nothing but delays ; though I do all I can, yet I know I shall obtain nothing ; but they shall not plead ignorance, (or) that they were never solicited ; and to take away that excuse, I do solicit so often. I believe you will chide me for my want of faith that way, but experience can teach you I have reason for it."³

To the delighted surprise of Elizabeth and her son, the King was more propitious than they had ventured to hope.⁴ Writing to Laud, Elizabeth says :—

"Your letter of the 22nd of March was most welcome to me, since it confirms that which the king my dear brother was pleased to write to me himself, that he doth approve of my son's intentions, and with so great a favour as the bestowing his money towards the levies. You may easily imagine how much contentment it brought to us both. I am confident your good counsel did much contribute to this resolution of the king's, for which I shall ever be beholden to you. Meppen is now rendered into my son's hands, the garrison there having sworn to him ; the levies are already begun ; I hope shortly he will be ready to go himself into the field."⁵

Meppen, an important town in Westphalia, was purchased by Charles Louis with the money lent him by Lord Craven, who also pledged his credit for sums to aid in the levies, and the rendezvous was appointed to take place at Meppen.⁶ Unfortunately, the place was soon stormed by the enemy, but the young Prince cheerfully passed off the calamity, with the remark that "a misty morning often makes a cheerfuller day."⁷

¹ 21st Oct. 1637, *Cal. S. P. Dom.* under date. She wrote similarly to Laud on the 20th, and again on the 23rd of October, *ibid.*

² [See Elizabeth's letter to Roe of 3rd Nov. in Appendix B.]

³ 12th March, 1638, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁴ "Gazettes de France," p. 183.

⁵ 12th April, 1638, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁶ Curtius to Coke, 5th Feb. 1638, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁷ Elizabeth to Laud, 21st Feb. *S. P. Germ. States*; Boswell's Desp. 6th May.

The King's liberality, and the successful exploits of Duke Bernard of Weimar, the youngest and most distinguished of the Saxe-Weimar Princes, inspired fresh life into the Palatine cause. Elizabeth sent the Duke a special letter of commendation, thanking him for his bravery;¹ and he acknowledged her courtesy by a visit to the Hague, where it was said that he was a suitor for the hand of the Princess Elizabeth.²

In February, 1638, the Queen gave a *fête*, which formed a pleasing variety in the monotonous life of the Hague, on occasion of the marriage of a Dutch nobleman, Baron de Brederode, with Louise Christiana von Solms, sister of the Princess of Orange. Lists were erected for running at the ring, and the Queen's two eldest sons were the heroes of the sport. They wore a Moorish costume, and armed with scimitar and lance, mounted on white horses, and followed by thirty knights, excited much admiration, not only in the courtly circle, but amongst the crowds who flocked from far and near to be spectators of the scene. A grand supper and ball followed and the young Princes testified their satisfaction by issuing a printed challenge for a renewal of the sports a week or two later.³

In June the Queen, attended by her eldest daughter and her son Charles, removed to Rhenen, where she spent the summer, only returning to the Hague for a few days, to pay her respects to the Queen-mother of France, Mary de' Medici.

"Queen-mother's coming hither, I believe, will make you not a little wonder," she wrote to Roe: "I came hither from Rhenen to see her; she doth use me very kindly but keeps her greatness enough, for she kissed none but me. All queen-mother's people do speak of her going into England, but she doth not say any such thing to me."⁴

Charles I. strongly opposed the coming of his mother-in-law into England; but confident of the affection of her daughter, Queen Henrietta Maria, Mary de' Medici resolved on the voyage. The Queen of Bohemia thus pleasantly alludes to it:—

"Cave only stays for the wind, which is yet contrary. I think queen-mother is cause of it, for she is gone very suddenly from hence, without scarce taking leave, towards England, though Sir Will. Boswell did all he could to dissuade her. I think the wind loves our country, in keeping her as long as it can out of it."⁵

Leaving his mother at Rhenen, the Prince Elector, attended by his brother Rupert and Lord Craven, marched to join his army in Wesel, where, in conjunction with the English troops

¹The original of this letter, dated 22nd March, was in the celebrated collection of M. Donnadieu.

²Collins's Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 585.

³Boswell's and Coke's Desp. 23rd Jan. and 5th Feb. *S. P. Holland*; "Gazettes de France," pp. 96, 132.

⁴Elizabeth to Roe, 27th Aug. 1638, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵*Ibid.* 2nd Oct.

under Lieutenant-General King, he mustered a considerable force.¹ But his fair prospects were blighted at the first encounter with the enemy: in spite of great personal bravery he sustained a serious defeat at Gohfeld, and his attendants had to force him away from the *mêlée*, whilst Prince Rupert and Lord Craven, both severely wounded, were taken prisoners.² This sorrowful news was brought to the Queen at a time when she had just passed through considerable physical suffering. A temporary indisposition had rendered it necessary to resort to bleeding, and the surgeon-barber who performed the operation was so unskilful in binding up the arm that it swelled and inflamed, and occasioned her such pain and weakness that for some time she was unable to write.³ Recovering the use of her pen, she thus deploras to Roe the misfortunes of her brave boys:—

“I am glad to hear the good opinion you have of my son’s carriage, though hitherto he has had but misfortune, for no doubt before this you have heard his misfortune. My comfort is, though he had the worse, yet he has lost no honour; and if I were sure where Rupert were, I should not be so much troubled. If he be prisoner, I confess it would be no small grief to me, for I wish (him) rather dead than in his enemies’ (hands). They write from Bremen, that after two days he was returned to Minden; but since I have no letters of it, I dare not believe it; for since the ill-news came, I have not had any letters from my son. I have written the ill-news to my brother, (and) that now he would be pleased to succour the Prince Elector with money, which would extremely encourage him and his friends.”
 “I hear Banier is in the Duke of Luneburgh’s⁴ country: he can do him no more harm than I wish him, for that tun of beer sent 1000 cuirassiers against my son, else the enemy durst not have fought with him. They write hither that all my son’s troops did very well, and were only oppressed with the multitude, else they had not been beaten. I am sorry for my Lord Craven and Ferentz; I fear they will not be so soon released, but if Rupert were anywhere but there, I should have my mind at rest.”⁵

A few days later she writes to the same trusty friend; but as the key to the cypher in which she had corresponded with him was taken along with Prince Rupert’s papers, she was obliged to send by other hands information of a project she was then concocting to procure his escape from confinement:—

“Honest Tom,

“Yours of the 1st of October doth shew truly your affection to me, both in the comfort you give me and your sensibleness of this misfortune; I confess the overthrow of the troops doth not much trouble me; they were not so many, but Rupert’s taking is all. I confess in my passion I did rather wish him killed. I pray God I have not more cause to wish it, before he be gotten out. I have written into England, as you desire in your letters to

¹ Boswell’s Desp. 20th June, 16th Aug. 7th Sept. 1638, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Nicoll’s Account of defeat, 19th Oct. 1638; Boswell’s Desp. 4th Nov. *S. P. Holland*; Roe to Coke, 23rd Oct. *S. P. Germ. States*; Turner’s “Memoirs of his Times,” Bannat. Club, 4to, Edinb. 1829, p. 10; “*Mercure Franc.*” p. 521.

³ Elizabeth to Roe, 2nd Oct.; Cave to Roe, 27th Sept. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ [George, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg.] ⁵ 1st Nov. 1638, *ibid.*

Sir William Boswell ; I fear all fair means will do no good. I have desired Sir William Boswell to write to you in his cipher some things concerning it, since I dare not write by my own, that which my son had being taken ; therefore, I pray, send us both another. I fear you will think that my conceit is too romance a one, yet such things have been done. I leave all to your care and liking ; all my fear is their going to Vienna, if it were possible to be hindered. Mr. Crane, one that follows my Lord Craven, is come from Rupert ; he desired him to assure me that neither good usage nor ill should ever make him change his religion or party. I know his disposition is good, and he never did disobey me at any time, though to others he was stubborn and wilful. I hope he will continue so, yet I am born to so much affliction as I dare not be confident of it, and this affliction had not been to be suffered, but that I am comforted that my sons have lost no honour in this action, and that him I love most is safe." "I have no more to say to you, only I follow your counsel one way, which is to shew as little grief to the world as I can, which is for the present as much as I can do."¹

Sir Thomas Roe, at Elizabeth's request, had been employed, several months previously, as the King's agent at the Hamburg treaty ; and the Prince Elector, after his defeat, privately made his way to Glückstadt, with the double purpose of discussing his affairs with this faithful servant of his house, and of obtaining an interview with the King of Denmark.² The King treated him with the familiarity of a relative, and promised his utmost efforts to procure his restitution by pacific means, but would not fetter himself by obligations to engage in war. Roe received the young Prince with a liberal courtesy which elicited his mother's warm acknowledgments. On the last day of the year, 1638, she thus addresses Roe :—

"Honest Tom,

"Will Ballantyne delivered me your letter three days ago. I am very glad my uncle used my son so well, and that the town where you are have been so civil to him ; but I am sorry to find that you are ending the year with so great an untruth, that my son's worst entertainment is at your house ; for though you will do yourself that wrong, yet my son and his people have betrayed you and let me know how extremely he is beholden to you, daily more and more, both for his entertainment and his business ; and indeed so much as I cannot tell how to give you sufficient thanks for it. I am an ill complimenter, but truly I will never forget all these obligations ; I shall forget myself first."³

We must not here enter into the details of the Hamburg treaty (ending in the renewal of the Franco-Swedish alliance), though Queen Elizabeth concerned herself warmly in it, and watched over its progress with a care of which sufficient proof remains in the numerous letters to Sir Thomas Roe which teemed from her rapid pen. She gave up to her brother, that

¹ 6th Nov. 1638, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² *S. P. Germ. and Denm.* 1638 ; Bromley Letters, p. 102.

³ 31st Dec. 1638, *S. P. Germ. States*. The Queen was probably not aware, whilst thus profuse in her expressions of gratitude, that the expenses of the Prince Elector's visit formed an important item in Roe's bill of extraordinaries, and were discharged from the English Treasury.

it might be employed in the war, her whole interest in her grandmother's inheritance, which had never produced any tangible benefit to herself.¹ The Landgravine of Hesse, now regent in behalf of her young son, embraced the offers of a truce made to her by the Imperial government; Duke Bernard of Weimar endeavoured to induce her to allow the Hessian army, 14,000 strong, under its general Melander, to join his forces, while a vigorous effort was also made to persuade her to consent to the Prince Palatine becoming its leader, but the Landgravine put aside both these proposals. The French Government gave him hopes of assistance on condition that the King of England should do the same,² but the painful position of Charles I.'s domestic affairs, in reference to the rebellion in Scotland, prevented this compliance.³

In July, 1639, the Palatine cause suffered a severe blow, in the death of Duke Bernard of Weimar; adding another name to the list of Elizabeth's champions who, in the prime of life, fell in this terrible war. "You may well believe," she writes, "how much it (the news of Duke Bernard's death) troubles me, for besides his public loss, I have lost in particular a very true friend."⁴ Thus another army, zealous in the interests of German Protestantism, was left without a leader. Many suitors, as Christina of Sweden said, presented themselves, and the Prince Elector, not willing to risk any delay, sent agents to secure it for himself; whilst he at once set off to England to see his royal uncle, and solicit the needful support.⁵ Charles was wishful that the Prince should embrace the opportunity of heading the Weimarian army, the more especially as both officers and men were anxious to receive him;⁶ but he hesitated about granting the supplies. Elizabeth thus expresses herself on the subject:—

"*My son writes that the king continues to persuade him to go, but will give no money nor much hope of any hereafter, excusing all upon the business of Scotland: yet I hear that there is money, but I believe there are many that gape to have shares in it, having spent much in this show of war in Scotland. The Earl of Holland is very hot to have him gone, which makes me think it the more, because else I know he loves my son; what he will resolve to do I know not, but I hope he will follow your opinion.*"⁸

A month later, the Queen, who as usual had passed the

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 9th June; Roe to Coke, 6th July, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² Elizabeth to Roe, 27th Aug., 3rd Sept., 13th Dec. 1638; 21st Jan. 1639, *ibid.*; Grotii Epistolæ, p. 398.

³ Cave to Roe, 11th July, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁴ Elizabeth to Roe, 23rd July, 1639, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁵ Elizabeth to Rusdorf, Roe, and Laud, 2nd, 12th, 22nd, 23rd, 26th July and 4th Aug. 1639, *ibid.*; Con's Desp. 12th Aug. Vatican Transcripts, vol. 42, p. 212.

⁶ Elizabeth to Roe, 8th Sept. 1639, *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁷ The italic words are in cipher in the original.

⁸ Elizabeth to Roe, 3rd Sept. 1639, *S. P. Germ. States*.

summer in hunting at Rhenen, in returning to the Hague, took a short detour by way of Amsterdam,—

“Where,” she says, “I was extreme well entertained, so well as if I had been their Princess they could have done no more; with much more affection they did it than to the queen-mother. I had a fair present of porcelains, and my daughters of cabinets; I stayed there two days.”¹

The Prince Elector left England in October to join the Weimarian army; but having omitted the formality of a passport, lest it should involve needless delay, he was taken prisoner at Moulins, in France, by order of Cardinal Richelieu. The assigned reason was that the Prince was stealing away to get possession of the town of Breisach, taken in the previous December by Duke Bernard, intending, by its surrender, to make his peace with Austria. This pretext was purely ridiculous. The true reasons are given by Elizabeth to Roe, in the following letter:—

“You may easily imagine how this scurvy business troubles me; I do not fear any harm to my son’s person; but the loss of time, and the affront is all. The Germans may see by it, how little good is meant them by the French; for by staying my son, who is the chief of their party, they will force them to be under the French yoke; for that is their design, and to compass it, have broke the law of nations, in detaining a prince, their ally, in his journey, which he made for the public good. When France was not in arms against Spain and the House of Austria, they suffered the king, my husband, to pass so unknown, through all France; so they did my brother into Spain, presently after; but this ulcerous priest² was not then ‘Son Eminence’; he is so tied to Bavaria, as he thinks he hath much merited of him, for this brave action, who will cozen him most kindly for it; for I can never believe he will leave the House of Austria—to which he is so much tied by blood and other strong obligation—for the fickle Monsieurs; but all my son’s fault, as I think I have told you heretofore, is that he is the King of England’s nephew, for Braset, the French agent, told the Princess of Orange, that his being ‘trop attaché à l’Angleterre,’ was the cause the French king did not desire he should have Prince Bernard’s army, but I hope my brother will vindicate his own honour for my son’s release.” “*I have written to the officers of Duke Bernard’s army to do all that is in their power for his liberty that he may go to them, since they may well see by his retention that the French would force them to their subjection.*”³

The Queen’s maternal position was very painful: her gallant Rupert, still a captive of the House of Austria, his hereditary foes; her eldest son a prisoner in the hands of deceitful friends; and three of her younger boys, Maurice, Edward, and Philip, in Paris, whither, relying on the friendliness of France, she had sent them the preceding year.⁴ This step she now regretted, from a fear lest they, too, on some futile pretext, should be detained:⁵ she wrote to urge their return, particularly that of Maurice, and anxiously expected his arrival, though declaring

¹ 8th Oct. 1639, *S. P. Germ. States.*

² Cardinal Richelieu.

³ 29th Oct. 1639, *S. P. Germ. States.* Italic passages in cipher.

⁴ *S. P. France*, 19th Jan. 1638; *S. P. Holland*, 1st Jan. Sydney Papers, p. 587.

⁵ Elizabeth to Roe, 3rd Dec. 1639, *S. P. Germ. States*, 7th Jan. 1640, *S. P. Dom.*

that, like St. Thomas, she could not believe until she saw it.¹ To her great relief, Maurice was at once granted his *congé*, and the two younger Princes returned a few months later.

The young Elector was conveyed, under a guard of 100 horse, to the Bois de Vincennes; no one was allowed to speak with him, except in presence of an officer, and then the conversation was ordered to be in French.² The Queen, in sore trouble, implored the interference of England, Denmark, and Sweden, urging the claims of near relationship, and pleading that her son's misfortunes were caused by his struggles in behalf of the liberty of Germany.³ Queen Christina wrote a letter of sympathy, and promised to order her Ambassador in France to use every exertion for his release.⁴ From her uncle of Denmark Elizabeth expected little: the insensibility he had manifested on the murder of his own son Ulric, a few years before, made her readily presume that the imprisonment of a nephew would not greatly concern him;⁵ yet he showed a cordiality which surprised and pleased her. Her brother, though in the first instance he received the tidings with a coolness that troubled her, took up the subject with interest. He wrote with his own hand to the French King, remonstrating against the arrest of the Prince, as contrary to the terms of the alliance, and refusing to transact any business with France, unless he were released.⁶

The French Government offered the Prince his freedom, if he would pledge himself not to leave France, nor attempt to head the Weimarian army without permission.⁷ Weary of a captivity which affected his health and spirits, Charles Louis accepted these conditions, with some little modification; though contrary to the wishes of his mother.⁸ "It is more than he should have done," she said, "but that necessity hath no law;" yet the rejoicings at her Court were great when he was released.⁹

The Prince was conducted to Paris, where he was honourably received by the Earl of Leicester, the British Ambassador there, and lodged, at the King's command, in the Hôtel des

¹ "I do pity, and shall pity all my life, the misfortunes of this noble princess," writes one of her Court, "and shall not less admire her firm constancy, by which she remains unmoved, by the sad attacks of a fortune which has made her, like another Niobe, fruitful only for misfortune."—Ferentz to Roe, 21st Nov.

² Elizabeth to Roe, 11th Nov. 1639, *S. P. Germ. States*; Collin's Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 617.

³ Grotii Epistolæ, p. 585.

⁴ Scudamore Papers, Addit. MS. 11044, f. 104; Lunigius, *Literæ Procerum*, vol. i. p. 264.

⁵ Elizabeth to Roe, 23rd March, 1640, *S. P. Dom.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 11th Nov. 3rd and 17th Dec. 1639, *S. P. Germ. States*; Clar. Papers, vol. ii. p. 83; Charles I. to King of France, 8th Nov.; Leicester to Roe, 9th Nov. *S. P. France*; Cave to Roe, 10th Jan. 1640, *S. P. Dom.*

⁷ Letter from Paris, 17th Jan.; Charles Louis to Leicester, 30th Jan., *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁸ Elizabeth to Roe, 4th Feb. *ibid.*

⁹ Elizabeth to Roe, 9th April, *ibid.*

Ambassadeurs Extraordinaires.¹ His treatment at the French Court was liberal and friendly; but whenever he pressed upon the minister, Richelieu, the necessity of coming to terms about the part to be taken in the German war, the reply still was, that help would be given from France, provided England would also do something for him.² He was detained so long in France, that Elizabeth, in spite of her usual firmness of principle, began to hesitate whether it would not be right for him to break his word of honour and take his departure, since he was not a prisoner of war, but taken in the first instance by unfair means.³ His timely liberation, however, prevented an act which would have sullied his character. He returned to the Hague in August, to attend the commands, or in other words, to wait the assistance of his royal uncle.

Charles I. having assembled and then dissolved another Parliament amidst increasing national discontents, was in ill condition to extend aid to others. Elizabeth thus writes to her friend Roe, who was on the point of returning home from Ham-burg, and was unable to visit her, as she had hoped, at the Hague:—

“Honest Tom,

“I am very sorry to find by yours of the 5th of this, that I shall not see you here, that I might have spoken that freely to you which I cannot do to all, and indeed very few; but I hope I shall one day see you here for all this, for I have committed a little kind of treason against you, for hearing that it might fall out that the King would send to Cologne, or some other place, to treat for us, I did beseech him that in that case none might be sent but you, which he has assured me he will do, so as I am not quite out of hope of seeing you, and I hope you will not be against such another employment, though I did desire it without your knowledge. I hope these will find you in England, where I am sure you will be sorry to find the Parliament dissolved; there is here many scurvy bruits of the people's discontents, and the prentices' insolencies against my Lord of Canterbury,⁴ I hope they are not true. You may easily imagine how all that troubles me.”⁵

Charles I. was at this time negotiating a marriage between one of his daughters and the son of the Prince of Orange. Elizabeth wished her second niece and namesake to be the bride elect, thinking the alliance not sufficiently honourable for the first daughter of England;⁶ but the determination of the advisers of the Prince of Orange, who pressed for the eldest prin-

¹ With a daily allowance of £150; Charles Louis to Leicester, 24th Feb. 1640, *S. P. Germ. States*; same to Roe, 14th March, *S. P. Dom.*; same to Queen of Bohemia, 13th March, Bromley Letters, p. 117; Godefroy, *Cerem. Franc.* vol. ii. p. 807; Grotii *Epistolæ*, p. 683.

² Charles Louis to Queen of Bohemia, Bromley Letters, p. 113; same to Roe, 19th-29th June *S. P. Dom.*

³ Elizabeth to Roe, 9th July, *ibid.*

⁴ [The riot at Lambeth on 11th May.]

⁵ 21st May, 1640, *ibid.*

⁶ Elizabeth to Roe, 1st Dec. 1640, *ibid.*

cess, prevailed. The King was desirous that the marriage treaty should be combined with another treaty between England and Holland, in behalf of his nephew's restoration, and sent Sir Richard Browne to the Hague, expressly to consult the Queen and the Prince Elector on the subject. They suggested, as terms of alliance, that Holland should arm whenever England did so, for the Palatinate,—should favour all levies of arms in the cause, and break neutrality with the Emperor and Bavaria as soon as Charles I. made war against Spain.¹

Encouraged by his mother,² though contrary to the wishes of his uncle,³ Charles Louis went over to England and prosecuted his own cause in the Parliament. Here a *contretemps* occurred that caused great annoyance to Elizabeth. The Dutch embassy sent over to England to arrange the marriage alliance was headed by the little Prince of Orange himself, and the question of precedence between him and the Prince Elector was mooted; which the King decided to the disadvantage of the latter.⁴ Returning to the Hague, the Ambassadors visited the Queen, and on her reproaching their principal, Heenvliet, for his conduct, he declared that he had opposed his comrades in the matter, and assured her that the States-General were anxious in every way to satisfy her, and would never again press the point of precedence.⁵

The proceedings in the English Parliament were very encouraging. The King asked the counsel and assistance of his lieges on the best means of restoring his sister and her family to their rights, assuring them that he was anxious to use the utmost exertions in their behalf.⁶ The Houses freely concurred in his sentiments; one member declared that as to the Palatine family, "the House of Commons looks upon them with an eye of tenderness, wishing that every drop of that princely blood may ever be illustrated with honour and happiness," and that their oppressions are "a thing which makes our ears to tingle and our hearts to rise within us". Sir Simon d'Ewes, the well-known diarist, made a noble speech on the importance of "comforting the needful heart of that most noble, virtuous, magnanimously-suffering Queen of Bohemia," "who is ever to be highly and tenderly regarded by this house and by this kingdom".⁷

A similar appeal was made to the Scottish Parliament, and was met by a proposal that as peace was restored between the two countries, their joint forces should be employed in behalf of

¹ *S. P. Germ. States*, 7th March, 1641.

² Elizabeth to Roe, 22nd Feb. 1641, *S. P. Dom.*

³ Charles I.'s Instructions to Browne; Bray's "Evelyn," vol. ii. p. 165.

⁴ Elizabeth to Roe, 9th June, 1641, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ The same to the same, 14th June, *ibid.*

⁶ *Journal of Lords*, vol. iv. p. 300; *Journal of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 201.

⁷ Rushworth, vol. iv. pp. 311-15.

the Palatinate, and that no levies should be allowed for any other object till this was fulfilled. The Prince Elector, who with his uncle attended the assembly, met with a most flattering reception.¹ Elizabeth sent the Houses a letter full of gratitude for their friendly feeling, which was respectfully acknowledged.²

In the summer of 1640 Ferdinand III. was about to call a general diet of the Empire at Ratisbon, and Elizabeth was extremely anxious that her brother should send an envoy thither, to claim the restoration of her children's rights. But a serious difficulty appeared at the very outset. Charles, espousing his sister's quarrel, had hitherto refused to allow the validity of Ferdinand's election, owing to the alleged illegality of transferring the Electorate from the Palatine to the Bavarian house. If, therefore, he sent an Ambassador addressing Ferdinand simply as King of Hungary,—the title he bore previous to his election,—the Ambassador would be refused audience; yet, how could he consistently give him the Imperial title? Elizabeth thus writes to Sir Thomas Roe, who was, by her request, to be the agent in the affair:—

“I pray God send you health for it; but I pray think well how the king can send thither, without giving the title of emperor to the King of Hungary; and, if he do give it, how he can do it without my son's prejudice. I am sure my brother will ask your counsel in it. I write of it now to Sir Henry Vane, for I am much afraid that the Don's faction will take advantage of it to my son's wrong, and open a door again to the old-fashioned treaties, which will never end. I need not say more to you of this, being confident your affection to me is such as you will be very careful of this business.”³

Charles I. professed himself ready to follow the wishes of his sister and nephew, but told them that their interests would be retarded, not advanced, by the despatch of any Ambassador who should not be allowed to give the Imperial title.⁴ The young Elector steadily refused his consent to a recognition of the Emperor, except as the condition of substantial benefits to himself. After some hesitation, however, Sir Thomas Roe had permission to give the Emperor his title, under the protest of reservation of the Palatinate rights. His instructions were, to pass through the Hague, and consult with the Queen on the best modes of operation.⁵

Several circumstances combined to render the Emperor willing to listen to reason. In June, 1641, his general, Ottavio Piccolomini, sustained a severe defeat from the

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 11th Sept. 1641, *S. P. Dom.*

² 8th July, Journal of Lords, vol. iv. pp. 308, 330; Lord Loudoun's speech, 9th Sept. King's Pamphlets.

³ 5th July, 1640, *S. P. Germ. States*; Elizabeth to Sir H. Vane, 29th July, 1640, *S. P. Holland*, and to Archbishop Laud, same date, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ 4th Aug. 1640, Bromley Letters, p. 115; Boswell to Charles I. 16th March, *S. P. Holland*. [The Diet had opened in Sept. 1640; dissolved Oct. 1641.]

⁵ Charles Louis to Roe, 9-19th May, 1641, *S. P. Dom.*

Swedes; and he was not ignorant that Portugal had for some time been endeavouring to consolidate an alliance with Protestant Germany, and that by its severance, a thorn was planted in the sides of Spain, which would prevent effectual aid from that old and tried adherent of the House of Austria. Propositions, therefore, were made, that, as conditions of his restoration, the Prince Elector should refund to the Duke of Bavaria the money expended in the war, and should marry a daughter of the Emperor; ² and that the electoral dignity should alternate between his house and that of Bavaria. Elizabeth's opinion on these points is expressed in the following letter to Roe:—

“I see no reason that *the Duke of Bavaria should demand any money of us for keeping our country from us, he having enjoyed all this time the profits of them*: as for the *proposition of the match*, I confess freely to you that I see, by experience too near me, the *evil that matching with Papists brings with it*. Besides, I do not think it very well done in matter of *conscience*, if *my son hath a mind to it*; but I can never like it. As for the *alternative*,³ you know already my *aversion from it*, so as I need not say much; only I received but two days ago a letter from my mother-in-law, where she tells me that *my son* has written to her, to have her opinion concerning it; but because she thought not herself wise enough to send her own only opinion, she has asked others, who are both wise and friendly to us; who are all jointly of opinion that *my son must not do it*, and only to *yield that the Duke of Bavaria may hold the name of Elector as well as my son during his life, and then to die with him*; but not to agree to this without having *all his countries restored to him*. This, I assure you, is what she hath written to me is hers and other's opinions, of which I believe *the Elector of Brandenburg and his council* are of the number, and I believe that *the Dukes of Lunenburg and Hesse* are of the same, because it would be very *prejudiceable for the Protestants to have a Papist voice amongst the Electors at any time*. I pray think well of it, and let me know what you think of it; if Rupert be set freely now at liberty, I shall have the better opinion of these good intentions; but else I confess I am still St. Thomas, and believe nothing.”⁴

Rupert's captivity had now (in the summer of 1641) lasted nearly three years. The courtesy at first shown towards him had soon diminished: he was not permitted the services of an experienced attendant whom his mother had wished to place near him,⁵ and his faithful friend, Lord Craven, who at first refused to ransom himself that he might still be his companion, was not allowed even to see him: Craven had, therefore, paid his own ransom, and though still lame from his wound, hastened to the Hague, to tell the Queen all he knew of her son's condition, and thence returned to England.⁶ It was at first proposed to send Rupert to Vienna, and he was told that he should

¹ Elizabeth to Charles I. Vane and Roe, 17th April, and 12th July, 1641, *S. P. Dom.*

² Arundel to Count Lesley, 9th May, 1641, *S. P. Germ. Empire.*

³ Alternating the Electorate.

⁴ 16th Aug. 1641, *S. P. Dom.*

⁵ Elizabeth to Roe, 6th, 13th Dec. 1638, *S. P. Germ. States.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 21st Aug. 1639.

see the Emperor; "then the Emperor shall see me also," was the reply of the dauntless boy. Elizabeth was anxious to prevent his being taken to Vienna, from the double fear that it would be difficult to reclaim him thence, and that his religion might be tampered with.¹ Linz was the place ultimately appointed for his residence.² His mother exerted every effort to procure his liberation, and hopes were long held out to her that he would be given up in exchange for Prince Casimir of Poland, who was a prisoner of the French King; France and Austria seeming alike favourable to the transfer in behalf of their mutual allies. But her hopes were frustrated: Casimir was set free, and Rupert still lingered in captivity,³ resolutely declining every flattering offer that was made to depend on the change of his religion.⁴ He began to pine in his captivity, and proposed, by giving his word of honour not to run away, to seek to be allowed a wider range;⁵ the Queen dissuaded him, but, being frustrated⁶ in several plots for his escape, he reverted to this alternative, and gained a considerable amount of privilege.

Elizabeth fervently urged upon Roe, then at the Imperial Diet, to make the liberation of Rupert one of his first and most important objects; and Roe followed the directions of his royal mistress with so much zeal, and pleaded so earnestly with the Emperor, that he prevailed.⁷ Elizabeth very gratefully acknowledged his exertions, and charged her son to follow his advice.⁸ The Emperor signified his pleasure that the young Prince should visit him in Vienna, to present his own thanks for his liberty, and Rupert, "like a young eagle new on his wings," was eager to be away, and went thither in the train of the Ambassador, who was ordered to Vienna at the close of the Diet. He passed a few days at the Court, joining in the imperial hunting parties, and exchanging visits with persons of distinction, and before his departure, gave the Emperor a promise that he would not bear arms against him. With characteristic impetuosity, the youth then flew homewards to greet the mother from whom he had been separated more than three years.⁹

¹ Roe to Coke, 23rd Oct. *S. P. Germ. States*; Boswell to Roe, Nov. 1638, *S. P. Holland*.

² In the High Palatinate through which he passed, the Duke of Bavaria had the meanness to prohibit the slightest notice of him, and he even imprisoned two poor men that came up to his coach to see the son of their beloved prince.—Elizabeth to Roe, 9th April, 1639, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ Elizabeth and Charles Louis to Roe, 31st Dec. 1638; 11th Feb. 5th March, 29th April, 17th May, 7th-28th June, 12th July, 1639, March, 1640.

⁴ Elizabeth to Roe, 6th Nov. 1638, *S. P. Dom*.

⁵ *Ibid.* 18th Nov. *S. P. Germ. States*.

⁶ *Ibid.* 21st Jan. 1639, *ibid.*

⁷ Roe to Vane, 1st Sept. Birch MS. 4161, f. 2636; same to Secretary, 30th Sept. *S. P. Germ. States*; Letters from Rupert to Roe, dated 17th July, 11th and 19th Sept. 4th Oct. 1641, are in *S. P. Germ. States*, and 11th Aug. 19th Sept. 4th Oct. in *S. P. Dom*.

⁸ Elizabeth to Roe, 18th Oct. 1641, *ibid.*

⁹ Roe to Charles I. 8th and 14th Oct. 3rd Nov. 1641, *S. P. Germ. States*.

Sir W. Boswell, who happened to be at the Court of the Queen of Bohemia on the arrival of her son, thus records the event in a letter to Roe, dated the 13th of December:—

“Prince Rupert arrived here in perfect health, but lean and weary, having come that day from Swoll, and from Hamburg since the Friday noon. Myself at 8 o'clock in the evening, coming out of the court gate, had the good luck to receive him first of any out of his wagon, no other creature in court expecting his coming so soon; whereby himself carried the first news of his being come unto the queen, newly set at supper. Your lordship will imagine what joy there was, and how much the present object set us on work to magnify your lordship's most noble affections and excellent wisdom, whereby, after God and the king, he hath been restored to his family.”

The Queen also wrote to Roe to consult him what was to be done with Rupert, in order to find him occupation suited to his age and services, and yet to prevent the trifling with his religion on the part of Queen Henrietta Maria, which had caused her so much uneasiness when he was last in England.¹ It was eventually resolved that Rupert, with his brother Maurice, who had returned from service in the army of General Baner, should go over to England. The Queen and her daughters accompanied them to the sea-side, and witnessed their embarkation.² Arriving in England, the young Princes received from their uncle employment in the civil war, in which they afterwards bore so conspicuous a part.

Sir Thomas Roe remained but a few months at Vienna. Elizabeth repeatedly expressed her fears that the Emperor was not so favourably disposed as she had been led to hope, and so the event proved. Civil commotion in England rendered Charles I.'s influence powerless abroad, and the only terms which his Ambassador could obtain were more unfavourably than those rejected years before; and Roe, having used in vain every effort that honest zeal and diplomatic skill could suggest, deemed it dishonourable to remain longer, and procured his recall. He went to the Hague, once more to visit and sympathise with the Queen of Bohemia, and thence returned to England.³

The discords in her native land put a complete check upon Elizabeth's public influence. Her son was now also of age to act for himself, and of firmness enough to assert his independence, so that during the remainder of her career Elizabeth took a less and less active part on the stage of German politics, where for many years she had occupied so prominent a place.

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 13th Dec. 1641, *S. P. Dom.*

² “Gazettes de France,” 1642, p. 790.

³ Elizabeth made strenuous efforts to procure for him the office of treasurer to her brother, but without success.—Elizabeth to Roe, 17th and 24th Jan., 7th Feb., 7th March, 23rd May, 1642, *S. P. Dom.* Roe's Letters in Harl. MS. 1901, contain many details of this negotiation.

CHAPTER VII

Elizabeth in private life—Death of Prince Gustavus—Princess Elizabeth—Love-disappointment of Princess Louise—Lady Rupa—Queen's love of the drama—Her chaplains—Arrival of Henrietta Maria—Fictitious attempt at assassination—Troubles in England—The Queen's income ill paid—Prince Rupert—Prince Elector's conduct—Elizabeth writes to the Speaker—Tardiness of supplies—Her illness—Death of Electress-Dowager—Indisposition of her children—Death of Sir Thomas Roe—Prince Elector in England—Pecuniary difficulties—The Queen changes her chaplain to please the Parliament—Second letter to the Speaker—Pension granted—Prince Edward marries and becomes a Romanist—The younger Princes—Visit of Madame and Mademoiselle de Longueville—Execution of Charles I.—Treaty of Westphalia and restoration of the Prince Palatine—Elizabeth breaks with the Parliament—Applies to the States-General to obtain her pension—Prince Edward insults the English Ambassadors—Their haughty letter—Prince Elector returns to the Hague and to Heidelberg—Elizabeth's interest in Charles II.—Refuses her aid to the Scotch Commissioners—Marquis of Montrose—Lord Craven attainted and his estates forfeited—Marriage and death of Princess Henrietta—Suitors of the young Princesses—Fate of Maurice—Of Philip—Misconduct of the Prince Elector—Refuses needful supplies to his mother—Her correspondence with him and Lord Craven—She resolves to go to Heidelberg—Her creditors will not allow her to leave—She appeals to the States—They refuse her aid—Her intercourse with her nephews—Sees Christina of Sweden—Prince Elector slights Charles II.—Elizabeth's displeasure—Her letters to Charles II. and Sir E. Nicholas—Quarrels in her household—Princess Louise elopes and becomes a nun—The Queen's distress and displeasure—She finally becomes Abbess of Maubuisson—Marriage of Princess Sophia—Her frequent visits to her mother—Restoration of Charles II.—Money voted by Parliament to the Queen—Lord Craven's supposed marriage with her disproved—Death of the Princess Mary, her niece—Her proposal to go into the Palatinate fails—She prepares for England—Farewell visits—Sets sail—Charles II. unwilling for her to come—She persists—Lodges with Lord Craven—Princess Elizabeth becomes Abbess of Herford—The Queen takes Exeter House—Charles Louis tries to intercept her furniture, but fails—Refuses to increase her income—Charles II. grants her a small pension—Her interview with the Genoese Ambassador—Illness—Will—Death—Funeral—Effects—Descendants.

RETIRING more and more to the privacy of domestic life, the Queen of Bohemia employed herself in the education of her elder daughters, and in promoting the welfare of her numerous family. The establishment at Leyden had been kept up for the younger children, but as they reached the age of nine or ten, they were removed from it—the boys to travel, the daughters to mingle in the circle, often abounding with English visitors of distinction, that frequented their mother's Court.¹

On the 30th of January, 1641, the Queen lost her youngest child, Gustavus, who died after a tedious illness; a tendency to

¹ See Princess Sophia's "Memoires," p. 35.

epilepsy, the attacks of which had of late become longer and more frequent, weakened his constitution and rendered his death less a subject of regret to any save his mother.¹ She bitterly felt the loss of this infant—the last pledge of wedded love—born in the most hopeful of her days of exile, and just springing up into promising boyhood;² but she was unable to assume any additional mourning garb: from the period of her husband's death she had never put off her widow's dress, and the walls of her presence and reception rooms were hung with black velvet. John Evelyn, who visited her in 1641, mentions that she still kept particular fasting days, devoted to the indulgence of sorrow for her irretrievable loss. He also names meeting in her Court her son, Prince Maurice, and several of her daughters.³

The eldest Princess, Elizabeth, was a young lady of profound intellectual attainments, but inheriting her mother's weakness—a too great pliancy of disposition. The Princess appears at one time to have fallen very much under the influence of Mrs. Crofts, one of the gentlewomen attached to her mother's Court; ⁴ and this person, long in the Queen's service, became so overbearing, that her mistress was very glad to be freed from her, by sending her back to England, on the pretext of a visit, from which she never returned. But even this lady, who had caused her so much anxiety, received letters of recommendation from the Queen, who was very anxious that no hint of her misconduct should transpire in England till she had obtained from the King some reward for her past services. The mischief-maker removed, the coldness that had sprung up on her account between mother and daughter soon passed away.⁵

The second daughter, Louise, was as passionately devoted to art as was her sister to literature and science; and, under the instructions of the painter, Honthorst, attained a proficiency which ranked her among the artists of her age.⁶ The Queen's anxious sympathies were enlisted on behalf of this daughter, in

¹[His sister Sophia states that he died of the stone; which, she says, showed the stupidity of the doctors, whom he had had "en quantité" all his life.—"Memoires," p. 35.]

²Boswell's *Desp.* 1st Feb. 1641, *S. P. Holland*; De Laet to Boswell, 10th Feb. Harl. MS. 6965, f. 99.

³Bray's "Evelyn," vol. i. p. 12.

⁴[Mistress Crofts, who was apparently a *protégée* of the Countess of Carlisle, was taken over by Lady Carleton to the Hague in 1623 (see p. 260 *n* above; also Bromley Letters, p. 88). In the early years of her attendance the Queen was very fond of her, and tried to forward a marriage between her and one of the sons of the Earl of Mar. See Appendix B.]

⁵Bromley Letters, pp. 85, 87.

⁶[Sophia gives a pretty and affectionate picture of her sisters. Elizabeth, she says, had black hair, a fresh complexion, bright brown eyes with long black eyebrows, a good forehead, a pretty mouth with admirable teeth, and a slender aquiline nose which had a tendency to become red. She loved study, but all her philosophy did not prevent her being made unhappy by this. How can I go to my mother

consequence of a love affair, in which the old problem of affection *versus* interest had once again to be worked out. It will be remembered that George William, Elector of Brandenburg, had married a sister of Frederic, King of Bohemia. In 1636, his eldest son, Frederic William, afterwards known as the Great Elector, paid a visit to the Hague, where he formed a warm attachment to his lovely cousin, the Princess Louise, then a girl of seventeen. The Elector was informed of it, and recalled him; but the youth found pretexts to linger awhile longer near the object of his undeclared passion, when commands still more peremptory compelled his return to Berlin. There his life was endangered by a slow and mysterious disease, which was strongly suspected to be the effect of poison, administered by Count Schwartzberg, his father's chief Minister, who was greatly opposed to his union with the Palatine Princess. In December, 1640, the death of the father raised the young Prince to the electorate; and now that his destiny was in his own hands, he reverted, with constant tenderness, to the object of his early love.¹ But it was the fate of Elizabeth to see her portionless daughters discarded, time after time, by suitors attracted by their talents and graces, but whose interest disposed them to more profitable alliances. So it was with the Elector of Brandenburg: the Queen and her daughters were present when, a few years later, he was married at the Hague to another Louise, daughter of the Prince of Orange.²

with this nose? she asked one day, to which Louise retorted: Do you mean to wait until you have another? Elizabeth was very learned, but her learning made her rather *distrainée*. Louise was not so pretty, but her good humour made her more agreeable. She was devoted to painting but neglected her appearance; her clothes looking as if they had been thrown on to her. Henrietta was very fair, with a complexion of lilies and roses, a well-made nose, soft eyes, black eyebrows, good forehead and pretty mouth. She loved sewing and making sweetmeats, "by which," Sophia adds, "I profited the most". As to the writer herself, she had light brown curly hair, a gay, merry air, a good figure though not tall, and the carriage of a Princess. When a child, she was very plain, which was a great trouble to her; thus her delight was the greater when the English lords with her Aunt Henrietta Maria said that she would be the handsomest of them all.—"Memoires," pp. 38, 39. Louise was very like her brother Rupert. When they acted "*Medea*" she took the part of Jason, and looked, her mother said, "so like Rupert as you then would have justly called her by his name".—Elizabeth to Roe, 30th Sept. 1641, *S. P. Dom.*]

¹[At the end of 1641, Elizabeth wrote to Roe: "I will acquaint you with a business which I pray take no notice of to anybody till I desire it; which is the Elector of Brandenburg's design to match with the Princess Louise. He has had it ever since he was here, but now it begins to come out. . . . He intends to write of it to me, to desire his Majesty to move that underhand by Gordon to the Elector's council and to him."—27th Dec. *ibid.* The matter was mooted to King Charles; he did not employ Gordon in the matter, but when Avery was sent on a mission to Brandenburg in April, 1642, he had secret instructions to try to negotiate the business. Apparently, however, by this time, the grandmother of the two young people had shown herself averse to the match, for Avery wrote that he did not so much as touch on the secret mission, as the affair was "dashed" by the advice and direction of the old Electress Palatine Dowager, whose orders therein he was wholly to follow.—30th April, *ibid.*]

²"Gazette de France," 1646, p. 1214.

A similar ending attended the suit of Count Waldemar, a younger Prince of Denmark, who for several months was the avowed admirer of the Princess Elizabeth. Her mother never approved of the overtures, because she knew they were unwelcome to several members of the Royal Family of Denmark, and therefore she was the less chagrined when the young Prince discontinued his attentions.¹

The earnestness with which Elizabeth prosecuted alliances amongst her servants has already been referred to. The details of one of these courtships are preserved at some length in her correspondence with Sir Thomas Roe; the lady in question was the younger daughter of the Bohemian Baron Rupa, adopted daughter of Sir Thomas, whom Elizabeth had taken into her service, and whom she usually designated by the sobriquet of "Queen Mab". Alluding to a rumour which Roe had heard of the girl's having entered into an unsuitable engagement, Elizabeth clears her from any such unworthy proceeding, assuring her friend that his daughter would not think of marrying without his approval.² Other offers followed, which, either from parental opposition, or faithlessness on the part of the suitors, slipped through,³ and the lady reverted to her first admirer, a young man of the name of Sayer. The Queen promoted the match, and did her utmost to secure the interests of the young people. Roe begged her, if possible, to obtain a commission in the Prince of Orange's army for Sayer, without depriving him of the post he held in her household; the Queen promised to do her best in the matter, though she told him it was very difficult of accomplishment.⁴ The ultimate resolution was that a troop of horse in the Irish army should be solicited for the young man, which the Queen felt confident of obtaining, as the Earl of Leicester, then Lord Lieutenant, was one of her intimate friends; but the result of her application does not transpire.⁵

One reason of the favour with which Rupa was regarded by the Queen was that she was an expert horse-woman. Elizabeth's letters, during her summer residences at Rhenen, abound with allusions to her favourite amusements of riding and hunting.⁶ In the winter, dramatic performances furnished occasional entertainment to her Court. She tells Sir T. Roe that her daughters have been acting a play in French,—the tragedy of

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 2nd Jan. 1643, *S. P. Dom.*, 9th March, *S. P. Germ. States*.

² *Ibid.* 4th March, 1639, in cipher, *S. P. Germ. States*.

³ *Ibid.* 1st April, 7th May, 1639; 25th June, 1640, *S. P. Dom.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 22nd Feb. *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* 14th June, 1641, *ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 7th Jan. 1640, *ibid.* Addenda. [An interesting letter on this subject is one written to Nicholas in 1655. She is troubled to find her dear niece (Mary, Princess of Orange) so thin and pale, but is sure that if she will take exercise enough, she will soon be well. "After I had my first child," she continues, "I was just so, but I rumbled it away with riding and hunting; I tell her of it, but she is so deadly lazy."—"Archæologia," xxxvii. p. 239.]

Jason and Medea,—in which they acquitted themselves very creditably; that the whole play was acted by women, and his daughter had taken the part of “a grave matron”.¹

The Queen’s love of the drama was sorely reprobated by the consistory of Dutch ministers, who used their utmost influence to procure the suppression of the French players at the Hague, who were licensed by the magistrates and protected by the Prince of Orange.² The invectives from their pulpits being so intemperate as to produce an effect just contrary to that which was desired, they waited on the Prince of Orange, and laid their views before him. He received them coldly, and merely advised them to preach better, and then the plays would be less frequented. They next went to the Queen of Bohemia, requesting her majesty not to support the performances by her presence. Elizabeth told them she conceived that this was a pastime which might lawfully be enjoyed, and that she should use her own discretion; expressing some surprise at the incivility of their attempt to control her private conduct. They had previously offended her by desiring her chaplain, Dr. Johnson, to expatiate from the pulpit on certain points in her dress which were considered objectionable. “Formerly they desired me,” writes the doctor, “to preach against bare necks, by reason her majesty uses to go so, which I refusing, as being not sent to tell her majesty how to dress herself, they let me pass in this business.”³ Dr. Johnson was a *protégé* of Laud, and had been nominated by him to succeed Dr. Higgs, the Queen’s late chaplain. The Dutch consistory complained of him as inclining to Socinianism, and they accused him to Laud, who wrote to the Queen to say that, if the charge were true, he should feel compelled to recall the doctor. Elizabeth pleaded for him, and, as it soon appeared that the head and front of his offending consisted in his being a man of moderate principles, in a place where it was considered a crime not to be red-hot in a faction, and that he had preached strongly against the very doctrines he was supposed to hold, the Archbishop refused to remove him.⁴

Another English minister, Mr. Bamfort, one of the Puritan school, was accustomed to officiate in the English church at the Hague, which Elizabeth attended when she had not a private

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 30th Sept. 1641, *S. P. Dom.* [The Princess Sophia, being then only eleven, was told by her sisters that she was too young to take a part, as she could not learn so much by heart; whereat she was so vexed that she learnt the whole “comédie”.—“Memoires,” p. 37.]

² As early as 1619, Elizabeth, when at Prague, gave offence by her love of the drama, and Scultetus, the King’s chaplain, after in vain endeavouring to check it, angrily predicted the failure of the enterprise as the result of perseverance in evil.—*Merc. Polit.* 1651, 30th Oct.

³ Johnson to Laud, 5th Dec. 1639, *S. P. Holland.*

⁴ Laud to Roe, 4th Oct. 1639, *S. P. Dom.*

service. A more lucrative appointment at Amsterdam was offered him, and the Queen was ready enough to recommend him, as she "would have been very glad to have been rid of him," but he declined it, on the ground that he considered it of greater importance to keep the Book of Common Prayer out of the church where the Queen of Bohemia worshipped than to improve his own circumstances! ¹

The spring of 1642 brought an accession to the courtly circle at the Hague in the persons of Queen Henrietta Maria of England and her eldest daughter Mary, the affianced wife of the young Prince of Orange. Though differing essentially from each other, in their religious opinions, and in many points of personal character, the Queens associated with sisterly cordiality, and during the period, nearly a year, which Henrietta Maria spent in Holland, they held constant and friendly intercourse. ²

The newspapers of the day aver that the life of Elizabeth was threatened, in consequence of her endeavour to keep away from the Court at the Hague some of the ultra-royalists, such as Lord Digby and Lord Finch, who endeavoured to find access to Queen Henrietta. The statement is that the Parliamentary party in England had requested Elizabeth to use all her influence in preventing the access to her sister-in-law of such persons as were likely to urge rash and violent counsels upon her; that she had complied with the request, and thereby incurred the hot displeasure of the Romish faction; that on the 5th of March, two Jesuits, who had vainly attempted to gain an interview with the Bohemian Queen in their own characters, assumed a disguise, and obtained admission on the pretext of having a petition to present. She, entirely unsuspecting, was engaged in reading the paper which they presented, when one of them attempted to fire a pistol, which failing to act, the other sprang upon her with a poniard; but perceiving the danger, she flew into her chamber, with a piercing cry that brought out her attendants, and they immediately secured the villains, whose names are given as Anthony Taylor and John Brown. This statement, however, is not corroborated by the Queen's letters, nor by the official correspondence of the time, and cannot be relied upon; especially as Elizabeth was certainly on friendly terms with Finch, one of the obnoxious lords.

Henrietta Maria quitted the Hague in the spring of 1643; she left behind her little daughter Mary, scarcely more than eleven years of age, commending the child to the warm-hearted

¹ Johnson to Laud, 5th Dec. 1639, *S. P. Holland*.

² Letters of Queen of Bohemia to Sir T. Roe, 1642, *passim*. [Vandyck's pictures had given the Palatine Princesses such exalted ideas of the beauty of English ladies, that Sophia was surprised to find the Queen a little lady with long thin arms and projecting teeth. But she had lovely eyes and complexion and a very good nose, and after she had praised her youngest niece and said she was like her own daughter, Sophia thought her perfectly charming.]

love of her aunt; and during the long period of their residence in the same country, Elizabeth regarded her with a tenderness almost maternal.

The gradual increase of civil troubles in England had long caused Elizabeth deep anxiety. Whilst her sympathies were keenly alive in behalf of her brother, she could not but regret the want of timely and pacific measures, and the vehemence with which the war party was urged on by the English Queen. "I find," she writes, "by all the Queen's and her people's discourse, that they do not desire an agreement betwixt his majesty and the parliament, but that all be done by force, and rail abominably at the parliament; I hear all, and say nothing."¹

A crisis approached which caused these domestic disturbances to tell woefully upon Elizabeth's comfort. The Commons having taken the revenues of tonnage and poundage into their own hands, the source from which the Queen of Bohemia and her family had long been paid their monthly allowances² was cut off, and its withdrawal plunged them into serious difficulties. Just three weeks after the King's standard was erected at Nottingham, Sir Abraham Williams, Elizabeth's agent in England, presented a petition to the House on her behalf, which was seconded by the Dutch Ambassador, requesting the appointment of some other fund for supplying her wants. The request was received with respect, but the only result was an order that the House would take course to supply the same as soon as the distractions of the Kingdom (which disabled them for the present) were removed.³

In the summer of 1642, the Prince Elector was with the King at York, but when hostilities became imminent he took alarm, and, declining to help his uncle against the Parliament, he returned to Holland just at the time that his younger brothers, Rupert and Maurice, arrived in England, both eager for the fray. Soon after Charles Louis reached Holland, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to inform him of the evil odour into which Rupert was bringing himself with the Parliament by his impulsive conduct, and to suggest the exertion of family influence to restrain him. "I wish," he added, "that you and the Queen would write to him, yet the case is very tender; I know not what to advise, for all things are in extremes and must be guided with much wisdom."⁴ To this the Prince replied:—

"It is impossible either for the Queen my mother or myself to bridle my brother's youth and fieryness, at so great a distance and in the employment he has. It will be a great indiscretion in any to expect it, and an injustice to blame us for things beyond our help."⁵

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 12th April, 1642. [Cf. *ibid.* 23rd May (enclosure), *S. P. Dom.*]

² Accounts of Sir Abraham Williams, from 1633 to 1638, Audit Office Accounts; Issue Books, 1640, *et seq.*

³ Journ. Com. 12th Sept. ii. 762.

⁴ Roe to Charles Louis, 20th Sept. Harl. MS. 1901.

⁵ 6th Oct. *S. P. Dom.*

Just at this time the Prince issued (or is supposed to have issued) a declaration in behalf of himself and his mother, denouncing in violent terms the cruelties practised by his brother, and regretting that they were unable to calm down his unruly spirit.¹ The authenticity of this document has been questioned, but as an independent contemporaneous record mentions its presentation to the Houses of Parliament, it would seem to have been genuine. Still, there is no doubt that not only was the Queen deeply devoted to her brother's cause, but that the Parliament strongly suspected her to be so, and these suspicions led to the interception of her letters, in order that her real sentiments might be known. For some time nothing unfavourable was detected; the Queen even refrained from using cipher in her correspondence, lest it should be supposed that she was writing against the Parliament,² and frequently expressed in strong terms her wish for peace.

The facility with which her eldest son, under the influence of self-interested motives, threw himself into the cause of the Parliament, was extremely distasteful to Elizabeth. This Prince had received much personal kindness from King Charles, and had been educated mainly at his expense; and Elizabeth could not but feel the ungraciousness of his conduct, in leaving his uncle and corresponding with the opposite party.

In February, 1642-43, no money having been received by Elizabeth, Sir Abraham Williams again petitioned the House, "remonstrating" the Queen's extremities and pressing necessities. The matter was referred to the Navy Committee, but only a fortnight later some letters from the Queen to King Charles and Rupert were intercepted and read in the House, which gave great offence to the Parliament;³ the Queen was troubled, and wrote to Sir T. Roe, to request his friendly interference in her favour.⁴ In his reply, Roe informed her that he had done his best to bring her case favourably before the Houses, but that the reply was, that any apology, to be effective, must come from the Queen herself; and he advised her to send such a letter as might conciliate the Parliament, without offending the King,

¹ Printed in Somers' "Historical Tracts," iv. 498; Queen of Bohemia's Propositions, 4to, 1642 [-3]. [In Spalding's "History of the Troubles in Scotland" are printed certain "remarkable passages from the Houses of Parliament, etc.," 12-15th Oct. 1642, in which the following occurs. "There was also a letter presented from the Queen of Bohemia, expressing her hearty sorrow for the proceedings of her sons in England against the Parliament . . . and that they came not over hither with any such purpose to her knowledge or with her consent, and therefore desires the Parliament that in whatsoever they have offended, they may be strictly called to account." This does not tally with the printed letter, but would appear to refer to the same matter. There is no notice of any such letter in either the Lords or Commons Journals.]

² Elizabeth to Roe, 2nd Jan. 1643, *S. P. Dom.*

³ Journ. Com. vol. ii. p. 989, vol. iii. p. 55.

⁴ 16th March, 1643, *S. P. Germ. States.*

—a task which, though difficult, he doubted not her wisdom would be able to accomplish.¹ In compliance with his advice, Elizabeth wrote the following letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons :—

“Sir,

“Having understood, by imperfect reports, of the interception of some letters which I wrote occasionally to the king, and my son, whereat the parliament had taken offence, I cannot be at rest till I have endeavoured to remove all such impressions as might deprive me of their good opinion, which I so truly value, and have ever found favourable in my behalf ; I would therefore entreat you to acquaint the honourable House of Commons, whereof you are speaker, that albeit I cannot at present remember what I then particularly writ, yet if anything did perchance slip from my pen, in the private relation between a mother and a son, which might give them the least distaste, I entreat them to make no worse construction of it than was by me intended ; having never admitted of any thought or resolution which hath not been sincere and constant to the public peace and prosperity of the kingdom. With this profession I desire the honourable house to rest satisfied, that I may stand as upright in their judgment as I am in my affections ; and that thereupon, considering of the distress whereunto I am brought by the wrong and oppression of my enemies, they would not give them occasion to rejoice, by stopping those necessary supplies, which, by the love of the king my father, and king my brother, I have hitherto enjoyed, and without which I have no other subsistence in this world.

“I do therefore entreat the honourable house to take my pressing wants into their kind consideration, and give such speedy order for my relief that I may be kept from inconvenience in a foreign country.

“Sir, I crave your favour in representing hereof : and I shall ever remain,

Your most assured friend,

“ELIZABETH.”²

“Hague, 13th April, 1643.”

This letter was accompanied by a similar appeal to the House of Lords. After some delay, Sir Henry Vane gave the Queen hopes that money would be remitted to her ;³ but, having waited some weeks in vain, she sent an express with fresh letters representing the extremity of her case, urging that the longer help was deferred, the heavier her burden became, and praying for relief both from her pressing wants and from the evils to which they might lead.⁴ The Queen's letters were crossed on the road by the copy of an order made by the House for the payment of 3,000*l.*, which (even if sent) was still so small a sum in comparison with the arrears due to her, that she earnestly entreated either a renewed grant, or an augmentation of the present one.⁵ Roe told her that he was rejoiced at

¹ Harl. MS. 1901, f. 66, date 7th April.

² Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 60, 13th April, 1643.

³ *Ibid.* 25th May.

⁴ Tanner MS. No. 62, f. 132, Bodleian Library, Oxford, original. Printed in Journ. Lords, vol. vi. p. 193. It was directed to the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers, dated 29th June and read 21st Aug. See also Prince Elector to Pym, Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 150.

⁵ Elizabeth to Roe, 6th July, *S. P. Germ. States.*

her obtaining a small taste of parliamentary bounty, but he feared the streams from that fountain would not be in any proportion to her necessities. The active part which the two Palatine Princes, Rupert and Maurice, took in the Civil War, was not likely to propitiate the feeling of the House towards their mother. A member of her household, writing about this time, said :—

“ Our gracious mistress hath her part (as who hath not) in these public sufferings; it is upon a full year that her entertainments hath been stopped, and I believe that she fareth the worse for the impetuoussness of Prince Rupert her son, who is quite out of her government.”¹

In August there was, however, a conference of both Houses on the subject, when Lord Denbigh declared that the Lords were “ extremely sensible that a lady of her great quality and family should be in these wants,” but reminded the Commons that this being a money matter, it must be left to their care to find a remedy.² The remedy, in the then state of the Parliament finances, was evidently not easy to find. Even the Prince Elector, facile and complying as he was to the Parliament, could not get any money. In March, 1643, 3,000*l.* were ordered to be paid to him out of the King’s revenue (seized by the Parliament) next after the moneys for the King’s children, but in spite of resolutions and conferences nothing was done. At the beginning of April, 1644, a message from the Lords, that his “ carriage and respect for the Parliament ” deserved all favour, brought forth merely another resolution, that whereas the Prince Elector had yet received no benefit from the order of March, 1643, the Committee of Revenue was to be quickened to make payment.³ As regarded the King, Roe assured Elizabeth that his Majesty was rather relieved than displeased at the prospect of help being afforded her, but advised her to be extremely careful at all times that her brother should be fully acquainted with what passed between her and the Parliament, lest otherwise he might construe it into neglect of himself and a willingness to be entirely dependent upon them. This point Elizabeth carefully guarded, and had the good fortune to retain the favour of both parties. But the King greatly disappointed her, by refusing to promote her long-tried friend, Sir T. Roe, either to office or to the peerage; and the Queen, by declining to admit the Lady Rupa, his adopted daughter, to a vacant post in her household.⁴

The year 1644 was marked in the history of Elizabeth by a succession of domestic troubles, beginning with personal illness.

¹ Dineley to —, 14th June, 1643; printed in Warburton’s *Rupert*, vol. ii. p. 196.

² *Journ. Comm.* iii. p. 213.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 26, 446.

⁴ Elizabeth to Roe, 2nd Sept. 5th Oct. 1643, *S. P. Germ. States*.

An attack of pleurisy, lasting several days,¹ was followed by a severe cold, which again laid her aside; and, at the same time, she received tidings of the illness and death of her mother-in-law, the Dowager-Electress Palatine. For nearly five-and-twenty years they had not met, but they had kept up a constant correspondence, and the Electress, from her familiar intercourse with the Court of Brandenburg, where she resided, had often been able to give important information and advice in the affairs of the Palatine family. On her dying bed, she ordered her daughter Catherine to write to the Queen of Bohemia, and say that she was sorry to be too weak to answer her last letters; but that she prayed earnestly for her, and should love her to the last. She sent her blessing to her grand-children, whose restoration she would so gladly have seen, but bade them live well, and trust God for the rest.² The Queen sincerely regretted her venerable relative, and it was at her suggestion that Spanheim, the German historian, undertook the life of the Electress, to which frequent references were made in the early part of this memoir, and which was dedicated to the Queen of Bohemia.

The death of her mother-in-law was succeeded by the illness of her youngest child, the Princess Sophia; a chronic disorder to which she had been subject from childhood so increased upon her that the Queen wrote to consult Sir Theodore Mayerne on the case. He sent directions for diet and medicines which accomplished the desired object.³ This source of uneasiness was followed by another in the indisposition of the eldest Princess, which continued nearly a month, and the rapidly declining health of her old and valued friend, Sir Thomas Roe. Elizabeth was very anxious that he should consult a Polish doctor, who had attended the late Electress, and wrote to him to that effect.⁴ Her letter was accompanied by the following affectionate epistle from the Princess Elizabeth.⁵

“ Sir Thomas Roe,

“ I see many reasons in your last letter why you should be weary of the world, and willing to leave it, but there are none that shew you useless unto it, or the same fit to want you. If physicians are necessary in sickness, counsellors in distractions, friends in afflictions and calamities, certainly in general depravities there is as much need of honest men, though unable to correct the manners, at least to mitigate the punishments. There was no danger for Sodom till Lot went out of it, and since the point of honour obliges men to hazard their life for their country, there must be yet

¹ Elizabeth to Roe, 22nd Jan. 1644, *S. P. Germ. States*. [This and other of Elizabeth's letters about this time, are calendered amongst the Domestic State Papers, but the originals are in *S. P. Germ. States*.]

² Spanheim, “ Life of Louise Juliane,” p. 404.

³ Mayerne's Letters, f. 273, MS. 2339, in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

⁴ 6th June, 1644, copy, *S. P. Holland*.

⁵ [There are other letters from this Princess to Roe amongst the Domestic State Papers for 1641.]

a stricter law to make them preserve it for the same cause. Do not therefore flatter yourself into a despair of amendment which will bring you to neglect the means. If this air were not more hurtful than our physicians can be profitable, I would counsel you to follow your first design, but now methinks France should be the better place for your health. I have not spoken all this while of our own interest in your conservation, lest you should believe we were not yet satisfied with the good we have received, and would disturb you, as Saul did Samuel, in your very grave. But I assure you we are all loth to lose so generous a friend, and would purchase his continuance at any rate. My own sickness hindered me three weeks from telling you this truth, and desiring the continuance of your friendship to

“Your most affectionate friend,
 “The 1st of June, 1644.

ELIZABETH.”

The reply of the old man to his royal mistress assures her that he is very ill, not far from the brink of the grave, but that so dear to him are her manifold tokens of favour, that had he another life to wear out, he should esteem it too cheap a sacrifice to be offered in her cause.¹ This was the last letter the Queen received from him. He died during the summer. In him she lost a judicious and devoted friend; and the cessation of the familiar epistles in which she so frankly expressed to him her inmost thoughts, and which he so carefully preserved, is a serious loss to her biography.

In the autumn of 1644, the Prince Elector again went over to England, but his reception by the Parliament was not encouraging. They ordered apartments at Whitehall to be prepared for his reception, and presented to him 500*l.* for his maintenance, but they told him plainly that they thought he had been better in Holland, and would do well to go back;² whilst Charles I. wrote him a cold letter, stating, that having never known the reason why he left him at York, to return to Holland, he should not have troubled to inquire the cause of his re-appearance, but for the interest he must ever feel in the son of his sister. The Prince's reply to his uncle was short and abrupt, simply referring him to his declaration to the Parliament, a copy of which he inclosed.³ Towards the Parliament he showed great cordiality; assured them that he ever wished well to their arms, trusted that the actions of his friends in England—alluding to his brothers Rupert and Maurice—would not cause him to be regarded with jealousy, and begged permission not only to be present at the sittings of the House, but to attend the Assembly of divines which met to discuss questions of religion.⁴

That Charles Louis, as well as his royal mother, should

¹ Roe to Queen of Bohemia, 20th June, 1644, Harl. MS. 1901, f. 122 b.

² Journ. Com. iii. 614, 615.

³ Newspapers, 1st-8th Jan. 1645; King's Pamphlets.

⁴ Rushworth, vol. v. p. 713; Siri Mercurio, vol. iv. pt. 2, pp. 789, 806; see also Carte's Ormonde Papers, p. 69; Prince Elector to Speaker Parl. 12th Feb. 1645; Newspapers, Aug. Sept., King's Pamphlets; Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 675.

wish to keep on good terms with the party upon whom depended their daily bread, and with whose principles he might partially sympathize, was perfectly natural; but his base truckling to the taste of the people, and his subserviency to the men by whom, at that very moment, two of his brothers were proscribed as traitors and rebels, argues a meanness of character of which his after-conduct furnishes too many proofs, and which greatly disappointed the hopes formed of him whilst he still remained under the control of his mother. Not the least marked evidence of this trait appears in his acceptance of a revenue, to be derived from the forfeiture of lands of the partizans of his uncle, Charles I.¹ It was even suspected in diplomatic quarters, that there was an under plot between him and one of the parliamentary leaders,² to transfer the crown from the family of Charles to that of his sister, and place it on the head of the Palatine Prince;³ but this lacks confirmation.

The patience of Elizabeth was still sorely tried by the tardiness of the Parliament in sending the supplies she needed, and also by the jealous surveillance they exercised over her conduct. She wrote to the Earl of Essex, who had formerly been her friend, and a leader of the English troops in the German war, requesting his mediation in her behalf; on which he addressed the following letter to the House of Peers:—

“ My lords,

“ It hath pleased the Queen of Bohemia to write to me, and make known her necessities to be so great that she wants wherewith to defray her charge of her house. Your lordships know how much this kingdom is concerned in honour to see that a princess of her birth and near alliance to this crown should not fall into a condition so much below herself; wherefore I beseech your lordships to take it into your consideration, and, if you think fit, to communicate it likewise to the honourable House of Commons; and I doubt not but, though the burden and charge of the kingdom be now very great, yet some honourable provision will be made herein. I hope your lordships will pardon this boldness in me, in respect of that which I owe to that princess, for whose sake, and in whose service, I had the honour first to bear arms. And if my intercession may any way advantage her, I shall take it for a great favour done to

“ Your lordships’ humble servant,
ESSEX.”⁴

“ Abingdon,
27th May, 1644.”

The Lords communicated with the Commons on the subject, and they replied by a remonstrance against the chaplain of the Queen, Dr. Johnson, whom they represented to be a man very ill affected towards the Parliament, and one who did much harm by prejudicing the mind of his mistress against the popular cause. They desired her to dismiss him, and accept in his place some

¹ *Siri Mercurio*, vol. v. pt. 1, p. 215.

² [Sir Henry Vane, junior. See Gardiner’s “Great Civil War,” ii. 27.]

³ Sabran’s Despatches, Sept. 1644; Raumer, “Geschichte,” vol. iii. p. 330.

⁴ *Journ. Lords*, vol. vi. p. 583.

“godly, learned, conscionable divine,” to be selected by themselves.¹ With this request the Queen complied, and at their bidding accepted a Mr. Cowper, who conducted her domestic worship without the use of the Church of England service.² This deviation from her habitual forms became painful to Elizabeth, and though too poor to salary a chaplain, she subsequently accepted with gratitude the partial services of Dr. George Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, who for two years and a half took the office, with no compensation beyond board for himself and his servant.³

The Queen's submission in this particular disposed the Commons to regard her case with more serious consideration: ⁴ they voted her a pension of 2000*l.* a-year, with payment of her arrears as soon as possible; and appointed a committee to consider the settlement of her monthly allowance.⁵ These favours, she acknowledged in a letter to the Speaker of the Commons.⁶ But delays, unexpected and unwelcome, once more occurred in the execution of the orders, and Elizabeth was compelled again to address a petition to the Houses.⁷

“Mr. Speaker,

“I had much rather give you occasion to represent my thanks to this honourable house than trouble you at all with my complaints, but since they have been pleased to vote several orders, and thereby declare a purpose to provide for my supply, I am forced by the extremity of my wants, to repair unto them for some speedy relief. I know not where it sticketh, nor what the cause hath been that my business hath been so long delayed. I hope it proceedeth not from any unwillingness observed on my part to comply with the desires of this honourable house. Sure I am that, since the passing of those orders, the creditors here were fed with expectation to receive something every month; but now, after so many months, their hopes fail them, and my debts increase; and, if present order be not taken, my credit will support me no longer. I do therefore most earnestly beseech this honourable house to consider my pressing wants, and neither permit them to run on till they be past remedy, nor suffer me to be thereby exposed to dishonour among strangers where I live. I doubt not the affection of this honourable house to perfect whatsoever they intended towards me. I only crave the expedition thereof, my necessities not admitting more delay. To which end I have appointed Sir Robert Honeywood, my steward, to attend

¹ Journ. Com. vol. iii. p. 544; Journ. Lords, vol. vi. p. 588.

² Journ. Com. vol. iv. 69 (5th March, 1644-5). Harrington's Diary, Addit. MS. 10114, under date 20th April, 1646.

³ Kennet's Chron. p. 448.

⁴ A newspaper writer records that “the care and compassion of the State flows out of this kingdom into the Hague, over all the cruelty and inhumanity of her son Rupert, which lie in the way. But do you not think he is a dutiful Prince that will not allow his royal mother a pension out of all his plunder? He might send over a chain of rubies of the congealed blood of the godly whom he massacres here, and a chain of diamonds of the tears of widows and orphans of his own making.”

⁵ Journ. Com. vol. iv. p. 69.

⁶ 27th March, 1645, Tanner MS. No. 60, pt. 1, fol. 13, Bodleian Library, original.

⁷ Tanner MS. vol. 60, pt. 1, fol. 239, Bodleian Library, original.

their favourable dispatch ; desiring you to represent this much to this honourable Commons house of Parliament, whereof you are speaker, in behalf of

“Your most assured friend,

“ELIZABETH.”

“Hague, the 21st of August, 1645.

“For Mr. Lenthall, the speaker of the House of Commons.”

Receiving no answer, the Queen thought it advisable, in the following spring, to send over her chaplain, Mr. Cowper, to remonstrate against the dilatory proceedings of the committee to whom her cause had been referred.¹ Thus reminded, the House again took the subject into consideration, and agreed to continue to the Queen the pension of 2000*l.* a-year which they had assigned her, and to add to it 10,000*l.* per annum instead of the 18,000*l.* allowed by her brother. The treasurers at Goldsmiths' Hall (*i.e.* of the Committee for Compounding with delinquents) were ordered to pay her 10,000*l.* for present use, the yearly amounts to be paid by the Committee of Revenue (8000*l.* a year having already been granted to the Prince Elector from delinquents' estates).² Elizabeth wrote to the House, expressing her thanks for their kindness, and her earnest hope that a happy peace might speedily ensue, to their mutual rejoicing.³

The year 1645 had brought upon the Queen a calamity which she little expected. Her fourth son, Edward, who for several years had been a resident in France, publicly abjured his Protestantism, and received the communion from the coadjutor of Paris.⁴ This was the result of a stolen love-match between himself and a Princess of the House of Nevers, Anne de Gonzaga, whose wit and political influence alike rendered her a person of importance in the French Court. She was severely blamed for falling in love with and marrying a portionless youth, when some of the noblest men in France were suitors for her hand ; but her fault was considered as partially atoned for when she had made a convert of her husband.

The intelligence so distressed the Queen, that it quite overthrew her wonted equanimity. She wrote to the Prince Elector, declaring that she would rather have died than see a child of hers abandon the Protestantism in which he had been so carefully trained, and that she much regretted not having sent the boy to England, instead of allowing him to remain in France.⁵ Rendered anxious by Prince Edward's conduct, the Queen, early in 1646, proceeded to remove from the suite of her other sons one or two attendants suspected of a leaning towards Popery ; and to Prince Philip, who, though still very young, had accepted

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 130.

² Journ. Com. iv. 265, 300.

³ Harrington's Diary, Addit. MS. 10114 ; Journ. Com. vol. iv. p. 515 ; Journ. Lords, vol. viii. pp. 281, 338 ; Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 260.

⁴ Gaz. Franç. 1645, p. 1028.

⁵ See reply of Charles Louis, Bromley Letters, p. 27.

an important post in the Venetian army, she gave the strictest charge that he should never abandon the religion of his ancestors.¹

This Prince had incurred his mother's displeasure by an act of rashness which involved him in the crime of murder. A French gentleman, M. de l'Épinay, who held some position in the Queen's Court, was a favourite with her, but disliked by her sons; and young Philip, on some affront, real or imaginary, rushed upon him with his drawn weapon, and inflicted a wound which ultimately proved fatal.² His conduct was the more unpardonable since he attacked an unarmed foe, whilst he himself had companions to assist him if needful. So much indignation was excited that fifty Frenchmen pledged themselves in wine, mingled with blood, to avenge the outrage.³ Distressed and indignant at her son's conduct, Elizabeth refused to admit him to her presence, and banished him from the Hague; he wrote to solicit the mediation of his eldest brother, the Prince Elector, which was readily afforded.⁴ How long Philip remained in disgrace we are not informed; but towards the end of the year, by leave of the Parliament, he went over to England, and raised 1000 men for the service of Venice, whither he then departed.⁵

In July, 1646, Rupert went to France and Maurice made his appearance at the Hague. The former had been cashiered and disgraced by Charles I. for the surrender of Bristol to the Parliamentary army,—one of those acts of military expediency, respecting which much has been said on both sides; but the strongest censure that can justly be passed upon the Prince is that of want of judgment; his life-long career forbids the imputation of cowardice or treason.⁶ He had lingered some time in England,—pardoned, though not employed, as before, by his uncle,—but now, with his brother Maurice, was ordered to depart, and obtained a command in the French army in Flanders.⁷

In December, 1645, the Queen of Poland, Louise Marie de Gonzaga of Mantua, had passed through Holland, but she did not visit the Hague; and as her movements were uncertain, the Queen of Bohemia excused herself from waiting upon her in person, and sent her by her son Philip a present of beautifully embroidered horse housings.⁸ Elizabeth shrank at all times from

¹ Bromley Letters, 8th May, 1646, 9th Jan. 1646-47, pp. 131, 136.

² Vornhagen, "Sophie Charlotte," p. 9.

³ Janus Ulilius to Heinsius, Burman, "Sylloges Epist." vol. iii. p. 709.

⁴ Charles Louis to the Queen, 10th July, 1646, Bromley Letters, p. 133.

⁵ Rushworth, vol. vii. pp. 1069, 1119; Harl. MS. 7000, f. 209; Charles Louis to Speaker.

⁶ See on this point Raumer, "Geschichte," vol. iii. p. 337; Carte's "Ormonde Papers," p. 134; Siri Mercurio, vol. v. pt. i. p. 215; and Rupert's printed Excuses, King's Pamphlets.

⁷ Gaz. de France, 1646, pp. 634, 674. Clar. State Papers, ii. 301.

⁸ Gaz. de France, 1646, p. 93.

formal interviews with foreign princes, which could not but remind her how strong was the contrast between the splendour demanded by her royal title, and the frugality and comparative meanness with which her household economy was necessarily conducted; and the fact that this Queen was sister to her daughter-in-law, the wife of Prince Edward, and the instrument of his perversion, rendered her the less inclined to a meeting.

In the autumn of 1646, Madame de Longueville, daughter of the Prince of Condé, whose husband was also of the blood royal of France, in travelling through Holland, came with her daughter to the Hague. They were anxious for an interview with the Queen of Bohemia; but to avoid the humiliation to which she must have been subjected, if the eyes that were accustomed to the splendours of the Louvre and Versailles dwelt upon the time-worn velvets and faded furniture of her comparatively humble apartments, Elizabeth arranged a *quasi* accidental meeting with the French ladies, during an evening walk in the gardens of the Prince of Orange. She was accompanied by two of her daughters and her son Maurice, and attended by a maid of honour and a small company of ladies and gentlemen. They met the French princesses and their suite in one of the walks; and after the exchange of salutations, Madame de Longueville took the left hand of the Queen and walked by her side, her daughter placing herself between the two Palatine Princesses. After some time they retired to an arbour, and there continued awhile longer in an animated conversation, which our informant, an attendant on Madame de Longueville, was not able to hear. The ladies then attended the Queen to her residence, when she kissed them and withdrew. The next day Prince Maurice paid them a visit of compliment.¹ The same writer records that he saw the Queen dine in public, with her niece, the Princess Royal, and that in their gentle and serious dignity they never forgot their royal birth; they were always served on the knee, but their furnishings were far inferior to those of Madame de Longueville.

In England, political changes followed each other with strange rapidity in the downward whirl of royalty. The King's frequent defeats—his fatal surrender of his person to the Scots—his yielding him up to the Parliament—his seizure by the army—his escape to the Isle of Wight and imprisonment there—were all scenes in the terrible drama which excited the warmest sympathies of the Queen of Bohemia. When her nephew, the Prince of Wales, arrived at the Hague, none gave him a more cordial welcome than Elizabeth.² She willingly permitted her son Rupert to assume office under his

¹ Harley MS. 4471, Voyage of Mdme. and Mdle. de Longueville to Holland.

² Newspapers, July and Sept. 1643.

bidding, as admiral of a fleet destined for an attack on Ireland.

It soon became evident that not only the throne but the very life of Charles I. was in danger. With the clinging tenderness of a sister's heart, Elizabeth had braved the risk incurred by constant and loving correspondence with him; and now, when danger threatened, she yearned to behold him once more, to throw around him, if possible, the shield of her own still lingering popularity, and to save him from impending calamity.¹ She began to make arrangements for visiting England; but before her purpose could be carried into effect, the fatal blow was struck, and civilised Europe beheld, for the first time, the tragedy of a king perishing on a scaffold.

The news of the death of Charles I. reached the Hague just at the time when tidings also arrived of the ratification of the treaty of Westphalia, by which the long-exiled Palatine family were restored to part of their hereditary estates. Despairing of help from England, Elizabeth had at last consented to a modification of her son's demands, and no longer insisted on "all or nothing"; whilst the advantages gained by the French and Swedes in Germany induced the Houses of Austria and Bavaria to listen more readily to a composition. The principal feature of it was, that the Lower Palatinate should be fully restored, unencumbered with debt, on condition of a final and full renunciation of the Upper Palatinate. The difficulty in reference to the electoral dignity was met by the creation of an eighth electorate, so that the Bavarian and Palatine families both retained the dignity, with a proviso that in case of failure in the Bavarian line, the eighth electorate should be suppressed, and the Upper Palatinate return to the Palatine House.²

The friendly Hollanders warmly sympathized in the joy of the exiled family, and public rejoicings and thanksgivings were appointed to celebrate the event; but when Elizabeth received the fatal tidings from England, she stopped all signs of gratulation, that seemed but to mock the sorrow into which she was plunged. A lock of her brother's hair, brought over by a faithful servant, was set in a mourning ring, with the device of a crown over a skull and cross-bones, and the letters C. R., and to the day of her death was always worn by the Queen;³ as was also a miniature of her brother, set in gold studded with diamonds.⁴

¹ Army's Modest Intelligencer, 19th Jan. 1649. In one of his last letters to his son Charles, the King writes: "My sister hath desired me to thank you and your brother for your respects to her, which indeed is well done, for her affection truly speaks her my sister."—Dated, Newport, Tuesday, 3rd Oct. 1648, Harl. MS. 6949, f. 61.

² Worsley's Collection of Treaties, 4to, Lond. 1746, p. 14.

³ Moderate Intelligencer, 23rd Feb. 1649; Bromley Letters, preface.

⁴ Inventory of the Queen's jewels, *S. P. Germ. States*, 1st March, 1662.

The death of King Charles was a crime which Elizabeth never forgave: from that moment she temporised no more in expressing her burning indignation against the republican party; she carefully avoided giving to the ruling powers in England the title of "Commonwealth" which they assumed; and henceforward supported with the whole weight of her influence, and beyond the limits of prudence, the interests of the royalists. The consequence is easy to anticipate. On the 8th of May, 1649, her pension of 12,000*l.* a-year, which, though ill paid, was her only means of support, was declared by Parliament to be suspended,¹ and she was left absolutely without resources, in a town where she was already deeply in debt, and her credit exhausted.² In the spring of 1651 she wrote to her agent in England, Sir Abraham Williams, ordering him to send her certain documents, by aid of which she felt disposed to challenge the power of the Parliament to revoke grants passed under the great seal of England, or at any rate the right to withhold the arrears due up to the date of the revocation.³ Having obtained the necessary papers, the Queen, with the assistance of Lord Craven, drew up a distinct statement of the grants made to her, and the sums due upon them;⁴ and then applied to the States-General, who

¹ Journ. Com. vol. vi. p. 205.

² [In regard to this time of dire financial straits, when recourse had to be made to pawning or selling their jewels, Princess Sophia wrote that their repasts were more extravagant than those of Cleopatra, for the Court had to feed on pearls and diamonds. She speaks most affectionately of Lord Craven's kindness, who from his better-filled purse gave her "a thousand pretty gifts" and whose cheerful good humour made light of all their hardships. "Memoires," p. 43.]

³ 8th May, 1651, Tanner MS. No. 54, fol. 56, Bodleian Library.

⁴ The rough draft of it is still in the possession of the Earl of Craven, whose courtesy has permitted the use of many valuable papers relating to the Queen of Bohemia. The suggested additions in the margin are in the first Lord Craven's handwriting.

	True estate of the Queen of Bohemia's entertainments (<i>i.e.</i> money allowed and money paid), from King James her father and King Charles her brother.*	Of blessed memory:
* of blessed memory.		
† Majesty.	Two thousand pounds <i>per ann.</i> : were settled upon her† by King James her father, at the time of her marriage, to continue for life for her own personal expences, which was about the year 1613. This was settled by the great seal which her majesty keepeth in her custody	£2,000
‡ After her expulsion out of the Palatinate and her coming to the Hague, anno 1621.	Fifteen hundred pounds <i>per mensem</i> was settled upon her majesty‡ for the expences of her court and education of her children, when she came to reside at the Hague about the year 1621.§ This also was settled by the great seal which her majesty keepeth in her own custody. This monthly allowance amounted to, by the year	£18,000
§ Which monthly allowance was settled under the great seal, and amounts by the year to . . .	Eleven hundred and fifty pounds were also settled upon her Majesty at the same time, for provision of beer and liveries, whereof she also keepeth the patent in her custody. This, by the year, amounted to	£1,150
by patent.		Total . . . £21,150 (per ann.)

were negotiating a treaty with the Parliament, for the insertion of a special article to secure the payment of her arrears, urging that otherwise her creditors must be severe losers, and soliciting also the continuance of her pension, till the restoration of her jointure lands in the Palatinate.¹ The States, on the receipt of her application, appointed commissioners to represent the case to the English ambassadors at the Hague, and to endeavour to procure terms favourable to the unfortunate lady.²

Walter Strickland and Oliver St. John, the parties on whose consideration the Queen was now thrown, were of all others the least likely to feel cordially towards her. She had given the strictest orders that no one in her household should hold intercourse with them, and had forbidden any person associated with them to come to her court; declaring that any transgressor of this rule should be flung downstairs and kicked out of doors. Although she promised the States, on their application, that no affront should be offered to the ambassadors by any member of her household,³ yet her son, Prince Edward, insulted them in their carriage.⁴ They complained to some members of the States-General, and a deputation was sent by them to the Queen of Bohemia to demand whether they were not masters of their own country, and, if so, by what right the

These two last allowances, granted by King James, her father, were confirmed afterwards by King Charles, her brother, by divers Privy Seals, one bearing the date of the last July, 1631; another the 8th of May, 1633; a third the 10th of Feb. 1635.

True estate of the arrears due to the Queen of Bohemia upon the further entertainments :

	Upon the yearly pension of 2,000 <i>l.</i> for her own person until our Lady-day, 1647, which was ordered by the House of Commons the 5th of March, 1644, to be paid quarterly	£4,227 10 0
* Majesty's.	Upon the yearly allowance of eighteen thousand pounds for the support of her * household and children, as appears by Sir Abraham Williams' books	£76,000
	Upon the yearly allowance of eleven hundred and fifty pounds for living and beer until Ladyday, 1649, as appears by the said books	£10,275
	Here it is to be noted that the two former entertainments were stopped, by order of parliament, and a new allowance of ten thousand pounds per ann : appointed her majesty to commence the 22nd of April, 1647, to be paid by 833 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per mensem, which, being eleven months in arrears, with 500 <i>l.</i> arrears for the month of May, 1648, amounts to	£966 13 4
	Total of all arrears	£100,969 3 4

Endorsed—

A true note of all the Queen of Bohemia's entertainments, and her arrears due thereupon.

¹ Tanner MS. *ut supra*, f. 72; Thurloe, vol. i. p. 184; Federa, vol. ix. pt. iii. p. 148.

² Federa, *ut supra*, p. 149.

³ Mercurius Politicus, 29th May, 1651.

⁴ ["You will have heard," she wrote to her nephew, King Charles, "of the high business between my son and their pretended ambassadors, whom Ned called by their true names." Hist. MSS. Comm., Report on Heathcote MSS. p. 6.]

Prince violated their commands and presumed to offend the ambassadors. Their language was stern as well as resolute; and they significantly told her that it would have been better for herself and her family had such a circumstance never transpired. Elizabeth expressed her regret, and summoned her son into her presence. The youth made an awkward apology, but no faith was given to his excuses; he was, however, startled into better manners, and the Bohemian court was for some days in suspense, fearing what might ensue.¹

The States referred the matter to a court of justice, on the ground that any violation of the respect due to ambassadors was a breach of the law of nations. "It was England," writes the angry parliamentarian who records these facts; "it was En land that received the affront done by the petty, paltry thing called Prince, whose very nursing was paid for out of the purse of England; and therefore we are confident those in power here among the Dutch cannot but consult so far with their own honours as to make a severe vindication, answerable to a crime of so high a nature." To the disappointment of the English, the States contented themselves with an admonition to the Prince to have "a better tongue another time". He loudly boasted that they could not punish him, a free-born Prince of the empire,² and showed his bravado spirit by postponing for a week his intended journey to Germany, lest it should be supposed he was influenced by fear of punishment. The ambassadors threatened to leave the Hague unless the Prince removed elsewhere: to this he at length consented, and the Queen was requested to see that none of her household transgressed in future, as the rank of the offender would not again purchase impunity.³

No favour could reasonably be hoped from men thus irritated; accordingly the petition of the States on behalf of the Queen, met with the following haughty reply:—

"30th June, 1651.

"High and mighty lords,

"The letter written unto your lordships by the Queen of Bohemia, and your order made thereupon, were delivered unto us by two of the deputies of your assembly, upon the 30th day of this instant June; and having read the same, we find that the scope of the said letter is to engage your lordships to mediate the payment of the arrears of the pension, which she pretends was granted to her by King James, her father, and confirmed to her by King Charles, her brother, and since continued to her by the parliament, and reduced to 10,000*l.* *per annum*; and that the same may be continued to be paid to her, for her maintenance, until she be able to enjoy the revenue of her jointure in the Palatinate; and also that your lordships, upon reading the said letter, have thought fit, by an order, (wherein you

¹ Perfect Passages, 11th April, 1651.

² Mercurius Politicus, 3rd to 19th April, 1651.

³ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 494.

style Charles, late King of England, Charles the First,) to appoint your commissioners to endeavour and mediate the said business with us, according and in conformity to her request. And having considered the said letter, we do observe that she doth not express therein from whom she expects the said payments of the said arrears, and the 10,000*l. per annum* for the future ; insomuch that, unless your lordships had, by your mediation and recommendation in that behalf, applied and expounded the meaning of that letter, we could not, from anything therein have thought the commonwealth of England to be intended thereby, or ourselves obliged to take any notice thereof. And, although it now comes unto us accompanied with your lordships' desires, to whom the parliament of the Commonwealth of England, as your good friends and allies, hath been always ready to express all offices of love and friendship ; yet, considering this case, and the carriage of it by the person whom it doth concern, we cannot but think it enough for us to say, that when the Queen of Bohemia thinks fit to make any address to the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, for anything she hath in demand from them, it will be then time enough for her to expect an answer thereunto.

“But because she labours to possess your lordships, and the good people of this country, her creditors, upon whom, it seems, she hath lived for some years last past, that she hath a great debt owing unto her from the parliament of England, and also a constant maintenance due unto her for the future, for want whereof she cannot satisfy her creditors, nor pay her just debts ; endeavouring thereby to draw the clamour thereof upon the parliament, and to draw the people into further engagement for her future subsistence : we thought it further convenient to declare that, although we know not that either King James, her father, or Charles, late king of England, her brother, did make any such grants unto her as are mentioned in her letter ; yet, if they did, we are sure that, as they were never ratified or confirmed by act of parliament, so neither do they, in law or equity, bind the parliament of the Commonwealth of England to the payment of what was granted therein, even upon the case which the queen herself, in the said letter, hath set forth ; for Charles, the last king of England, under whom she claims, being attainted of high treason, whereby all his lands and other estate whatsoever is forfeited, and come to the Commonwealth of England, discharged of this said grant, and of all the arrearage pretended to be due upon the same. And if, upon her own case, there be nothing due to her of right, she hath no reason to expect anything from the parliament of grace and favour ; not only because the relation that moved the said two kings (she being daughter to one, and sister to the other,) to allow her that maintenance is ceased, but also because the queen, by herself and all her relations, hath opposed to her power the Commonwealth of England, and upon all occasions expressed the greatest enmity thereunto. And therefore your lordships will be satisfied that we cannot send the said letter of the Queen of Bohemia to the parliament, nor your recommendation thereof ; and that, not only upon the reasons aforesaid, but also because, in your order before-mentioned, Charles, the late king of England, is styled Charles the First, which implies that there is a second Charles, king of England, against which expression, in the name of the Commonwealth of England, we do protest, no person whatsoever having any right or title to be king of England.

“Your lordships' most affectionate servants, &c.¹

“The 22^o June, 1651.”

Elizabeth used all her influence, but with only partial success, to lead her son the Elector to an identification as close as her own with the royalist cause. Charles Louis had parted from his uncle in peace. The King would not cherish anger against

¹ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 189.

his sister's child, but he had refused to allow the presence of this hollow-hearted relative to disturb the composure of his latter days, and therefore declined a last formal interview.¹ Early in February, 1649, the Elector sent a respectful letter to the Parliament, entreating their permission to retire with his train to Germany, and their continuance of his present supplies till the settled state of the kingdom should enable them more fully to consider his case.² He landed at Rotterdam on the 18th of April, and shrinking from a meeting with the Prince of Wales, now acknowledged as Charles II., who was at the Hague, was proceeding at once to the country palace of Rhenen. But it was strongly represented to him that such a course would deeply wound his mother, from whom he had been long separated, and would also offend the States-General and the Prince of Orange; he consequently changed his intention, went to the Hague, and by his mother's persuasion, waited upon his cousin, who received him with a courtesy that placed him quite at his ease. Under her influence, too, he refused to visit the parliamentary agent, Strickland, thus tacitly withdrawing the support of his name from the party which was only too glad to make use of it.³

He declined, however, to remain at the Hague, and withdrew to Rhenen. Thence he went to Cleves, Frankfort, Cassel, Nuremberg, Windsheim and Bocksberg,⁴ and early in October entered as Elector the castle of Heidelberg which he had quitted as an infant thirty years before, and which it had cost those thirty years of desolating warfare to regain. The welcome tidings were conveyed to the Queen's friends, far and wide, by her own hand, in letters testifying her joy at the termination of the long exile of the Palatine House.⁵

The consideration of her own affairs did not prevent the Queen of Bohemia from taking a very lively interest in those of her brother's children, particularly of her nephew, Charles II., an inexperienced and easy-tempered youth, left to struggle with difficulties increased tenfold by the contending factions about him. The Scots Covenanters, who had betrayed the father, were the first to try to conciliate the son, and in April, 1649, they sent commissioners to the young King at Breda, promising him the Crown of Scotland on condition that he would subscribe the covenant, and engage to land in Scotland with a train of only one hundred persons, and these not of his father's servants.

¹ Cary's "Memorials of the Civil War," 8vo, Lond. 1842, vol. i. p. 277; Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. Append. p. 40; Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 1428; Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 333.

² Cary's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 119.

³ Bromley Letters, p. 151; Moderate Intelligencer, 22nd March—19th April, 1649; Evelyn Corresp. Addit. MS. 25948, f. 27.

⁴ Newspapers, July, 1649, King's Pamphlets.

⁵ Wendelinus to Andreas, 17th Aug. 1649, Addit. MS. 17912, f. 202.

The commissioners waited on Queen Elizabeth to intreat her influence with her nephew: they declared their opinion that the miseries of the kingdom, for the last eleven years, had resulted from the ill advisers who had guided the late King, and would ruin his present majesty, if he trusted to them, and they earnestly besought her to induce him to trust himself in their hands. The Queen received them courteously, and invited them to her table, but she was strongly opposed to the idea of her nephew's signing a deed which must compromise his sincerity, and involve him in association with his father's foes;¹ she and her son Rupert, therefore, objected to any composition with the Scots, wishing rather that the King should make a descent upon Ireland, where he had been proclaimed by the Marquis of Ormond, and where Prince Rupert, in command of seven English ships, which had revolted from the Parliament, was already blocking the harbour of Kinsale.

The chief support of this party was in the gallantry and zeal of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, a royalist exactly to the Queen's liking. When he heard the tidings of the death of Charles I., he fell senseless to the ground, and, on recovering, passionately swore to devote the rest of his days to avenge the father and restore the son,—a pledge which he gave his life to retrieve. Elizabeth had a portrait of him, painted by Honthorst, in the deep mourning which he wore for Charles I., an impressive picture in its strong contrast of light and shadow, and the stern resolution of the calm brow and finely moulded features.² This the Queen placed in her cabinet, where she gave private audiences, and it was thus displayed to frighten the "brethren," as she jocosely termed the covenanting commissioners, whose formal visits she could not decline.³ The King refused to listen to the Scottish propositions till the return of the Prince of Orange, who was then from home. Elizabeth wrote to Montrose that she found the Prince of Orange was intending to press their acceptance, and entreated Montrose to remain with the King so long as he continued at Breda, and to prevent a step which would prove ruinous alike to his master and to himself; one condition of the Scots covenanters being the banishment of Montrose.⁴ A few weeks later she thus addresses him:—⁵

"My Lord,

"I have received yours by my Lord of Kinnoul. I hope this news I sent by Broughton will help to persuade the king to make haste to go for

¹ Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 477; *The Man in the Moon*, 23rd July, 1650.

² An engraving of it is prefixed to the second volume of Napier's "Montrose and his Times," published for the Maitland Club.

³ Letters of Baillie, one of the Commissioners, vol. ii. p. 331; "Montrose and his Times," vol. ii. p. 384.

⁴ Carte's Ormond Papers, pp. 269, 285.

⁵ 3rd July, 1649, "Montrose and his Times," vol. ii. p. 385.

Ireland; for one Inglesby, a captain of Cromwell's regiment, who is come upon Monday last from London, and his brother, told him how that Cromwell,—I mean that arch rebel,—had received news how their ships, being before Kinsale, are all taken or sunk to the number of nine of them. They sought to have corrupted the captain of the fort of Kinsale, for sixty thousand pounds, to have delivered it to them; which he advertising Rupert of, by his counsel, he continued the treaty, and so got them all in, and have sunk or taken nine at least. And Inglesby saith that they are all up again in Scotland; that the English rebel parliament can get no soldier to go for Ireland; but it is thought that they will send their army for Scotland; without doubt to help the Brethren there."

The favourable circumstances recorded by the Queen induced Charles II. to decline the offers of the Scots commissioners, and to permit Montrose to return to Scotland, where with the help of the Highlanders he hoped to work wonders for the royal cause. He went first to Hamburg and Denmark, to obtain aid of men and troops, and there received frequent letters from the Queen of Bohemia, detailing the chances and changes of party feeling at the court of her royal nephew.¹ Early in the summer of 1650, the gallant Montrose fell into his enemies' hands, and was executed: Lord Kinnoul, with whom, as with Montrose, the Queen had exchanged challenges for hunting and shooting at her palace of Rhenen, had perished, an exiled outcast, in the island of Orkney, and Charles II., discouraged and melancholy, deemed it the part of prudence to sign the Scottish covenant. Elizabeth opposed the step to the last; when it was taken, she published abroad her conviction that most of her nephew's council were traitors, corrupted by the money of the parliament which had condemned his father; and she removed to Rhenen, to escape further intercourse with the party.²

At this juncture a new calamity befell the Queen of Bohemia, in an accusation perfidiously obtained against her truest friend, Lord Craven. He was always a subject of jealousy to the Commons, because they considered him a *filius populi*, and a renegade from their ranks. His father was Lord Mayor of London in 1611, and left his son the heir of enormous wealth, which enabled him not only to aspire to the peerage, but to become influential at court, from the liberality with which his wealth was devoted to the support of royalty, especially in the person of the Queen of Bohemia.³ When Charles II. was at Breda, a little while before he set out for Scotland, the Queen, with her daughters and Lord Craven, went to visit and take leave of him. His court was continually haunted by disguised

¹ "Montrose and his Times," vol. ii. p. 404 *et seq.*

² Vatican Transcripts, vol. 40, f. 441, date 6th May, 1650; Merc. Polit. 6th Feb. 1651. [She was much interested in Charles' proceedings in Scotland, and evidently wrote frequently to him. "I dare trouble you no further at this time," she says in a letter of 8th May, 1651, "having just reason to ask your pardon for doing it so much now by so many letters." See Appendix B.]

³ See Sketch of Lord Craven, in the Introduction to the Verney Letters, 4to, Lond. 1853.

parliamentarians who, with every appearance of loyal zeal, devised plans for the apparent benefit of his cause, into which they inveigled, in order to betray, the unwary royalists. One of these agents, Major Richard Falconer, was present at this meeting at Breda, and according to his own statement on oath he induced thirty officers to unite in drawing up a petition to the King, the purport of which was a prayer for permission to fight against the "barbarous and inhuman rebels, the commons of England". In the presentation of this petition, the interest of Lord Craven was sought and obtained, and he thus became involved in a proceeding which laid him open to impeachment. He was formally charged with treason against the Commonwealth in England, and summoned to answer to the charge; and on his non-appearance, he was declared a rebel, and all his estates were forfeited. The Earl sent an earnest appeal, pleading that he had never taken arms against the Parliament; he also alleged that Falconer was guilty of perjury, as the petition in question was merely a prayer for pecuniary aid, and did not contain the objectionable phrases referring to the Parliament, the insertion of which, though proposed by Falconer had been rejected by the other parties signing the petition. This point was so fully proved, that Falconer was condemned to punishment. But no favour was shown to Lord Craven.¹ Elizabeth used her utmost efforts in his vindication: she induced the States-General to request from the English Parliament a suspension and reconsideration of their judgment; she wrote to one of the English Council of State on his behalf, and her son, Charles Louis, also interceded for him—all, however, without effect. The estates of Lord Craven were not restored, most of them having been purchased at a cheap rate by the members of the Parliament which condemned him.²

The chief interest of the Queen of Bohemia's existence now merged in her children, and in their fitting settlement. On the 4th of April, 1651, she had the pleasure of witnessing the marriage of her third daughter, the Princess Henrietta Maria, with Sigismund Rakoczy, brother of the reigning Prince of Transylvania, an union considered in every way advantageous to the family; but after only five months of wedded life, her joy was turned into sorrow, by the untimely death of the princess.³

¹[His estate was confiscated upon the declaration of Parliament of 24th Aug. 1649, that not only those who had served Parliament and betrayed their trust, but that all "who adhere to Charles Stuart, son of the late King," are rebels. He was declared to be excepted from the Act of Pardon and his estates were included in the second bill of sale. See his "Case" in the Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, p. 1616 *et seq.*, where his petitions to Parliament and to the Protector are given.]

²Proceedings of Parl. against Lord Craven, 8vo, Lond. 1653; Thurloe, State Papers, vol. i. p. 296; vol. ii. pp. 139, 449.

³Schannat, "Hist. de la Maison Palat." p. 60. The alliance is mentioned by Charles Louis in Bromley Letters, p. 153.

The Duke of Neuburg, chief of the Catholic branch of the Palatine family, was a suitor for the hand of the Princess Elizabeth; but no marriage of any child of hers with a Prince of the Roman faith was ever countenanced by Elizabeth.¹ An offer was made to her youngest daughter, Sophia, by Prince Adolphus John of Sweden, brother to King Charles, the successor of the celebrated Christina, after her abdication of the throne. The Queen obtained the consent of her son to the match, and also that of her nephew, Charles II., since by her own marriage treaty, none of her children was permitted to marry without the approbation of the English monarch, and as such she recognised the exiled Prince. For some time the affair promised favourably: Adolphus visited his lady-love at Heidelberg, and was handsomely entertained: he wrote a courteous letter to the Queen, apologising for his inability to return by way of the Hague, and pay his respects to her, but expressing his hope that he should speedily be able to complete the arrangements for his marriage, and appear to claim the hand of his bride. The Swedish monarch, however, was on good terms with the Protector, and when Adolphus opened out to him his wishes in reference to this union, he angrily declared that if his brother contracted so close an alliance by marriage with a person who was an enemy to the Protector, he would never see his face again.² This stern opposition daunted the Prince, and his suit was abandoned. The Swedish King afterwards experienced several disasters, which Elizabeth failed not to attribute to his predilection for Cromwell.³

Several attempts had been made to match Prince Rupert with Mademoiselle de Rohan, a rich French Protestant heiress—

“But little cared Lord Reginald for lists or lady-love,
He prized the steel-bound gauntlet’s clasp far more than silken glove;”

and Rupert not only gave himself little trouble in wooing, but even discouraged the wooings of others on his behalf.⁴ Nor was his brother Maurice—to whom, on Rupert’s refusal, the same

¹ Thurloe, State Papers, vol. i. p. 197.

² Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 182.

³ *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 568. [But the match to which Elizabeth most seriously inclined for her youngest daughter was with her cousin, Charles II. This was, according to Sophia’s own statement, first proposed by Lord Craven, and the young King does not seem to have been averse to the idea, but others had their eye “upon so tempting a morsel,” the Princess of Orange wanted him for one of her daughters, and the project which would have seated Sophia’s descendants upon the English throne, not as Hanoverians, but as Stuarts, fell to the ground. Owing to the pressure of her pecuniary difficulties, the Queen in 1650 accepted her son’s proposal that Sophia should go to him at Heidelberg, although she consented to it very reluctantly, still hoping for the English alliance. “Memoires,” pp. 40, 44.]

⁴ [He had, however, two natural children, Dudley Bard, and Ruperta, daughter of the actress Margaret Hewes or Hughes. To her he seems to have been sincerely attached, for by his will (after making provision for his son) he left his property to her and Ruperta, appointing Lord Craven his trustee; requesting

lady was offered—more chivalrous; ¹ both preferred their roaming lives of freedom. Rupert, who was for some time admiral of the royal fleet of England, scoured the seas with varying success, sometimes securing the approbation, at others exciting the jealousy, of Charles II.² After the Restoration, he occupied a prominent position at his cousin's court, was a privy councillor and admiral of the fleet, and distinguished himself by his scientific pursuits. Maurice, less fortunate, sailing for the West Indies, as second in command of a fleet under his brother, was shipwrecked off the Caribbee Islands, and perished.³ Prince Edward, from the time of his marriage, became a settled resident at the French court; whilst Prince Philip, the only remaining son, led the life of a soldier of fortune, and fell in the battle of Rethel, in the year 1650, fighting in the ranks of the French against the Spaniards.⁴

The Elector, Charles Louis, had an unhappy domestic life, quarrelling furiously with his wife, Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel; he was overburdened with his efforts to pull the Palatinate out of the slough in which he had found it, and though maintaining every appearance of respect for his mother, he did not make—indeed his circumstances did not permit him to make—the energetic efforts she demanded to secure for her the jointure to which her marriage articles entitled her, or to recover Frankenthal, the dower residence assigned her as Electress Palatine, but long held by Spain;⁵ thus for want of need-

the King to assist in any way that might be necessary, and desiring his daughter, upon his blessing, "to be dutiful and obedient to her mother," and not to dispose of herself in marriage without her consent.]

¹ Collins' Sydney Papers, vol. ii. pp. 546, 575; Harl. MS. 6988, f. 149, Charles I. to Maurice [See Appendix B.]; *S. P. Germ. States*, 30th March, 1643, Charles Louis to Roe.

² Elizabeth to Sir Edward Nicholas, 8th and 9th Oct. 1654, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 151; Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 648.

³ [Exactly how he died was probably never known. The narrative known as Rupert's Diary says that during a great hurricane which Prince Rupert's fleet experienced off the Virgin Islands, soon after Whitsuntide, 1652, it being in the night and so thick that they could not see a ship's length before them, the Vice-Admiral went down, and Prince Maurice was snatched from them "in obscurity, lest beholding his loss would have prevented some from endeavouring their own safety; so much he lived beloved and died lamented". Warburton's Rupert, iii. 382. In 1654 there was a report that he was a slave in Algiers, and his mother prayed the French Ambassador at the Hague to write to the Grand Turk on the subject, as it was supposed (very untruly, one would think, considering Cromwell's zealous desire to rescue Christians from the hands of the Turks) that if the States spoke for him they would offend the Lord Protector. Thurloe, ii. 362. There was no confirmation of this rumour, but there were, every now and again, renewed reports that he was alive, and in 1663 Rupert sent out a ship to try to gain tidings. The accounts were very conflicting, but there was a consensus of opinion that he had escaped from the wreck of his ship. One man deposed that he was poisoned; others that he was long kept a prisoner in the Castle "called the More" at Porto Rico. See Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on Mr. Heathcote's MSS. (the Fanshaw Papers), pp. 117, 134-9.]

⁴ Merc. Polit. 2nd Jan. 1651.

⁵ Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 684; Bromley, p. 156; Gaz. de France, 1650, p. 354; Moderate Intelligencer, March, 1653-4. [For correspondence with Charles Louis, see notice of Miss Wendland's "Briefe der Elisabeth Stuart," in Introduction.]

ful supplies, she found herself exposed to the perpetual dunning of her creditors at the Hague. When she complained, he gave her to understand that he could not afford to keep up two establishments, and therefore it would be the better plan for her to come and live with him at Heidelberg. To this she objected, and Lord Craven went over to the Elector, to endeavour to procure better terms for the Queen; but he could not succeed. Elizabeth thus addressed him on $\frac{7}{17}$ Nov., 1653:—

“I have received and read both your letters, and find little comfort in them concerning my own particular; it may be my next will tell you I have no more to eat: this is no parable but the certain truth, for there is no money nor credit for any; and this week, if there be none found, I shall neither have meat, nor bread, nor candles. I know my son would have me to be rid of all my jewels, because he thinks he doth not deserve so well of me that he should share in them, after my death: but that will do him no good, for I can leave to my children what he owes me, which will trouble him more than my jewels are worth; wherefore that will not ease him much. He hath inherited, from his brother and sister that are dead, thirty thousand pounds, that the emperor either has given him or will give him, by the treaty of Munster; it were no unhandsome action of his to give me part of it to pass this winter; for though it may be he is not paid it, yet he may take it up, being sure of the payments. I believe he means to starve me out of this place, as they do blocked towns. I know he may do it, and has already begun pretty well; but he will have as little comfort as honour by it: for if I will be forced by ill usage to go, I shall be very ill company there. All I can desire you to tell him is, that the next week, for aught I know, I shall neither eat bread, nor flesh, nor have candles.”¹

The following extracts are from letters written during the next few weeks:—

“November 10th, 1653.

“I have received yours of the 1st of November from Neustadt. I am glad you are so well come thither. I cannot conceive my son can imagine that I should think of quitting this place this winter, as you have very well represented to him, nor know how to live here neither, but very poorly, and at every day ready to starve this winter, if he send no better means; besides he doth not, by his usage, oblige me so much as to take so great pains to go to him, which a winter journey would make me do. Wherefore let him set his head at rest; I will not stir this winter, let him be as tyrannical as he will be to me.”

“November 14th.

“I am glad you are returned to Heidelberg, where I hope and do not doubt you will solicit my son to send more money; for you cannot imagine what shifts I am put to here.” “I am sorry my son is still ill of his arm; for though he has not much obliged me, yet that shall not make me hate him, or wish him ill; but wish his good, and contribute to it, as far as it doth not prejudice myself. I would I had done so sooner; I had not then been in so ill a condition as I am now in.”

This last sentence is involved: the Queen's meaning is, that she should be in a better position herself, had she not in former

¹From the original, in possession of the Earl of Craven.

days made such sacrifices for the sake of her son's restoration, —a statement perfectly consonant with truth.

“December 3rd.

“Sir Charles Cottrell will write more particularly my case than I have done, to whom I refer you: only I am sorry that Fridelsheim should be ruined. I know not if he (the Prince Elector) can justly do it, since it is allotted to me for my jointure houses, with Frankenthal. It had a very fine garden, and a vineyard in the garden. I confess I did like the place very well. I pray speak of it; if he be just to me, as he should be, he should rather build that up and Frankenthal. I write not this week to my two daughters,—you may tell them so,—for mere laziness. I am ever,

“Your most constant affectionate friend,
“E. R.”¹

The two daughters named were the Princesses Elizabeth and Sophia, who had already gone to Heidelberg, driven away from their mother by her utter inability to support them. The Queen's appeals at length elicited the following reply from her much worried son:—²

“Madam,

“My Lord Craven I hope hath satisfied your majesty concerning the deferring of my duty hitherto, both for the return of my pain in my arm, and for other disturbances I have had every fresh day, since I was honoured with your gracious letters of the 1st of December. In the mean time I have not left Sir Charles Cottrell unacquainted with what, upon further consideration, I am able to do, towards such a certainty as it seems your majesty's creditors aim at, though it cannot be such, yet these many years, as may give them hopes of great reimbursements, which they only can expect with justice and equity from England. But if your majesty will be pleased to like of it, in assurance that your satisfaction shall increase in that point, according as my estate shall amend, and press your departure with the States, I cannot doubt but when they see your majesty in earnest upon it, they will so mediate with the creditors as that they will be no hindrance to it, especially the chief of them receiving some contentment.

“I know your majesty hath no reason to long for to be here, considering the great change you will find in all things, from what they were since your first coming hither, and the small confidence your majesty hath in my endeavours or power to please you; and that nothing but the consideration of more quiet (which I can answer for towards you and yours, though I want it myself), could induce you to it. But as I am confident your majesty, for all your former displeasures towards me, yet never thought me incorrigible, so I humbly beseech you to believe that after all the traverses I have had, and have still, (though I thank God I am in somewhat better posture to endure them than formerly), I shall make it my chiefest end to shew your majesty all humble duty, and to conserve the little I have for that use, as much as possible. I believe my sister Sophie hath acquainted your majesty with our crotchets here, which in several kinds are very troublesome, and make me say the less of them lest I deter you from this place, which it may be others have enough disfigured to you abroad. But I am confident of your justice, so far as that you will not judge nor condemn afore you have examined all sides. I shall only beg leave to say I have had a great deal of patience.

¹ From the originals in the possession of the Earl of Craven.

² From the original, in a private collection.

“ If your majesty doth intend to make us happy with your presence this next spring, I shall humbly beg Michell may come up a month afore, with the furnitures, to accommodate the rooms : for our people are very untoward at it here. I rest for ever,

“ Your majesty’s most humble and obedient

“ Son and servant,

“ Heidelberg, this 17 of Jan., 1654.

“ CHARLES LOUIS.”

“ For the Queen of Bohemia.”

We are all apt to seek relief from present evils, even though they be not in reality harder to bear than others for which we are willing to exchange them; and therefore, though the Queen of Bohemia had but little prospect of comfort at Heidelberg, and shrank from association with her son’s conjugal broils, she shrank still more from the absolute poverty and the perpetual dunnings of her present mode of life; she therefore set about to remove the obstacles which interfered with her wishes. Her creditors naturally refused to allow her to remove from amongst them, without some guarantee for the payment of her debts. The Queen, still adhering to her determination not to address any letter to the Parliament of England, still less to Cromwell, reverted to the mediation of the States-General.¹

She wrote to them again, to inform them that she was extremely anxious to join her son at Heidelberg, both to avoid increasing her debts, and to deliberate with him on the means of paying those already incurred; gave them a full statement of the condition of her finances, assuring them that she had parted with almost all her jewels to satisfy, in some small degree, her more pressing claimants, and entreated them, before the treaty with England was finally signed, to obtain the payment of her arrears, which would more than discharge all her liabilities; but should they fail in this, she still urged upon them to forward her journey to the Palatinate, and to persuade her creditors not to insist upon a prolongation of her residence in Holland, which could only serve to involve both them and herself in more serious difficulties.²

A contemporary, alluding to this application, says:—

“ The States are very close still : some desires have been made by the Lady Elizabeth, but she is a trouble both to them and the people ; she hath contracted large debts, and the people do mutter much at her ; many wish she were gone, but then some would lose considerable sums which she owes, and is not like to receive, for any thing I see, if she stays.”³

The States-General and of Holland both sent earnest petitions to the Protector, in which the chief stress was laid upon the all but ruined condition of the tradespeople at the Hague, who had supplied the Queen with provisions.⁴ One of Elizabeth’s friends

¹ Thurloe Papers, vol. i. pp. 546, 558.

³ Several proceedings, 1653-4, 13th-20th Jan.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 33.

⁴ Thurloe, ii. pp. 277, 315.

also wrote to an English gentleman, known to have considerable influence with Cromwell, assuring him that the creditors of the Queen of Bohemia (among whom were a great number of orphans, widows, and poor people), making a considerable part of the Hague, merited the utmost compassion, and that the Protector, by coming forward to their relief, would make his name venerable for ever.¹ In hopes of a favourable response, Elizabeth signified to her son her intention to be with him in the spring; apartments in Heidelberg Castle were consequently ordered to be put into repair for her, and she set about composing her court. Lord Craven promised to attend her, as did several of the exiled English residents at the Hague, feeling probably that the place would lose its principal charm when the enlivenment of her society was removed.²

But once again the Queen was doomed to disappointment. The sister of Charles I., the aunt and friend of his children, the earnest supporter and favourer of all exiled royalists, found neither favour nor justice at the hands of Cromwell's Parliament. Not only was she refused the monies which were her due from acts passed by her father and brother, but the Parliament refused the continuation or arrears of the 2000*l.* pension, granted under their own seal, a few years previously. As a last resource, Elizabeth threw herself upon the charity of the Dutch, whose guest and pensioner she had so long been, imploring such a sum of money as would induce her creditors to consent to her leaving the Hague.

"It is with extreme sorrow, my Lords," she writes, "that after so much assistance and relief as during our refuge in this country, we have received by your courtesies, instead of acknowledgments which we do so earnestly desire to declare unto you, we on the contrary do find ourselves obliged to make this demand of you. We can assure you, that it is not without violence, that the most urgent necessity hath been able to force it from us. We do hope, my Lords, that the discharge which our departure will give, at the same time, to the expenses which you have hitherto been pleased to contribute to our abode here, will in some sort facilitate this only and last prayer which we are forced to make unto you, and thus we do pray and desire you most affectionately, that you would be pleased not only to consent to it, but also to favour and advance our return into the Palatinate, to the end that, in case our creditors cannot obtain their just demands in England, whereof we hope the contrary, we may so manage our business in the Palatinate as to have wherewithal to content them."³

The States, who were drawing closer the bonds of alliance with the rapidly consolidating power of the Protectorate, refused her request, and, with a heavy heart, Elizabeth was compelled to face the dreary prospect of dragging out her remainder of life a pauper and an exile. For nearly five-and-thirty years her

¹ Birch MS. 4159, f. 208.

² Clarendon State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 226, 231.

³ Thurloe, ii. p. 677 (17th-27th October, 1654).

proud spirit had bent itself to eat the bread of strangers, and now she knew what it was not only to eat it, but to beg it before she ate it! In the summer of 1655, she succeeded in obtaining from the States the modest supply of one thousand guilders a month, with which, and the small allowance which was all that her son was able to send her, she had barely enough to provide her daily bread. She thus writes to her son on the subject:—

“Son,

“I thought to have written to you by Floer : I thought he was but gone to Amsterdam. Because he did not tell me of his going, I staid till now, believing he would have come to me before he went ; but now I see he is at Heidelberg, I send this by the post, to let you know that the States have given me, for my kitchen, 1000 guilders a-month, till I shall be able to go from hence, which God knows how and when that will be, for my debts. Wherefore I earnestly entreat you to do so much for me as to augment that money which you give me, and then I shall make a shift to live a little something reasonable ; and you did always promise me, that as your country bettered, you would increase my means, till you were able to give me my jointure. I do not ask you much. If you would add but what you did hint, you would do me a great kindness by it, and make me see you have still an affection for me, and put me in a confidence of it ; since you cannot yet pay me all that is my due, that will shew to the world that you desire it, if you could. I pray do this for me, you will much comfort me by it, who am in so ill a condition as it takes all my contentment from me. I am making my house as little as I can, that I may subsist by the little I have, till I shall be able to come to you ; which since I cannot do, because of my debts, which I am not able to pay, neither the new nor the old, if you do not as I desire you, I am sure I shall not increase. As you love me, I do conjure you to give an answer, and by the time commonly ; and you will tie me to continue as I am most truly,

“Yours, &c.

“Hague, ¼ Aug. 1655.”¹

This application seems not to have met with any success.

The Queen's continued residence in Holland was materially enlivened by her constant association with her favourite niece, Mary, Princess of Orange, and with the Princes of the English Royal Family, who paid transient visits to their sister. The jealousy of the English Parliament precluded their long residence at the Hague ; yet at Breda, Antwerp, or Brussels, they were occasionally domiciled ; and into their varied fortunes, and the strifes and distractions which too often pervaded the miniature court of Charles II., Elizabeth threw herself with all the warmth and energy of her character. Her favourite amongst the young Princes was James, Duke of York, to whom she had stood sponsor, and of whom she always speaks as “my godson” ; when he served in the French army, she exulted over the military reputation which he earned ;² and in the trivial jealousies between him and his brother Charles, to which the

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 203. [Apparently a draft for the letter printed by Miss Wendland (No. 38). Floer should be Hoen.]

² Elizabeth to Nicholas, Evelyn, vol. ii. pp. 144, 145.

indiscretion of their mutual servants occasionally gave rise, not all her strong predilections in favour of kingly rights could prevent her from taking the part of her favourite.¹ She also showed a warm and honest sympathy with her younger nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, during the fierce attempts made by the Queen-mother to pervert him from the Protestant faith. She, as it will be remembered, previously had cause to tremble for the steadfastness of her own son Rupert, when exposed to the ardent proselytizing spirit of Henrietta Maria, and therefore felt the more for the boy.

“I am sorry,” she writes, “the king has so much cause of grief; I beseech God he may speedily remedy it. I believe my dear nephew has a good resolution, but there is no trusting to one of his age. I confess I did not think the queen would have proceeded thus.”²

A few weeks later she adds:—

“By this post I have had very good news of the Duke of Gloucester’s constancy in his religion, and of my Lord of Ormond’s handsome carriage in that business;”³ so as the queen saith she will press him no further in it, but I hope the king will not trust to it, but get him away from thence, which will do the king great right.”⁴

The Duke received and obeyed a summons from his royal brother to join him at Breda, and Elizabeth entreated that he might be allowed to take the Hague *en route*.⁵ Her wishes were gratified, though not till several months later, owing to the indisposition of the young Prince.

Upon the proceedings of Cromwell and his “mock Parliament,” as she styled it, the Queen kept a vigilant eye, and her correspondence abounds with quaint satirical allusions to them.

A remark reached her which was made by Cromwell on the grasping ambition of the King of Sweden, in endeavouring to seize part of the Brandenburg territory. The Protector expressed his surprise that men took so much pains to reign.

“Good man!” exclaims the queen, in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas, “he took no pains for it, nor has no ambition! There never was so great a hypocrite. I wish him as ill a new year as, I thank you, you wish me a good one.” “Sure Cromwell is the beast in the Revelations, that all kings and nations do worship. I wish him the like end and speedily!”⁶

Writing on September 21, 1654, she says:—

¹Bromley Letters, p. 292. An interesting letter from this Prince to the Queen is printed in the *Retrospective Review* for 1827, p. 290.

²Elizabeth to Nicholas, 16th Nov. 1654, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 152.

³[i.e. the attempt to force the young Duke into the Jesuits’ College, see Carte’s *Ormond*, ii. p. 163.]

⁴*Ibid.* p. 155.

⁵*Ibid.* 3rd Dec. 1654, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 153.

⁶*Archæologia*, xxxvii. 241; Evelyn, ii. 158.

“Some in a ship come out of England say that the mock-parliament begin to dispute their privileges with Cromwell, but I fear they will but too well agree.”¹

A week later she refers to—

“Cromwell’s dissolving his parliament, for being so ungracious as not to do as he would have them. It was confirmed to me last night by one of the States-General, for three of their deputies are come from London, that were sent about the treaty of the ambassadors and the other disputes; they confirm all, but it was so late that I could not hear of the particulars. The same State told me there was a speech of part of the orange and red men in rebellion against his precious highness.”²

The Queen still practised hunting and shooting, as occasional recreations, and embraced every opportunity that offered to diversify the monotony of existence. She records a visit to Delft, to witness the havoc occasioned by the explosion of a powder magazine, which had thrown down upwards of two hundred houses.³ From Delft the Queen went on to Breda, whence, a few weeks later, she took a journey into Flanders, to gratify her curiosity by the sight of the far-famed Christina of Sweden, daughter of the great Gustavus, whose voluntary abdication of the crown made her for the time being one of the wonders of the world, and who was then passing through the Low Countries. Elizabeth was not disposed to regard the Queen very favourably, having heard of several uncourteous speeches made by her in reference to her English relatives; but we will hear her own account of the matter, given in a letter to Sir E. Nicholas.⁴

“I saw the Queen of Sweden at the play; she is extravagant in her fashion and apparel, but she has a good well-favoured face, and a mild countenance. One of the players that knew me told her who I was, but she made no show of it.

“I went the next day to Brussels, where I saw the Archduke at mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgings. I lay at Sir Harry de Vic’s, who was very careful and diligent to do me all the service he could. I stayed but Sunday at Brussels, and returned to Antwerp upon Monday, and hearing from Duart how the Queen of Sweden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indifferent place, I made the more haste away the next day, because I had no mind to speak with her, since I heard how unhandsomely she had spoken of the King, my dear brother, and of the King, my dear nephew, and indeed of all our nation; so I avoided it, and went away as soon as I had dined. Yet she sent Donoy to me with a very civil message, that she was sorry she could not use that civility to me as she both should do and desired, hoping that one day we might meet together

¹ Evelyn, ii. p. 148.

² Elizabeth to Nicholas, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 149; and see 10th March, [1655], Bromley Letters, p. 287.

³ Elizabeth to Nicholas, *ut supra*, p. 151.

⁴ The newspapers say that she stole away privately, for fear of being prevented by her creditors, who, when they found her gone, thought she had given them a final slip.—Merc. Polit. No. 23.

with more freedom. I answered her as civilly as I could, and now, when I went from Berghen, I gave Sir William Swann charge to make her a compliment from me. I came hither upon Tuesday from Berghen, where I was extremely well entertained by the Princess of Zollern,¹ who was with me, and was my guide all my journey and defrayed me."²

The Elector still remained on good terms with the Parliament, and it was even proposed in England that a pension should be allowed to the young Duke of Gloucester, on condition of his being sent for education to the Court of Heidelberg.³ It was only from fear of the reproaches of his mother that Charles Louis refrained from sending an Ambassador to the Protector. As it was, his opinions caused much bitterness of feeling in the family. Rupert and Elizabeth especially were vehement royalists; the former quarrelled with his brother about money matters, and left him for Vienna; and the latter preferred to retire to the Court of Brandenburg, and reside with her aunt the dowager Electress, rather than remain at Heidelberg; where independently of other differences of opinion, her brother's abandonment of his wife, for the sake of his mistress, whom he created Baroness von Degenfelt, produced great uneasiness and disorder.⁴

In August, 1655, Charles II. and his court visited Frankfort, which, being in the neighbourhood of Heidelberg, his cousin Charles Louis invited him to pay him a visit, but this the King declined, and (as we learn from a news-letter written at Frankfort) irritated Charles Louis by an intimation that he could not allow his claim to "such respects as the Emperor himself and the King of the Romans were used to show" to an Elector of the Empire. The Elector had gone to the fair at Frankfort on purpose to visit his cousin, but though he had been brought up on English bread and dependent for years on the private bounty of Charles I., yet he refused to waive the reception he thought his due, and therefore did not visit his royal relatives, only meeting them at the play, where they would not give him the opportunity which he desired of casually conversing with them.⁵ The friends of King Charles knew how sorely troubled the Queen of Bohemia would be by this conduct on the part of her son, and they tried to conceal it from her, but in vain. When the tidings reached her, she declared she was vexed "to some tune," and angry beyond imagination, that "he who should be the most kind and civil

¹ Maria Elizabeth, wife of Eitel Frederic, Prince of Hohenzollern. See p. 392, below.

² 3rd Dec. 1654, Evelyn, vol. ii. p. 153.

³ Clar. State Papers, vol. iii. p. 188.

⁴ Pell to Thurloe, 7th May and 4th June, 1657; Vaughan's Protectorate, vol. i. pp. 156, 180. Several of his love letters to the baroness are printed in Lunigius, "Literæ Procerum," vol. i. pp. 700-704.

⁵ Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 88.

should be the least so to the king"; adding, that she could say more of the Elector, but would not, because he was her son; but she hoped she should not now be blamed for not desiring to live with him.¹ In another letter she expressed her hope that some wine which Charles Louis had sent the King was better than the last he had sent to her, which, she declared, was "stark naught".²

The Queen of Bohemia was in frequent correspondence with Charles II., whom she ever treated with the respect due from a royal daughter of England to its sovereign. Several of her familiar letters to him are still in existence. Accommodating herself to his well-known love of pleasure, she relates to him the details of the few diversions which were enjoyed at the Hague; and in reference to some private masking performance, writes:—

"We had it two nights; the first time it was deadly cold, but the last time the weather was a little better; the subject, your majesty will see, was not extraordinary, but it was very well danced; our Dutch ministers said nothing against it in the pulpit, but a little French preacher, Carré, said in his sermon we had committed as great a sin as that of Sodom and Gomorrah, which set all the church a laughing: for lack of better stuff I write this."³

Writing a few days later to Secretary Nicholas, she says:—

"I believe you will hear at Cologne how I have been debauched this last week in sitting up late to see dancing. We made Friday out, and every night, which lasted till Saturday, at five o'clock in the morning, and yesterday was the christening of Prince William's child.⁴ I was at the supper; my niece, the princess dowager, the little prince,⁵ and Prince Maurice, were gossips. The States-General, I mean their deputies and the Council of State, and myself, and Louise, were there as guests; after supper was dancing; this lasted (till) three o'clock; my little nephew was at the supper, and sat very still all the time; those States that were there were very much taken with him."⁶

The King, in reply, wrote his aunt an account of a grand ball given by Hannibal Sestade; but Elizabeth was not at all disposed to admit the superiority of his entertainment.

"Though," she writes, "I believe you had more meat and drink at Hannibal Sestade's, yet I am sure our fiddles were better, and dancers: your sister was very well dressed, like an Amazon; the Princess Tarente like a shepherdess; Mademoiselle d'Orange, a nymph. They were all very well

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxvii, p. 235, 8th Oct. 1655.

² *Ibid.* p. 231, 2nd Aug. 1655.

³ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 82. This ballet is also mentioned in the *Gazettes de France*, 1655, p. 1420.

⁴ William Frederic, Count and Prince of Nassau-Dietz, who married Albertine Agnes, sister of the late Prince of Orange.

⁵ Afterwards William III. of England.

⁶ 10th Jan. 1655, *Evelyn*, vol. ii. p. 159.

dressed, but I wished all the night your majesty had seen Vanderdone: there never was seen the like; he was a gipsy, Nan Hyde was his wife; he had pantaloons close to him of red and yellow striped, with ruffled sleeves; he looked just like Jock-a-lent. They were twenty-six in all, and came [not home?] till five o'clock in the morning."¹

One of the merriest of the Queen's later epistles was addressed about this time to Lord Finch, a former friend and minister of Charles I.

"My lord,

"I assure you your letter was very welcome to me, being glad to find you are still heart whole, and that you are in better health, and your cough is gone: as to your appetite, I confess your outlandish messes are not so good as beef and mutton; I pray remember how ill pickled herring did use you here, and brought you many of your hundred and fifty fevers.

"As for the countess, I can tell you heavy news of her, for she is turned quaker, and preaches every day in a tub; your nephew, George, can tell you of her quaking, but her tub preaching is come since he went, I believe; I believe at last she will grow an Adamite. I wish your nephews both had some of her pippins preserved in their noses; it would do them much good.

"I did not hear you were dead, wherefore I hope your promise not to die till you let me know it, but you must also stay till I give you leave to die, which will not be till we meet shooting somewhere, but where that is, God knows best. I can tell little other news here, my chief exercise being to jaunt betwixt this and Teyling, where my niece hath been all this winter. I am now in mourning for my brother-in-law, the Duke of Simmeren's death; my Lady Stanhope and her husband are going, six weeks hence, into France, to the waters of Bourbon, which is all I will say now, only that I am ever your most affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH."

"Hague, 4th March [1654-5].

"I pray remember me to your lady and to my Lord of Winchelsea."²

Small as was the now diminished household of the Queen of Bohemia, she yet found occasional difficulties in its management. One of her women, named Grenville, visited England, and whilst there was guilty of certain indiscretions of speech, which a certain Captain La Mère mentioned in a letter to Elizabeth, warning her to be cautious of the woman. With her usual good nature, the Queen was unwilling to believe any ill; but showed the letter to Sir Charles Cottrell, formerly master of the ceremonies to Charles I., and now her major domo, bidding him take no notice of it to any one. He was not so discreet as his mistress. Grenville, on her return, heard of the letter, demanded to know the writer, and not only caused much disturbance in the household, but behaved in an unseemly manner to the Queen herself, who was consequently obliged to dismiss her. Of the particulars of the dismissal, she wrote the following amusing account to Charles II.:—³

¹ 17th Jan. 1655, Lambeth MS. 645, art. 76.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 476. Original in Ashmolean Museum.

³ Lambeth MS. 645, art. 78. [See also a letter to Nicholas, dated 5th Nov. 1655, on the sequel of this affair. *Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 237.]

“Hague, 2nd March, 1654[-5].

“My dearest Nephew,

“I must trouble your majesty again to let you know the suite of what I wrote to you by the last post concerning Grenville: having done all I could to get her friends to help her away, so as I should not be forced to do it myself, which could not but disgrace her, I could not prevail with them, who answered they would not meddle with her business. I, seeing that, and not being able to suffer any longer her vaunting, upon Tuesday night last I made her go out of my house in a coach, which had order to set her down where she desired so to be. I did it at night to avoid a noise, and that they should not say I put her into her creditors’ hands if I had done it in the day: she went to Mrs. Mohun’s. I thought to have sent to the court of Holland about it, but some of my friends counselled me not to do it, but keep them for to help if I had need of them. Yesterday came to me four gentlemen of her friends, who, in civil terms, expostulated with me her putting away in that fashion, and that they had hindered forty English gentlemen from coming to me that morning upon that matter. I assure your majesty there are not by half so many gentlemen of our nation in this town; I am confident they could not have five more beside themselves to have done it: those that never came further than Ned Wood’s might, it may be, have been persuaded. I answered that it was their fault that I did it, since they would not help her away otherwise; I had suffered her humours as long as I could, because I do not love to affront any, but I could not suffer it always; and, since they said they would not meddle with it, I must be mistress in my own house, and would not be braved there; I believe they would as little suffer the same of their own servants: they answered it was a great disgrace for her to be sent out so, and in the night. I answered, I did it for the best, to make the less noise; they said it would make people believe it was for La Mère’s letter. I told them it was not for that, for then I should have done it presently, but her inquietness and disrespect to me; they desired me that I would give her creditors assurance for her debts, else she would be arrested. I said I should be sorry for it, but could not help it; they would not take my word, for I owed some of them much more than she did; besides, I would never meddle with my servants’ debts. There passed more discourses, which would be too long to relate. At last I told them I should be very glad if they could find a way to content her creditors, so I were not engaged in it; if her creditors would ask me about it, I should persuade them to let her alone, but I would not be engaged to them for her.

“I will not name the four; your majesty will hear it without my naming it; the one is her cousin, the other her countryman; the third was her gallant before his matrimony; the fourth is none of these, but I think came in for company’s sake to make up the four; for the forty Hectors that should have come to have terrified me, they did send it to my Lords Grandison and Colonel Cromwell to have led on the van of these most furious knights; but they very handsomely refused it, saying they would not meddle with any in that kind that had used me so ill. I must now, with great reason, beg your majesty’s pardon for this trouble; it is to let you know the truth, if you hear any false reports of this. I will always give your majesty an account of my actions, there being nothing I desire more than to be right in your good opinion, being ever

“Your majesty’s most humble and most affectionate aunt and servant,
“ELIZABETH.”

To add to the Queen’s uneasiness, a change of financial administration in Holland caused her serious apprehensions lest her monthly pension, on which she chiefly depended for support, should fail her; and she wrote in much anxiety about it to the States-General as follows:—¹

¹ Harl. MS. 4525, f. 635, De Thou’s Desp. copy.

“ High and puissant lords, our very dear and good friends,

“ It is not without confusion that,—after so many benefits which we have so abundantly received of your goodness, from the time that the disaster of our house constrained us to seek our asylum in your State, our protection in your power, and, for some time past, our very subsistence in your generosity,—instead of being able, by some act of gratitude, to testify the sense of it which we truly feel in the depth of our soul, we find ourselves continually, and even at this very time, constrained to renew our importunity, to solicit your lordships to be pleased to add a last favour to the many others for which we acknowledge ourselves indebted to you. This is to propose to the new Council of War, which is now forming, that they should attach to some fixed revenue, the pension of 10,000 livres a month, which it has pleased your lordships for some time past to assign to us for our support during our residence in this country. All our consolation in making this prayer, gentlemen, consists in this, that the declaration which you are requested to give will serve no less to your own repose than to our security, since, after this your last act of liberality, we shall have no other prayers to offer, except to the Almighty, to be pleased by his divine goodness to atone for our impotence, by loading your State, your persons, and your families, with all the blessings that he is wont to grant to those who have not refused their assistance to the oppressed.

“ These, high and puissant lords, our most dear and good friends, are the wishes of

“ Your most affectionate friend,

“ ELIZABETH.”

“ Hague, 16th December, 1657.

“ To their high and puissant lordships, our most dear and good friends, the States-General of the United Provinces.”

This petition was accorded, and the Queen thus removed from apprehensions of the extreme penury from which, in by-gone years, she had so severely suffered.

Minor annoyances were soon overlooked in an absorbing affliction which befell the Queen towards the close of the year 1657. Of all her numerous family, but one daughter remained with her, the Princess Louise; and she was among the most talented of her family. She had been for many years her mother's constant companion, and in their tastes and feelings much reciprocal sympathy existed. But the temperament of the Princess, strongly inclining to the imaginative, rendered her peculiarly susceptible to external impressions; and of this weakness one of her Roman Catholic friends availed herself, to induce her to join a church whose forms of worship were more attractive to her than those of her mother's church. Years before, when Queen Henrietta Maria was in Holland, the Princess had stolen to mass in her house, and had wept profusely under the impressions there excited; and now after several secret attendances on Roman services, she became a convert. But before avowing herself as such, she resolved upon withdrawing from her mother's roof; she neither wished to witness the distress, nor encounter the opposition which she knew her conduct would elicit. On the morning of the 13th of December, 1657, the

Princess was suddenly missing, and a few hours later, a letter was put into the hands of her mother, as follows:—¹

“Madam,

“The respect which I have for your majesty is too great to permit me to do anything purposely to displease you; and God knows that no impulse, except that of His spirit, could ever have induced me to undertake any action, however reasonable, without having first communicated it to you; but in this contingency, the affair being one of heaven and not of this world, and one in which I should doubtless have found your majesty opposed to the guidings of Divine Providence in my behalf, I could not act otherwise, and all my duty consisted in advertising you of my resolution by the means which I now employ.

“I must tell you, then, madam, that the Christmas festivals being so near, I have been obliged to withdraw from your majesty, from fear of being desired to receive the sacrament against my conscience, since at length it has pleased God to discover to me the surest way of salvation, and to give me to know that the Catholic religion is that only way, out of which there can be no other. As to the reasons and instructions which have thus persuaded me, I shall take the liberty to inform your majesty further, when I am arrived at the place whither I am going, solemnly to embrace this belief; but yet, madam, I trust you will pardon me for a course which is inspired by a power which the powers of earth vainly resist, and which I have only resolved to adopt from the pure motive of assuring the repose of my soul, protesting to your majesty that you shall discover, by the results of this enterprise, that I have no other aim than that of securing a tranquil retreat, where I may have full leisure for the service of God, and to testify to you in all things that I am, and wish to remain all my life, madam,

“Your majesty’s most humble and most obedient servant,

“LOUISE.”

“The 19th December, 1657.”

The first shock to the Queen was stunning; the more so, because the whole transaction was involved in mystery; she knew not either whither her daughter had fled, nor under whose auspices she had taken so important a step. The Princess had left home alone, without even a female attendant, and no confidante in the Court possessed her secret. It had been noted that for two months previously an unwonted gravity had marked her demeanour, but no one of the household had any idea of what was brooding in her heart. The Queen at first suspected M. de Thou, the French Ambassador at the Hague, of being the agent, because his box at the comedy being next to that of the Queen of Bohemia, he had frequently joined her party, and sitting between her and the Princess, had the opportunity of private conversation with the latter. He however disclaimed, and with truth, any knowledge of the affair, and the distressed mother having vainly searched every corner of the Hague to find her child, wrote to the States-General, imploring their aid.² The matter was one which appealed to the Protestant sympathies of

¹ *Gazettes de France*, 1658, p. 34, French.

² *Thurloe*, vol. vi. p. 690; *De Thou’s Despatch*, 20th Dec. Harl. MS. 4525, f. 626.

the States, and the result of their deliberations, entered on their registers, was as follows:—

“ M. de Merode, president of the assembly, has related that the Queen of Bohemia having communicated to him with excessive grief, and most sensible feeling, that the Princess Louise her daughter went away at seven o'clock this morning secretly, and without any knowledge of her majesty, or of any of her court, having left in her room a letter addressed to her majesty, importing that she had forsaken her religion, and embraced the Romanist;—praying, for this reason, that all imaginable means may be employed to find the said princess, and restore her to her majesty: whereupon, after deliberation, it is said and resolved that letters be written to the governors of Helvoetsluys, Bois-le-duc, Bergen-op-Zoom, and to the commander of Hulst, that in case the said princess be retired there, they shall, with all civility and respect, arrest her and bring her back to the queen her mother; and the said Sieur de Merode is requested to communicate the contents of this resolution to her said majesty, and to condole with her on this misfortune, on the part and in the name of their High Mightinesses, and this resolution shall be sent off by dispatches, without any delay.”¹

Fortified with such support, the Queen commanded the arrest of a M. de La Bocage, a French gentleman, who had brought a letter to the Princess on the evening before her departure. She next instituted a strict search in the apartments of her daughter; and in her cabinet were found two letters, which unravelled the mystery.² They were from Elizabeth, Princess of Hohenzollern, daughter and heiress of Count Henry of Bergen-op-Zoom, and wife of Eitel Frederic Prince of Hohenzollern—herself a friend of the Queen. In these letters were devised two plots for the escape of Louise. The former suggested that she should request her mother's leave to visit Antwerp, to meet there her brother Edward, on pretence that he had something important to communicate to her, and had obtained a passport to travel to Antwerp. Either the Princess's love of truth shrank from such duplicity, or she thought the plan inexpedient, for she declined it; and the second letter contained the suggestion of that which she ultimately adopted, with the dictation of the sentiments, and almost the very words, of the farewell letter left behind her. From this letter it appeared that a boat had been in waiting to convey the Princess to Delftshaven; thence to Bergen-op-Zoom, the residence of the Princess of Hohenzollern, and thence to Antwerp, where she was to enter a convent of Carmelite nuns.³

¹ Extract from the Registers of the States, Wed. $\frac{9}{15}$ Dec. 1657, 3 P.M. Harl. MS. 4525, f. 635.

² Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 720.

³ Harl. MS. 4526, ff. 68, 70; Birch MS. 4159, f. 134.

The Queen, more than ever indignant to find herself thus betrayed by one whom she had loved and trusted, wrote a letter of severe reproach to the Princess of Hohenzollern. The Princess replied by expressions of regret at having incurred the Queen's anger; and assured her that she had not influenced Louise's change of religion, but had merely received her confidence when her decision was made, and assisted her in a case wherein her own conscience, as a Romanist, forbade her to refuse aid. Louise also wrote to vindicate her friend, and take upon herself the sole responsibility of the deed.

Some angry correspondence took place, which the Queen laid before the States-General.¹ They declared themselves highly displeased with the conduct of her Highness of Hohenzollern, and passed a sentence, depriving her of the privilege which she enjoyed, as her father's heiress, of naming the magistracy in Bergen-op-Zoom, the town in which she resided, unless, when the matter was fully investigated, she should be found innocent, which they declared was beyond all expectation.² The Princess of Hohenzollern, anxious to avoid the consequences of her actions, made insinuations in reference to the motives of the Princess's retirement, highly prejudicial to her honour, and accused the Queen of Bohemia of being under some evil influence, which had changed her usual good disposition, as she refused either to see her or listen to her self-justification. Elizabeth, in increasing irritation, again appealed to the States, complaining bitterly of the calumnies by which the Princess of Hohenzollern aggravated the mischief she had already committed.³ Prince Rupert also addressed to them a manly letter from Frankfort, thanking them for their kind consideration of his mother, and entreating satisfaction for the slanders so outrageously injurious to his house.⁴ They replied by expressions of warm sympathy, and by a positive refusal to accede to the representations of the Princess of Hohenzollern, who sent deputies to intercede for the restoration of her forfeited privileges.⁵

Louise, meanwhile, continued at Antwerp, finding some support in the approbation of her brother Edward, now a settled resident in Paris, whose conversion to the Roman Church, some years previously, has been already noted, and who made preparations to have her received into France.⁶ The Queen, in letters to Prince Rupert, dated 4th March, thus alludes to a visit paid to Louise by Charles II., the Princess of Orange, and the Duke of York, then residing together at Breda:—

¹ Thurloe, vol. vi. pp. 690, 711.

² *Ibid.* pp. 738, 746, 753, 779, 811; *Gazettes de France*, 1658, pp. 58, 106.

³ Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 782.

⁴ Birch MS. 157, f. 154.

⁵ De Thou's *Desp.* 12th Sept., 26th Oct. 1658, Harl. MS. 4527.

⁶ He had been the confidant of her flight. A letter from him to her on the subject is printed in *Merc. Polit.* 31st Dec. [See Appendix B.]

“The king and my niece, and my other nephew, were at Antwerp, and went to see Louise in the monastery. . . . My nephew and niece did write to me before they saw her, to know if I would be content they should see her, which I told them would be too much honour for her; but since the Princess of Zollern had told so base lies of her, they would do a very good action to see her, to justify her innocence. The Princess of Zollern did go to Antwerp twice, and spoke with Louise; I have not yet the particulars, neither in general. Louise writes to Merode that they parted upon very ill terms; I hope this post we shall have what passed betwixt them. By my next you shall have it. The Princess of Zollern, at her return hither, made many believe that she had brought me letters from the king, my niece and Louise, to justify her, and that she had herself given them to me, and talked two hours with me; which is a most impudent lie.” “I forgot to tell you that the king and my niece did chide Louise for her change of religion, and leaving me so unhandsonely; she answered that she was very well satisfied with her change, but very sorry that she had displeased me. Just now the French letters are come: — writes to me that the bishop of Antwerp has written a letter to your brother Edward, where he clears Louise of that base calumny; yet Ned is so wilful as he excuses the Princess of Zollern.”¹

The Princess was handsomely received in France, and conducted to the nunnery of Chaillot near Paris,² where she occupied the apartments of her aunt, Queen Henrietta Maria of England.³

“Your sister Louise,” writes the queen to Rupert, “is arrived at Chaillot; her brother went and fetched her from Rouen; the queen went to see her the next day; the King of France went thither the week after. They are very civil to her. The queen wrote to me that she will have a care of her as of her own daughter, and begs her pardon; but I have excused it as handsomely as I could, and entreated her not to take it ill, but only to think what she would do if she had had the same misfortune. Ned doth not acknowledge his error in having so good an opinion of the Princess of Zollern. She is detested by Protestant and Papist. The next week I hope to have Louise’s justification against all her calumnies.”⁴

On the 20th of April, having repeated the abjuration of Protestantism made at Antwerp, the Princess Louise was confirmed by the papal nuncio; the French Queen settled upon her a pension equal to that which she had previously received from Holland, and in the March of the following year, in the midst of a stately assembly, she took the white veil at the Abbey of Maubuisson, where, in 1660, on the termination of her novitiate, she completed her profession. She ultimately became abbess of the monastery, and lived to a mature old age, indulging in her cloistered seclusion the artistic tastes which had marked her earlier life, and enriching her own and the neighbouring churches with the productions of her brush.⁵

Her niece, the Duchess of Orleans, thus writes of her:—

¹ Bromley Letters, pp. 286-8.

² [Afterwards the retreat of Queen Mary of Modena.]

³ Merc. Polit. 22nd April.

⁴ Bromley Letters, p. 289.

⁵ Gazettes de France, 1658, pp. 320, 366, 488; 1659, pp. 299, 664; 1660, p. 885; Pub. Intellig. 11th Jan. 1658[-9].

"It is indescribable how pleasant and playful the Princess of Maubuisson was. I always visited her with pleasure; no moment could seem tedious in her company. I was in greater favour with her than all her other nieces, because I could converse with her about everything that she had gone through in her life, which the others could not. She often talked to me in German, which she spoke very well. She told me her comical tales. I asked how she had been able to habituate herself to a stupid cloister life. She laughed, and answered: 'I never speak to the nuns, except to communicate my orders'. She had a deaf nun in her room, that she might not speak; she said she had always liked a country life, and fancied she lived like a country girl. I said: 'But to get up in the night and go into the church!' She answered, laughing, that I knew well what painters were; they liked to see dark places, and the shadows the lights caused, and that this gave her every day fresh taste for painting. She could turn everything in this way that it should not seem dull."

This accomplished lady died at Maubuisson, in 1709, aged eighty-eight.¹

From the trouble into which the apostacy of one daughter had thrown her, the Queen of Bohemia was diverted by the marriage of another. Her youngest daughter Sophia was wooed and won by Duke Ernest Augustus, a younger brother of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who loved her for her intrinsic worth, and for the brilliant and playful manners which justly gave her the title of one of the ornaments of her sex.² The match was considered suitable though not brilliant, and Charles Louis made some exertion to give his sister an equipment befitting her position, though on account of his so doing, he had to withhold from his mother her usual limited supply.³

The marriage took place in October, 1658, and on the 7th of November, the Princess left Heidelberg for Frankfort, and thence to proceed to join her husband at Hanover.⁴ Charles II. wrote them a congratulatory letter,⁵ to which the Queen of Bohemia thus alludes in a note to her royal nephew:—

"Sophie and her husband are very proud of the honour your majesty has done them by your letters; they will give your majesty their humble thanks by their own letters, which they had not yet time to do, by reason of the company now at Hanover, which they must entertain. Sophie was very handsomely received there, where she is very well used, which makes me make an humble suit to your majesty that you will be pleased to give my son-in-law the order of the Garter: he will take it for a great honour. I will answer for him, he will seek to deserve it in all he can by his humble service, and it will oblige all that house."

¹ Many notices of her occur in the correspondence of her niece, the Duchess of Orleans. See also Varnhagen's "Königin Sophie Charlotte von Preussen," p. 10. A number of her letters, addressed to the superior of the convent of Chaillot, and containing many allusions to James II. and his family, after their retirement into France, are among the Chaillot Papers, now in the Archives, Paris.

² [Her lively "Memoires" have been frequently quoted in this volume. For her letters published by Bodemann, Doebner, etc., see Dahlmann and Waitz, "Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte" (ed. 1906).

³ Mallet, "Hist. de la Maison de Brunswick," vol. iii. p. 104.

⁴ Gazette of France, 1658, p. 1133.

⁵ Bromley Letters, p. 299. The reply of Ernest Augustus, dated 8th Nov., is in *S. P. Germ. States*.

The request was granted, and the Queen thanked her royal nephew in person, during a short visit which she paid to him at Brussels the following spring, at which the two Dukes and the Princess of Orange and her son were also present.¹

After her marriage, Sophia was a frequent visitor at the Court of her mother. In possession of independent resources, the poverty which had before repelled her from the Hague, was now no longer an obstacle. In the summer of 1659, she paid a short visit to the Hague,² and returned there the following November, preferring to remain with her mother and cheer her solitude, rather than to accompany her husband to Rome and Venice, where he intended to pass the winter. She brought with her her niece, Elizabeth Charlotte, the only daughter of the Elector Charles Louis, by his unloved and now discarded wife, the Princess of Hesse-Cassel.³ Sophia had become attached to this little one at Heidelberg, and shrank from leaving her exposed to the caprices of the mistress who was now paramount at the Elector's Court. She therefore obtained permission to adopt and educate her. This grandchild of the Queen of Bohemia was afterwards married to Philip of Orleans, younger brother of Louis XIV.,⁴ and was the Duchess of Orleans whose clever gossiping letters present so amusing a picture of the French Court.

The Duchess of Brunswick remained with her mother till March, 1660, when the dawning of brighter days burst upon the long-exiled Stuarts. The death of Oliver Cromwell, the resignation of his son Richard, the proceedings of General Monck, and the ultimate recall of Charles Stuart to the throne of his fathers, are subjects belonging to general history. It need scarcely be said that Elizabeth sympathized warmly and earnestly in the successes of her family; she joined heartily in the state ceremonials at the Hague, which precluded the departure of Charles II., and,—once again restored to her rank as a royal daughter of England,—she received with her wonted majesty and benignity the deputations both of England and Holland, who came to offer their congratulations on the auspicious event of the restoration. The well-known diarist Pepys, who was one of the party that waited on her, speaks of her as a “very *debonnaire* but a plain lady.”⁵ At the age of sixty-four, and after a long life of anxiety and trouble, Elizabeth no longer preserved the blooming beauty which had elicited so much admiration in her earlier years, and poverty had done much in depriving her of the externals of majesty.

¹ 6th Dec. 1658, *S. P. Germ. States*; Merc. Polit. 30th June; Occurrences from Foreign Parts, 12th July.

² De Thou's Desp. 10th July, 1659, Harl. MS. 4527.

³ *Ibid.* 20th Nov.; Gaz. de France, 1659, pp. 1164, 1187, 1237.

⁴ [Whose first wife was Princess Henrietta of England.]

⁵ Braybrooke's Pepys, vol. i. p. 85.

When the day came for Charles to set sail for England, the Queen of Bohemia, her niece the Princess Royal and the young Prince of Orange accompanied him in coaches to the seashore, and with him embarked in a richly furnished boat provided by the States, and bearing the mottos "Dieu et mon droit" and "Suo fas et fata vocârunt". It had hardly moved from the shore when a most elegant chaloupe arrived from the admiral's ship, provided expressly to take the sovereign on board. The moment the English sailors saw their monarch set foot on British oak, they set up an enthusiastic cheer, which made the shore ring again. The rest of the party followed him, and as they neared the fleet, the excitement of officers and men became unbounded. Caps and jackets waved in the air, guns were fired, flags were waved and shouts of "God save the King," "Long live King Charles," echoed from every hand. The boat now drew alongside the principal vessel; Admiral Montagu, on his knee, received his sovereign at the top of the ladder, and the moment he reached the deck, the standard of England unfurled its massive folds to the breeze. The other members of the royal family came on board, and with the King descended into the state-cabin, where he expressed a wish to dine in quiet, with only his own family around him. After dinner, the ceremony of renaming the principal vessels of the fleet took place, and the "Speaker," "Richard" and "Naseby" became the "Mary," "James" and "Royal Charles". Then came adieus, sincere and sorrowful, for the time approached when the fleet must sail. The King embraced the young Prince of Orange, took leave of the Queen of Bohemia, and fondly clasped his weeping sister in his arms, soothing her with the hope of a speedy and happy reunion in England. The admiral's ship was already under weigh when the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal and the Prince of Orange descended into the bark which was to bring them back again to the land. All the artillery of the fleet saluted their royal visitors, and the battery of the Downs answered it with the small shot of the citizens and guards.¹ The chaloupe in which the ladies were seated rowed rapidly to shore, while amidst the acclamations of the spectators, the "Royal Charles" disappeared on the horizon bearing the King to that beloved country which at last Elizabeth indulged the hopes of visiting once more.² Charles II. was under obligations to his aunt; for although her position had prevented her from extending important assistance to his distress, yet the whole weight of her personal influence, which was not small, had been exerted in behalf

¹ Pepys Diary, vol. i. p. 92.

²[The account of the King's embarkation is condensed from that in the Life of Mary, Princess of Orange and Princess Royal, daughter of Charles I., to which Mrs. Everett Green referred her readers, stating in a note that "though the Queen was associated with these events, they are omitted here, to avoid repetition".]

of the fallen family.¹ For their sakes, she had affronted the States-General, her friends and protectors at the Hague, by refusing to attend divine service at the English church there, when an interdict was issued to its ministers against praying for Charles II.; her pew at the church, desolate and bare, without cushions or draperies, being a constant eye-sore to the opposite party.² She had also discarded her Parliamentary chaplain, and accepted one appointed by Charles II., who restored the use of the Prayer-book. To the Queen's sturdy loyalty may be fairly attributed the utter abandonment of her cause by the Parliamentary party, and their refusal to give her the slightest pecuniary assistance. If therefore the benefits she had conferred on the royal cause were not solid and substantial, the privations in which it had involved her were both serious and severe, and she naturally looked forward to the restoration as the epoch that was to put an end to all her sufferings.

In the first pressure of business, the Queen of Bohemia and her debts and difficulties were overlooked; her creditors meanwhile clamouring for payment, first to the Elector, who referred them to the Parliament,³ and then to the Parliament, to which Sir Charles Cottrell, her agent, had already been dispatched to press her suit. At length, in September, the small but timely supply of 10,000*l.* was voted her,⁴ at the same time that similar sums were granted to each of the Princesses of the blood royal; but on the 8th of December, it was proposed by the Commons, and agreed to by the Lords, that an additional sum of 10,000*l.* be presented to the Queen of Bohemia, as a token of the high personal esteem which they entertained for her.⁵ Her friend, Lord Craven, who had followed Charles II. to England, was ever at hand to exercise his influence on behalf of the Queen.

The devoted generosity with which Lord Craven had for years past thrown his heart and fortunes into the cause of the Palatine family, has led to the supposition that some warmer and closer tie than that of a loyal and platonic friendship united him to the Queen of Bohemia: in fact, that a private marriage had taken place between them. This opinion, however, is incorrect: the whole character of Lord Craven shows him to have been a man of a large heart and noble-spirited benevo-

¹ Dr. Sprigge, in a sermon on happy poverty, dedicated to her in November, 1660, writes:—"I remember with what pleasure I have heard it told that your highness' court hath been, in all these last days of sorrow, a sanctuary to the afflicted, a chapel for the religious, a refectory to them that were in need, and the great dispensative of all men and all things that were excellent."

² Thurloe, vol. vii. pp. 246, 257, 271.

³ Proceedings Parl. 31st June, 1660.

⁴ Journ. Com. vol. viii. p. 175; Journ. Lords, vol. xi. p. 171; Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 796.

⁵ Journ. Lords, vol. xi. p. 230.

lence ;—¹ one of the few chivalrous spirits of an age in which selfishness and party feeling were rampant ; and he needed no secondary motives to spur him on to generous and high-souled action. The present Earl of Craven is of opinion that no such marriage took place, since neither family documents nor tradition support the notion : it is never once alluded to in the extant correspondence of the day, when the Parliamentary scandal-mongers would not have failed to retail a circumstance reflecting upon the disinterestedness of such a royalist as Lord Craven. The report is entirely of later date ; and—as though meant to afford it full contradiction,—another rumour was really current at Court ; *viz.*, that Lord Craven wished to be united to the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, who was only seven years his junior.²

The tone of the confidential correspondence between the Queen and the Earl is in itself convincing that no connexion more tender than that of manly friendship on the one side, and grateful regard on the other, existed between them. He always addressed her as “your majesty,” and signed himself, “your humblest and most obedient servant”. The warmest sentence in the extant correspondence occurs in reference to the news which he forwarded to his royal friend, of an infectious disorder which had attacked one of her nieces :—“For God’s sake !” he writes, “have a great care of yourself ; for if your majesty should miscarry, that loss were never to be repaired. God in his infinite mercy protect you !” He acknowledges a present from the Queen as follows :—“I have yesterday received your majesty’s gracious present of wormwood-wine, which is extremely good, which in all humbleness I do present my duty and humble thanks for”. And again : “I am so infinitely obliged to your majesty for your gracious favour towards me, that I am not able to express the great sense I have of it : all I can say is, that whilst I have breath I shall pray for your majesty”. “I pray God bless your majesty : that prayer I must ever end with.” It is self-evident that these expressions are not from the pen of a hopeful lover or affectionate husband, but of a confidential, devoted, and still respectful friend.³

Lord Craven was the news-purveyor of the Queen, and from

¹ He was so curiously notorious for his exertions in suppressing the fires then so frequent and destructive in London, that it was said his horse knew the smell of fire at a remote distance, and galloped off with his master unguided to the scene of action. A Latin elegy was written on his death, in which his fidelity to his King, his liberality to the poor, his earnest exertions in time of plague and fire, etc., are warmly commended : the following reference to his attentions to the Queen of Bohemia occurs :—

“Reginæ quondam miseræ præbebat asylum
Vestra domus : miseris sæpe ferebat opem.”

² Hartlib to Worthington, 4th June, 1661, Kennet’s Chronicle, p. 871.

³ From the original letters, in the possession of the Earl of Craven. [This is confirmed by the way in which he is spoken of by Princess Sophia. Her sharp eyes

him she regularly learned the tidings of the English court, but those from the royal family were most melancholy. The sudden death of her young nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, distressed her, and scarcely less so the tidings of the *mésalliance* of her favourite nephew and godson, James Duke of York, with the maid of honour of the Princess of Orange, "Nan Hyde," as the Queen of Bohemia was wont to call her. Lord Craven's correspondence presents some curious particulars of the disclosure of this match, from which we give the following extracts:—

"Nov. 26th, 1660.—For the present, news is that Mrs. Hyde is brought to bed of a boy, which she avows to be the duke's, and he married to her: she is owned in her father's family to be the Duchess of York, but not at Whitehall as yet; but it is very sure that the duke has made her his wife. Your majesty knows it is what I have feared long, although you were not of that opinion. The princess is much discontented at it,¹ as she has reason; when the queen comes, we shall see what will be done about it."

"Nov. 28th.—I cannot tell what will become of your godson's business: the child is not yet christened, but it is confidently reported that it shall be within a few days, and owned. The princess is very much troubled about it; the queen is politic and says little of it. There is no question to be made but that they are married. They say my lord-chancellor shall be made a duke."

"Jan. 11th, 1661.—I have this morning been to wait upon the duchess: she lies here, and the king very kind to her: she takes upon her as if she had been duchess this seven years. She is very civil to me."²

"Feb. 23rd, 1661.—The greatest news we have here is, that upon Monday last, the duke and duchess were called before the council, and were to declare when and where they were married, and their answer was that they were married the 3rd of September last, in a chamber at Worcester House; Mr. Crowther married them; nobody but my Lord of Ossory and her maid Nell by; but that they had been contracted long. This is all that I can hear of the business."³

In the December of 1660, a blow more afflicting than any from which she had recently suffered, fell upon the Queen of Bohemia in the death of her beloved niece, the Princess Mary, who had left the Hague for England, in the prime of womanly vigour, but three months before. In her first burst of sorrow she paid a visit to Leyden, where the young Prince of Orange, now doubly an orphan, was studying, and folded the desolate boy in her arms in a passion of tears.

and sharper tongue would certainly not have missed—to use her own words—"un morceau si friand" as a secret alliance between Lord Craven and her mother; but she speaks of him in the simplest and most affectionate way, "ce bon Lord Craven," whose purse was ever at their command, and who cheered them when their fortunes were at the lowest ebb.—"Memoires," p. 43.]

¹ Mary, the Princess of Orange, then in England.

² From the originals in the Earl of Craven's collection.

³ The last extract is from a letter formerly in M. Donnadieu's collection, incorrectly described as from Elizabeth, abbess of Hervorden. From the style it is probably Lord Craven's.

Her residence at the Hague became more and more distasteful, and she wrote again to her son, expressing her wish to live in the Palatinate and to have a separate residence prepared for her; requesting that some steps should be taken towards the payment of her debts, so that her creditors might be willing to consent to her departure. The following is an extract from his respectfully worded, but not very cordial, reply:—

“I am loth to touch anything in answer to your last gracious letter that may trouble your thought at this present with domestic affairs; but I can show, by your own hand, that your majesty was at first not unwilling to live at Heidelberg, whilst another house was preparing for you. When your majesty is here, it will be but one family; for nobody will dare to contest against anything that shall be for your service and convenience: and if any trouble should have been that way, those that would control might in better manners quit the house to your majesty than you to them; which myself would not have refused. As for the creditors, if your majesty had shown any real desire to come away, they might have been dealt withal. But I shall not trouble your majesty at this time with anything farther, because I hope you will give me leave to do it by express, who will very suddenly wait upon your majesty. In the mean time I pray God to comfort your majesty in all these great afflictions, and to do me the grace that I may be able to contribute something, if not so much as my duty requires, towards it.”¹

The Queen responded to this letter by assurances that she was not unreasonable in her demands, giving details of the sums which she had received from her son since his restoration, and urging their disproportion to his resources, and their inadequacy to her own wants.² The reply of the Elector was a mere evasion, and Elizabeth wrote a rejoinder, in a somewhat indignant strain, demanding that as no separate abode could be found for her at Heidelberg, and as the disturbances in the Elector's domestic circle rendered her residence at his Court unseemly and impossible, her dower palace at Frankenthal should at once be prepared for her reception; and that if the Elector would do nothing to pay her debts, he would at least make himself responsible for them, so as to enable her to leave the Hague. He replied as follows:—

“Sure your majesty hath forgot in what condition the house of Frankenthal, which they call the Shaffnerey, is in, when you were pleased to write of preparing it for you; for no preparation would have made that fit for your living in it, but a whole new building, which to do on a sudden, or in a few years, my purse was never yet in a condition for it; but I intended to do it by little and little, and had then begun it, if your majesty had come hither. I have done a little last year. As for the accidents fallen out in my domestic affairs, it is likely they had not happened if your majesty had been present; and if any other inconvenience had happened in regard of two families, (which was not likely, since one would not have meddled with the other's charge,) it might always have been remedied by a separation. As for the taking your majesty's debts upon me, which were made upon another score, I believe it cannot justly be claimed; and it is believed that if your majesty

¹ Bromley Letters, p. 228.

² *Ibid.* p. 230.

had showed the States any earnest intention to come hither, they would have taken some order to have appeased your creditors.”¹

Thus thwarted, the Queen gave up all idea of the Palatinate, and began to turn her thoughts more eagerly towards England.

Much of the correspondence addressed to her by her friends in England is still in existence. Sir Charles Cottrell, her master of the household; Sir Robert Honeywood, and John Dineley, so long her faithful and attached servants; George Beaumont, her chaplain, and the Duke of Norfolk are the principal writers.² These letters abundantly testify the Queen's profound interest in the leading movements connected with the re-establishing of the English Church and Constitution, and more especially in the proceedings taken to do honour to the memory of her brother, Charles I.

Elizabeth probably flattered herself that as soon as affairs became more composed, she should receive an invitation to the Court of her royal nephew; but she waited long and vainly. Charles II.—a being of impulse without gratitude, except such as burst forth when the sufferings of those who had endured for his sake were brought palpably before him, and overwhelmed with claims more numerous than it was possible for him to satisfy,—failed to bestow a thought upon an aged relative, who could no longer minister to his pleasure. It was, however, considered by Elizabeth's friends very desirable for her to visit England; that by the influence of her personal presence, she might procure from Parliament a settled annual allowance, for which she had applied, and which her friends were endeavouring to gain.³ As Charles II. still delayed or refused to send for the Queen, one of her correspondents, Sir Henry Howard, advised her to write to him in a tone of raillery, telling him she was resolved to see him ride in state to his coronation or his wedding, and would not for all the world miss any of those happy sights; that she scarce could sleep in quiet till she kissed English earth again, with the King looking on. Howard hoped that the King would, in reply to this, either send his consent, or some raillery; that he could not absolutely say no: in which case her Majesty, he said, had better come at once, without expecting any positive order for it.⁴ This advice coincided with the energy of Elizabeth's temper, but she would not consent to palm herself as a guest on her royal nephew. The obstacle of residence was removed by Lord Craven, who generously placed his own house

¹ 2nd Feb. 1661, Bromley Letters, pp. 236-37.

² See Catalogue of Autograph Letters sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, 3rd January, 1852.

³ Letter from Duke of Norfolk to Queen of Bohemia, in a private collection.

⁴ Addit. MS. 18744, f. 35. To the same effect was a letter from Colonel Lane (who aided Charles II.'s escape after the Battle of Worcester) to the Queen, in a private collection.

in Drury Lane at her disposal. Thus supported, the Queen suddenly resolved upon the step, and announced her resolution in the following letter to the Duke of Ormond:—

“ My Lord,

“ Now I hear that the coronation is so happily passed, I have no more patience to stay here, but am resolved to go myself to congratulate that happy action. I would not do it before, not to give the king too much trouble at once, except he had commanded me to go, and now I assure you I shall give very little trouble, for I bring with me not above 26 or 27 persons. I go with a resolution to put myself wholly into his hands, and obey him in all things, and trouble him for nobody. I hope to be gone and embarked at Helvoetsluys on Tuesday next, the 7th of this month. The States furnish me with ships. I shall land at Gravesend. All this I write to you freely, being confident of your friendship. I must also thank you for your civility to Rupert, who is gone towards Vienna this morning. I entreat you to continue your kindness for

“ Your most affectionate friend,

“ ELIZABETH.

“ I pray believe that nobody wisheth you more happiness, with greater honour than I do.”¹

The French Ambassador at the Hague, De Thou, in a letter to Louis XIV. thus records the circumstances connected with her departure:—²

“ Your majesty will see by the resolution of the 13th of this month, how the Queen of Bohemia is to pass over into that island (England), with the first wind, in the three war ships provided her by the States, who went yesterday to compliment her upon her departure, as did also the deputies of the other colleges and courts of justice, which are in this place. I too have not failed to visit her on the occasion of this voyage, and she told me very frankly that she would not oppose the interests of France, that she was rejoiced that your majesty was sending an ambassador in ordinary to reside in that court. She talks of returning again to the Hague, but I doubt whether the king, her nephew, will permit her so to do; for assuredly she cannot but be very useful to him, being a good creature, of a temper very civil and always equal, one who has never disobligened anybody, and who is thus capable, in her own person, of securing affection for the whole royal family, and one who, although more than a sexagenarian in age, preserves full vigour of body and mind. Although here she is in debt more than 200,000 crowns, to a number of poor creditors and tradespeople, who have furnished her subsistence during the disgraces of her house, nevertheless, from the friendship they have for her person, they let her go without a murmur, and without any other assurance of their payment than the high opinion they have of her goodness and generosity, and that, as soon as she shall have means to give them satisfaction, she will not, although absent and distant, fail to do it.”

One reason of the willingness of the Hague creditors to part with the Queen, was their hope that her arrival in England would accelerate the actual payment of the 20,000*l.* voted to her

¹ ²/₅ May, 1661, Harl. MS. 7502.

² Dated 19th May, 1661, Harl. MS. 4530.

by Parliament; which, being made payable upon funds already burdened with other heavy claims, had not yet been discharged.

Elizabeth received farewell visits from her son Prince Rupert, and her daughter Sophia, with her little grandchild Elizabeth-Charlotte. Duke Ernest Augustus also arrived to attend her to the coast. On starting for Delft, she sent to the French Ambassador, De Thou, to request the loan of a coach, as her own carriages were already sent on board: he cheerfully complied, and came in person to attend her. He rode in the same coach with the Queen, and four ladies, the Countess Kinsky, her lady of honour, and Mesdames Merode, Gontram and Vandermyle, the latter being daughter of the lady who was so long her hostess. These Dutch ladies accompanied her to England, as future members of her household, when her resources should enable her to form an establishment suitable to her rank. At Delft she took leave of the friendly Ambassador, with many thanks for his courtesies, and entered the boat, in which the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick, who had preceded her to the coast, were awaiting her.¹ Between Delft and Delftshaven, she was met by the captain of a frigate who handed to her a letter, remonstrating against her proposed voyage, as contrary to the wishes of the King. The Queen was not taken by surprise: she had already received intimations that her nephew by no means coveted her presence, but she professed to believe that his reluctance arose only from his unwillingness to incur the expenses which her presence at his coronation would have involved; and that, since that was now over, no obstacle remained. She replied to the letter by assurances that as she had taken leave of her friends, and was now actually *en route*, it was impossible for her to return, unless she had some satisfactory excuse, which certainly did not exist.² She therefore proceeded boldly upon her way, and sailed to Helvoetsluys, where three vessels, lent by the States of Holland, were in readiness. Here she bade farewell to her daughter and son-in-law, and, embarking, took her final departure from the country which had sheltered her during forty long and weary years of exile; and on Thursday the $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁹/₈th of May, she once again reached the shores of her native country, from which she had been absent nearly half a century!

The Queen touched first at Gravesend, and then proceeded by water to London; but as no preparations were made for her formal entry into the city, she did not arrive until evening, probably of set purpose, that the absence of the usual salutes and homage due to royalty might be attributed to its being

¹ De Thou's Desp. *ut supra*; Gazettes de France, 1661, pp. 506, 529.

² Elizabeth to Rupert, $\frac{1}{15}$ May, Bromley Letters, p. 188; endorsed, in error, 1655; De Thou's Desp. 26th May.

night.¹ Still it was loudly whispered in courtly circles, that she was unwelcome. A news-writer records, on 26th May, that "Her Majesty is coming contrary to the will of the King, for which reason she will not reside at Whitehall nor Somerset House, but at my Lord Craven's, and I do not think that her stay there will be of long duration".

The Queen arrived in the midst of the mourning at court for the death of the young Duke of Cambridge, the son of James, Duke of York and Anne Hyde. But she was easily consoled for the death of an heir presumptive to the crown, springing from so unregal a stock,² though she little dreamed that the removal of that infant was one link in the chain of events which should raise her own progeny to the throne.

Charles II. was neither obstinate nor unforgiving; he took no offence at the disobedience to orders of his venerable relative, but received her with his wonted friendliness. Still he did not appoint her apartments in one of the royal palaces; she remained a few months as Lord Craven's guest, residing at his mansion in Drury Lane. Craven House was originally built by Sir William Drury, from whom it was purchased by the Craven family. Lord Craven built large additions to it, so as to make it rather resemble several houses placed together. The entrance was through a pair of gates, leading into a large coach-yard, and behind was a beautiful and extensive garden. Drury Lane and the Strand were at this period the fashionable parts of London, and chief places of residence of the gentry. Craven House was taken down in 1809.³

The Queen's sense of propriety, however, forbade her intruding long upon the hospitality of her liberal-hearted friend, and therefore she hired from the Earl of Leicester a mansion in Leicester Fields, occupied for the time by ambassadors from Holland, but on which she was to enter when they departed.⁴

It was suggested that the eldest Palatine Princess should come over to England to join her mother; and some supposed that the proposal was made with a view of alliance with Lord Craven.⁵ She was in a very destitute condition, not receiving from England the pension which had been granted to her by Charles I., nor from her brother the support, which, as head of

¹ Mercurius Redivivus, Addit. MS. 10116, f. 342.

² De Thou's Desp. 6th Jan., 26th May, Harl. MS. 4530.

³ Cunningham's "Hand-book of London," Drury House, Craven House. It has been frequently asserted that the residence built by Lord Craven at Hampstead Marshall was designed for the Queen of Bohemia, but Lysons, quoting the epitaph on the tomb of the architect, Sir Balthazar Gerbier, states that it was only begun in 1662, in the February of which year she died.

⁴ De Thou's Desp. 26th Aug. 1661; News Letter, 16th Sept. The house in Drury Lane, thus honoured by her presence, was found by Pennant as an inn, bearing for its sign-board the head of the Queen of Bohemia.

⁵ Hartlib to Worthington, 4th June, 1661, Kennet's Chronicle, p. 571.

the family, he was bound to have bestowed; yet she did not chose to abandon Germany, and join her mother in England. It does not seem that between the Queen and her eldest daughter much sympathy or cordiality subsisted. It will be remembered that they had had some little domestic differences in earlier days, and from the period when the restoration of her brother enabled her to reside at Heidelberg, the Princess did not visit her mother at the Hague. But if there was coolness of feeling, it never amounted to dissension; for not only was the Princess herself in frequent correspondence with her mother,¹ but a number of letters, addressed to the Queen of Bohemia, in 1661, by the Dowager-Electress of Brandenburg, her sister-in-law, speak of the Princess, and request assistance for her from her mother, in a style plainly intimating that there was no alienation between them. This aunt, with whom, at the Court of Berlin, many of Elizabeth's earlier years had been spent, advised her to enter the Protestant nunnery of Herford, and obtained a promise from her son, the young Elector, to use his influence in securing to her in reversion the rank of abbess. She followed the suggestion, the superior received her most favourably, and she was at once admitted to be coadjutrix.² The Princess announced these circumstances in a letter to her brother, the Elector, in which she assures him of her gratification at being freed from the necessity of incommoding him with her presence, and her hopes that he would now lose his bad temper towards her, "for which," she adds, "I shall labour with all my strength, thinking it so unreasonable that persons whom nature attaches together by so close a bond that no one of them can hurt another without being prejudiced thereby, should remain whole years in dissension, that there is nothing consistent with a good conscience which I would not do to remove this reproach from our house". The Elector's reply approving this step was written in a style more cold and satirical than that in which he addressed his mother, and with a dash of contemptuousness which he never ventured to use towards her.³

With her eldest son, the Queen's disputes became more and more serious. In prospect of removing to a residence of her own, she sent orders to one of her servants, Michel, who had remained in charge of the Palatine furniture ever since the decease of King Frederic, charging him to pack and send over to England all that was good for anything, both from her house at the Hague and from that at Rhenen. Michel was thwarted in the execution of these orders by a message from the Elector,

¹The originals of several of these letters are in the possession of the Earl of Craven.

²Six letters from Catherine Sophia to Elizabeth, March to August, 1661, in a private collection.

³MSS. Geo. IV. No. 140, pp. 417-18.

who forbade his carrying away anything, until he had had time to communicate with his mother, on the ground that, as heir of the house, the property in question belonged to him rather than to her. A considerable proportion of it had in fact been carried away from Heidelberg, and left at Sedan, by King Frederic, and thence restored to Elizabeth by the zeal and care of one of her faithful followers.¹ Had this plea been valid, it would doubtless have been urged by Charles Louis as a reason for taking the furniture with him, when he returned to the desolated castle of Heidelberg: but it was an act equally graceless and unjust to attempt to deprive his mother of the worn and faded remains of her former splendour. As such it was regarded by those in whose custody the Queen's houses had been left, and, heedless of the *veto* of the Prince Elector, they persisted in their resolution to obey the commands of their royal mistress, and sent her her property. It was said that Charles Louis' agents went so far as to stir up the Queen's creditors at the Hague, suggesting to them the impolicy of allowing the only pledge remaining in their hands to escape them. He denied having adopted this expedient, but, at any rate, he was foiled, and such of her household goods as were thought worth the packing were sent over to the Queen. She wrote an indignant letter to her son on his conduct, and was so far moved as to utter complaints of him in presence of strangers, which she had never been wont to do. He replied in the tone of forced respect which he always assumed towards her:—

“I can easily perceive,” he wrote, “how willing your majesty is the world should perceive, upon any occasion, that you find fault with me; because I hear that in your presence, before all the company, you have complained to the Brandenburg's ambassador of me; which, though I had committed a much greater fault, you would not have done, if you were not willing to have myself and all the world take notice of your constant settled displeasure against me, as you have also showed in many other occasions; all which I must bear with the rest of my misfortunes, yet not neglect, as far as lieth in my power, the humble duty I owe you.”²

Elizabeth appealed to her royal nephew, Charles II., to request his interference with the agents of the Elector, then in England, to procure for her a larger portion of her dower revenues than she had hitherto obtained from him. He spoke to them on the subject, but their reply was, that they had no instructions from their master about the Queen's affairs. Charles II. expressed his surprise to the Elector, who replied as follows:—³

¹ Rusdorf, *Consilia*, vol. ii. n. pp. 105, 137.

² Bromley Letters, pp. 223, 224.

³ Date 7th Sept. 1661, *S. P. Germ. States*.

“As for the queen my mother’s affairs with me, which your majesty is graciously pleased to mention, my envoys should have wanted no power to have treated and concluded, if by their relations, whilst they were in England, I could have found that the representations and offers made on my behalf had been taken into such consideration as that there might have been a likelihood of a final conclusion. Yet, if hereafter, by any demands made on her majesty’s part, proportional to my present condition, I shall find that my offer of such a definite sum as I am now able to perform, over and above what I give at present, and what for the future I have offered indefinitely, may not be rejected, I shall not fail, seeing it is your majesty’s pleasure, however difficult it may prove to me (considering the unsettledness of affairs in these parts), to tie myself to what I shall propose, and your majesty be willing to accept, for the queen my mother’s satisfaction and my security.”

The King knew as well as Elizabeth how futile were such professions, and therefore he granted his aunt a pension of 12,000*l.* per annum, and assured her that he would use his utmost influence to have all her arrears discharged at the approaching Parliament.¹ She had herself made an application on the subject; but as the debts of the country to her were involved with those due on many other scores, they could not readily be discharged at once and apart.²

The benignant influence of Elizabeth’s personal character was beginning to be felt in the English Court, and she increased sensibly in favour with the King. She was frequently with him in public, at the play, etc., and her presence was always welcomed by the people, who regarded her with reverential affection. On these occasions, Lord Craven was her usual attendant.³ She entered into correspondence with the future Queen, Catherine of Portugal, then the betrothed bride of Charles II., and that lady replied most cordially to her epistles, addressing her as her aunt, and assuring her that on arriving in England, she should look up to her as to a mother, and should wish to perform a daughter’s part towards her.

The death of the Princess Mary of Orange, and the removal of the queen-mother and the Princess Henrietta to France, left the Queen of Bohemia in the position of the only lady of the blood-royal in England. An interesting glimpse of her within a few weeks of her decease, is extracted from a curious and valuable Italian MS. in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., entitled “Relation of the Embassy Extraordinary of the Marquis G. A. Durazzo, of Genoa”. After describing his first audience with the King, Durazzo adds:—⁴

¹ De Thou’s *Desp.* 22nd Sept., 11th Oct. Harl. MS. 4530.

² *Ibid.* 22nd July, 1661.

³ Pepy’s *Diary*, vol. i. pp. 207, 215.

⁴ Middlehill MS. 12246, f. 193, Sir T. Phillipps’ collection. This MS., of 515 quarto pages, contains a graphic description of the King, the Court, the Ministry, the state of affairs, and more especially of religion, in the early part of the reign of Charles II.

“I made the last visit in the evening to the Queen of Bohemia, sister to the late king, and mother to the prince palatine, or of Heidelberg. I went thither conducted by the master of the ceremonies, and found her in her cabinet, where she had assembled many ladies, to receive me with the greater decorum. She sent attendants to welcome me as I alighted from my coach; and at the head of the stairs, I was met by Lord Craven, proprietor of the house where she lives, and principal director of her court. It is incredible the pleasure which her majesty shewed at this my office, and the familiar courtesy with which she discoursed with me for a very long time upon the state of the most serene republic, and other various matters, even to inviting me to come sometimes to see her. This princess has learned from nature, and continued through the changes of her fortune, an incomparable goodness; and as people ever turn away from her with profit and applause, she has thus often, by this capital alone, sustained in a most depressed estate the respect due to the dignity of her rank. Now, restored to the possession of her appanages, whilst her son enjoys that of his states, she is restored to some authority, and thus is heightened the lustre of that affable manner with which she wonderfully conciliates the esteem and love of the court.”

We now come to the last page in the long and changeful history of the royal Elizabeth. On the 29th January, 1662, she removed from Lord Craven's house to her own residence in Leicester Fields. Leicester House stood in the north-east corner of the square, and Robert, Earl of Leicester, often let it as a town residence for people of fashion. It was a large and elegant mansion, well known in later days as the resort of two Princes of Wales,—the sons of George I. and George II., during the period of their quarrels with their fathers, from which circumstance Pennant happily calls it the “pouting place of princes”. Its gardens now form the site of Lisle Street, Leicester Square.¹

The Queen's residence there was very brief: she had scarcely arrived when she was seized with a severe illness, which from its commencement threatened a fatal termination. The symptoms were hæmorrhage from the lungs, attended with dropsical swellings. Charles II. became alarmed; and reluctant that a royal daughter of England should die in a hired house, he urged her to accept apartments in Whitehall Palace, but she was now too ill to be removed. Conscious of her danger, and anxious to put an end to her worldly cares, she sent for her two nephews, the King and the Duke of York, and for Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and made it her earnest and dying request that the pension which she had so recently obtained, might be continued to her executors for four or five years after her decease, in order to enable them to discharge the outstanding debts still due to her much-enduring creditors at the Hague. After obtaining this promise, she made her will, in which, as matter of form, she constituted her eldest son heir-general, but

¹ Kennet's Chron. p. 627. Cunningham's Hand-book, Leicester House. [Elizabeth always calls it Exeter House. See Miss Wendland's Letters, nos. 138-142.]

she had little to bestow saving a few jewels, family papers, and pictures. The jewels, after selecting mementoes for each of her children, she bequeathed to Prince Rupert; the papers and portraits to her faithful friend, Lord Craven, who deposited them at Combe Abbey, which he purchased as his country residence. There they still remain; so that the home of Elizabeth's happy girlhood has become the fitting shrine for these valuable relics of her brilliant and eventful after-life.

Her worldly career was now closed; she requested that the holy sacrament might be administered to her, received it with solemn earnestness, according to the usual rites of the English Church, and prepared herself for her dying hour with the same calm and steadfast reliance on God which had been her support through life. She expired, sitting in her chair, early in the morning of the $\frac{1}{2}$ ³ of February, retaining to the last her faculties unimpaired, and her intellect clear and undismayed.¹

The Earl of Leicester, writing to Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, says:² "My royal tenant is departed; it seems the fates did not think it fit that I should have the honour, which indeed I never much desired, to be the landlord of a Queen. It is pity that she lived not a few hours more to die upon her wedding day, and that there is not as good a poet to make her epitaph as Doctor Donne, who wrote her epithalamium upon that day unto St. Valentine."

Had Elizabeth lived to the morrow's dawning, she would have seen the forty-eighth anniversary of her marriage day. She died at the age of sixty-five years, forty of which had been spent in the sorrows of exile, thirty in the still bitterer woes of widowhood, which, but for the hopeful and buoyant heart within her, had long before sufficed to hurry her to a premature grave. On the 15th of February, the Lord Chamberlain issued the following order:—³

"These are to signify unto your lordship his majesty's pleasure that you deliver, or cause to be delivered, unto Sir Edward Walker, knight, garter principal king at arms, the several parcels following, for the Queen of Bohemia, lately deceased, viz., two palls of black velvet, a canopy of the like black velvet, lined with black taffeta, and fringed with a deep silk fringe, like as was provided for the funeral of the princess royal, with ten stands to support the same; a regal crown, a cushion of black velvet, a large sheet of fine holland, and 24 ells of diaper for towels, and 6 strong bearing stands; as also that you prepare 6 stands for the great candlesticks and lights, and that you cause the coffin to be covered with black velvet, and likewise the room where the body is to rest is to be hung with black cloth, and the floor thereof to be covered with black baize; and further that you deliver to Arthur Blackmore, arms painter, 6 yards of black satin for 8 escutcheons; and this shall be your lordships warrant.

¹Theat. Europ. vol. ix. p. 661; Estrade's Negot. vol. i. p. 253; Diar. Europ. 1662, p. 80.

²Collin's Sydney Papers, vol. ii. p. 723.

³Entries of Warrants to Lady-day, 1663, f. 262, Lord Chamberlain's Office.

“Given under my hand, this 15th day of February, 1661, in the 14th year of his majesty’s reign. MANCHESTER.

“To the right honourable Edward Earl of Sandwich, master of his majesty’s great wardrobe, or to his deputy there.”

On Sunday, the 16th of February, her remains, after embalming, were removed, privately and by night, to Somerset House, the apartments of which had been hung with black, and the nobility and Houses of Parliament were summoned to attend the funeral at eight o’clock on the evening of the following day, Feb. 17th. Prince Rupert was the only one of Elizabeth’s children then in England, and he of course was chief mourner; her royal nephews shrank from the gloom of a midnight funeral march.¹ The procession set forth in the following order:—The earl marshal’s man; servants of the nobility; of the Duke of York, and of the King and the Queen; officers at arms; privy councillors; the younger branches of the nobility, in order of precedence; barons; bishops; viscounts; then the great officers of state with the insignia of their office. Next was the crown, on a cushion, carried by Norroy and Clarendieux, kings at arms, supported on each side by Sir Robert Craven, the Queen’s master of the horse, and Lord Craven, her chief officer. The coffin was borne by eighteen gentlemen of the King’s privy chamber; twelve others carried a canopy, and four young noblemen supported the sweeping regal pall of purple velvet: the gentleman ushers followed; and then came Prince Rupert, followed by two Dukes, one Marquis, nineteen English and four Scotch earls. They went as far as Westminster bridge in barges lined with black cloth, and thence marched in solemn order to the great gates of the abbey, where they were met by the dean and chapter, who commenced the impressive burial service. The procession then moved on, and in the dim light of the wax tapers carried before them, and lining the aisles, they bore their precious burden to the chapel of Henry VII., where it was placed in the royal vault, and Garter king proclaimed aloud:—

“That it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life to his divine mercy her royal majesty, the most high, most mighty, and excellent Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia.”²

The following inscription was placed on the coffin:—³

“The remains of the most serene and powerful Princess Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, relict of Frederic, by the grace of God King of Bohemia, archsewer and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, and only daughter of James, sister of

¹Townsend’s Diary, Phillipps MS. 12254, *sub dato*.

²Rawlinson MS. B. 178, art. 14, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

³Latin, Add. MS. 12514, f. 190; Account-book of Edward, Earl of Sandwich, 1662, Lord Chamberlain’s Office.

Charles I. and aunt of Charles, the second of that name, kings of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, who most piously fell asleep in the Lord, on the 13th day of February, in the mansion of the Earl of Leicester, in the year of Christ, 1661,¹ in the sixty-sixth of her age."

The English Court put on mourning for the death of the King's aunt; but Charles II. was too frivolous and pleasure-loving to feel permanent regret for any loss which did not interfere with his personal enjoyments. It was soon whispered at Court that the King was not inconsolable; and the French Ambassador seems to have repeated these rumours, for Louis XIV. refused to sign the letters of condolence to Charles II. and his brother which were first prepared by his secretary, remarking that the grief was not great enough for condolence so earnest, and other letters, less profound in their expressions of sympathy,² were written and despatched.

In the presence of Prince Rupert and of the Duke of York, an inventory of Elizabeth's jewels was made. Excepting one necklace of large, and one of smaller pearls, a few diamonds, watches, bracelets, &c., they consisted almost entirely of family relics, jewel-encased portraits of her mother, brother, sister-in-law, and grandchild, a small bracelet of diamonds set in gold, with a locket bearing the initials C. H., Christian of Halberstadt or Brunswick, her gallant cousin, who fell in her cause, and a mourning ring, with the hair of Charles I. set in it, which was long an heir-loom amongst her descendants.³

Of Elizabeth's character, enough has been shown in the preceding pages to vindicate her claim to the title of "Queen of Hearts," which was the favourite epithet lavished on her when no empire save that of the affections remained to her. In reference to her sons, as much has been recorded as our limits would allow; and of her surviving daughters, we need only add that Elizabeth, abbess of Herford, was said to be the most learned woman; Louise the best amateur artist; and Sophia the most accomplished lady, of their day. Many of her descendants, in the female line, have occupied prominent positions in the world's history;⁴ but strange as it may seem, with so large a family of sons, her male heirs expired in the second generation, and the Palatine possessions devolved upon the younger line of Newburg. A direct lineal descendant, through the Duchess of Orleans, daughter of her son Charles Louis, was Louis Philippe, King of the French, whose changeful destinies

¹ That is 1662, according to the present mode of dating the year from 1st Jan.

² *Lettres de Louis XIV.* Phillips MS. 3154, ff. 1896, 1906.

³ Inventory, *S. P. Germ. States*; 1st March, 1662, Bromley Letters, *Introd.*

⁴ [Notably in the case of her daughter Sophia, whose descendants not only reign over England but (by the marriage of her only daughter to Frederick of Brandenburg, first King of Prussia) sit on the Imperial throne of Germany.]

rivalled her own. The descendants of her sixth son, Edward, married into the Houses of Condé, Brunswick, and Modena, and one of them sat on the throne of the Cæsars, as wife of the Emperor Joseph I. Her own proudest title, of "queen of hearts," has been superadded to that of "queen of nations," in the person of the descendant of her youngest child—her Majesty Queen Victoria.



APPENDIX A

“LISTE de tout le train de leurs Altesces qu'ils amenant au voyage d'Allemagne.” (*S. P. Germ. States*, April, 1613.) See p. 62.

- 1 Monsieur le Prince Electeur.
- 3 Comte de Solms, Grand Maitre.
- 3 Comte de Witgensteyn.
- 2 le Coll. Schonberg.
- 2 Comte d'Erbach.
- 2 Comte de Levinston [Löwenstein].
- 2 Monsr. de Bonnefoy, Escuyer.
- 2 Mr. Colb.
- 2 Mr. Floren.
- 2 Mr. Adelsheim.
- 2 Mr. Helmstetter.
- 2 Mr. de Wallbron.
- 2 Mr. de Berlips.
- 2 Mr. de Cardenas.
- 2 Mr. Vernet.

-
- 2 Mr. Colbe, Treasurer.
 - 2 Mr. Dathenes, secretaire.¹
 - 2 Doctor Romph, Medecin.
 - 1 le valet de chambre.
 - 4 quatre pages.
 - 1 le barbier.
 - 4 quatre laquais.
 - 2 Mr. Dolffphin.
 - 1 Mr. Althen, apothecayre.

50

“Liste de tout le train de Madame l'Electrice.”

- 1 Madame l'Electrice.
- 7 Mademoiselle Dudley.
- 2 Madame de Haye.
- 2 Mad : Tirrell.
- 2 Ma : Apsley.
- 2 Ma : Mayerne.²
- 2 Ma : Eliz. Dudley.

¹ Pierre Dathenes. There are two letters from him to Winwood amongst the Duke of Buccleuch's Papers. See *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the Buccleuch MSS.*, vol. i. pp. 147, 157.

² Louise Mayerne, daughter of Dr. or Sir Theodore, the court physician.

- 2 Ma : la Doyenne.¹
 1 Maria Smythe, fille de chambre.
 2 Mistress Barry, fille de chambre.
 3 Trois filles lavendieres.
 4 Sir James Sandalin, Maitre d'hostel.²
 3 Sir Andrew Kyth, Escuier.
 3 Mr. Elpheston, secretaire.
 3 Mr. Tho. Levingston, eschanson.³
 3 Mr. Hickman, gentilhomme servant.
 3 Mr. Pringley, Escuyr trenchant.
 3 Mr. Jaques Leviston, husier.
 2 Mr. Chapman, chapelain.⁴
 2 Mr. Twyst, chapelain.
 5 4 gentilhommes pages.
 2 Doctor Rumph, medecyn.
 2 Mr. Jacob Herdret, juellier.
 2 Mr. Christo. Pase, Clerc de la cuisinne.
 1 Mr. Gray, fourrier.
 2 Jan Spence, tailleur.
 2 Guillaume Shortis et Laza. Servays, officiers de la garde-robe.
 2 Mr. Esbrom, gentilhomme servant.
 2 Erich Clemens, gentilhomme Danois.
 2 Gentilhommes servants à la chambre de licit.
 2 Valetts de la Chambre privée.
 1 Walther Tucker, arbalestrier.
 3 Cuisinyers.
 4 tourne-broches.
 1 patissier.
 1 Jehan Ramsey, bottelyer.
 2 palfrenyers.
 5 4 couchyers et un serviteur.
 1 sellyer.
 1 qui mene la lictiere.
 1 qui mene un cheval de bagage.
 4 laquais.

102 (*sic*)

¹This is probably the daughter of Sir Robert Carey (see p. 18 above). Having been with the Princess since they were children together, she would be the "doyenne" of the maids of honour.

²This name masquerades in many forms in the foreign letters. He was Sir James Sandilands.

³The English are said to have been displeased that the Princess's chief officers were all Scots. See letter from Wake (then in London) to Carleton, *S. P. Venice*, under date 12th Feb. 1612-13.

⁴Dr. Alexander Chapman. In 1616 the King gave him the reversion of the next vacant prebend in Canterbury Cathedral (see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* under date 31st May). This fell vacant in 1618, and he was duly appointed, but did not then come to England. He remained with Elizabeth, and accompanied her to Bohemia. (See Pescheck, "Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen," i. 331 n.) The Germans called him Scapman. When he returned to England is uncertain, but he was living at Canterbury at the time of his death, in 1629, and is buried in the Cathedral.

After these there follows :—

“ Liste du train de Messieurs les ambassadeurs et commissayres pour la conduite de Madame.”

The Duke of Lennox. 42 persons. *escu de France. Lennox.*

The Earl and Countess of Arundel. 36 persons. *Cerf Arundel.*

Viscount Lisle. 21 persons. *Chevier d'or Lisle.*

Lord Harrington. 29 persons. *la fleur de Florence.*

Général Cecil and his lady. 17. *l'ange.*¹

Liste des serviteurs, domestiques de sa Majesté ordonnés pour cette voyage. 108 persons.

Total 425 (*sic*)

250²

675

Endorsed A liste of the Princes Palatin their trayne according to Monsr. Malres copie in Middleburg. *S. P. Germ. States* [April, 1613].

¹ The crests or badges are probably added for identification of the various trains of followers.

² No explanation is given of the added 250 persons. Perhaps they were the escorts given at Middelburg.

APPENDIX B

1. ELIZABETH TO SIR RALPH WINWOOD.—(See p. 88.)

My Lord

I have found you so ready to do me any pleasure that I have chosen you to ask your advice and counsel in a business of mine. It will be long to tell you all the reasons and subject of it, but I have fully instructed Tom Roe with [it] from whom I pray receive it to your care, and advertize me what you shall think in your judgment fit for me to do, and after I make no doubt but to have also your furtherance in effecting it. You shall ever find me grateful and ready to acknowledge the courtesy I have and shall receive from you, and so I rest

Your friend

ELIZABETH.

Sir, I thank you for the letter I received, which hath made me the willinger to employ you.¹

Aug. 28. 1613. Heidelberg.

2. ELIZABETH TO LADY APSLEY.—(See p. 116.)

Good Madame,

I thank you verie much for your last, which I received being in the High Palatinat, which I could not answeare by reasone of my travelling up and doune till my comming hither: the difference you writ of betweene Schonberg and your daughter is true, but I assure you that Apsley gave no such cause of offence as needed to have bene taken so hainously, having onely defended her right: as for me it did not trouble me much, because I was resolved not lett Apsley have no wrong, nor will suffer it as long as I live, although I love Schonberg verie well, yett [if] she does ill, she is not to be excused no more than anie other: as for your daughter, I should be verie loth to lett her goe, she serves me so faithfullie and willinglie as I trust none so much as shee, and I will ever do for her as much as I can: I hope one day to bring her and my self to you in to England, then you shall

¹ Original amongst the Duke of Buccleuch's papers. Printed in vol. i. of the Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the Buccleuch MSS. p. 246. Winwood, just at this time, went over to England, in hopes of receiving the Secretaryship, which, however, he did not obtain until some months later. The "business" was perhaps the quarrel amongst Elizabeth's servants, which had been referred to King James.

see how much she is mended, for she is now a little broader than she is long, and speaks French so well as she will make one forswear that tounge to heare her ; her nose will be in time a little longer, for my little one doth pull hard at it : as for Dutch Bess, Sudly carries it, mouth and all, but neare a count will byte yet, although wee would faine have them. I am sure Thom. Lewinston's wif tell you manie newes, but doe not trust her for a matter that I know : it will be to long for me to tell it you, but I have tolde your daughter. I end, desiring you to beleeve that will be ever as I am

Your constant frend

ELIZABETH.¹

3. LADY APSLEY TO ELIZABETH.—(See p. 116.)

Most gracious Quene,

Your acostemed faiforable hearin makes me presum thus farre to relate my joye in hearing of your sauef delivery of a fourth sonn,² which God bles with the rest ; among so many reports to the contrary, and your great journey, wherby you see Godes blesed providence to be the safest keper, both to gret and small and all : though it plesed not God to give your worthy king the first victoary, I hope in Godes great mercyes he will the last, to his comfort and the good of his church : and nowe it hath plesed God to make your maigesty a mother of so many swet children, and som of them nowe so far from you,³ I presum most humbly to intreat you will be plesed to thinke of an old womones affection to your old servant, howes ritourn for England I hartly wish when your maigesty is plesed to part with her : And thus, with her that hath hithertowe desirede my desier herein, to your best liking, which I shall desier to hear of, I most humbly take my leave, beseching God his blesed providence may ever be on you and youres, and rest your maigestyes to be commanded

ELIZABETH APSLEY.

Febrary vij [1621].

4. ELIZABETH TO SIR ALBERTUS MORTON.

My honest Morton, though I have little to say to you yett I must write to you by this gentleman : you shall know by him how the Palatinat growes worse and worse, and when it is at the worst I hope

¹ Elizabeth Apsley, one of the Princess's maids of honour, was daughter to Sir Edward Apsley of Thakeham, in Sussex, and a distant cousin of Lucy Hutehinson. These letters form part of a collection of old family papers, a selection from which was printed by W. H. Blaauw, Esq., in vol. iv. of the Sussex Archaeological Collections, p. 221 *et seq.* This earliest letter is not dated, but must have been written in 1615, after Anne Dudley's marriage to Schönberg, and before her death ; probably immediately after Elizabeth's return from the Higher Palatinate, in August.

² Prince Maurice, born on 6th-16th Jan. 1621.

³ Frederic Henry was at the Hague ; Charles Louis and Elizabeth with their grandmother ; in this month of February, the infant Maurice was taken charge of by the Electress of Brandenburg, so that only Rupert was left with his mother.

God will mend it. I see by your sweethartes¹ letter that you are still my honest Morton, and assure yourself that I am ever

Your most constant frend

ELIZABETH

I pray commend me to Nethersole and bid him gett his dispatch as soon as he can.

The Hagh, this $\frac{8}{18}$ May.²

To Sir Albert Morton.

5. ELIZABETH TO LADY APSLEY.

Good Madame, I give you manie thanks for your kinde letter to me and tokens to my children: you have put yourself to too much paynes about them, for I assure you, without that, you nor your daughter, my dear servant, shoulde never be forgotten by us, and those tokens they shall ever keep for both your sakes. I am verie well content that your daughter³ my ladie Butler shall keepe my picture, it cannot be in a better place. I pray commend me both to her and him whom I verie well remember heere. I shall ever be redie to [do] them all the good I can, both for your dear daughters sake and yours, to whom I ame ever

Your true affectionat frend,

ELIZABETH.⁴

I pray weare this small token for my sake, which is to assure you of my constant love.

The Hagh, this 2nd of August.

6. ELIZABETH TO LADY MORTON.

Deare *ladie* [*erased in original*] Morton, I did receive your letter, ame glad you are so well recovered of your sickness, for I woulde [not] have your wish of dying come to you, I love you [too] well to be willing to lose you: if you can gett anything by my help I am glad of it, for truelie I will ever doe for you all I can: and for the answere you give me concerning Ned Harwood, it is a verie good one, you could not have made a better, for though he be a verie honest man, yett I doe not think him good enough for you; what I writt was at his request, as you saw by the letter I sent you, and now there is an ende of it: the King beeing by when I write this, commends his love to you and so doe I to your good mother. Liddal goeth away in so

¹ Elizabeth Apsley, whom he married, 13th Jan. 1624.

² Probably 1621. Nethersole went to England in April. See p. 180, above.

³ Lady Apsley's daughter Alice married Sir John Butler, son and heir of Sir Oliver Butler.

⁴ With this letter are two short notes of thanks for the "tokens," from Prince Frederic Henry and Rupert to "Lady Morton" and "Lady Apsley" respectively. Rupert writes between ruled lines. The letter must have been written 1624-26, probably after Sir Albertus Morton's death in 1625.

weak hart¹ I cannot say no more by the next you shall have a longer letter ; in the meane I ame ever, deare Apsley,
 Your true constant frend,
 ELIZABETH.²

The Hagh this $\frac{1}{11}$ November.
 To the ladie Morton.

7. THE EARL OF PEMBROKE TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.—(See p. 134.)

My Lord

This great busines now in hand makes me write by this honest bearer, lest some open speeches of his Majestie may give greater discouragement then himself intends they should. It is true that I believe the King will be very unwilling to be engaged in a warr, if by any meanes, with his honor, he may avoyd it: and yet I am confident, when the necessity of the cause of religion, his sonn's preservation, and his owne honor calls upon him, that he will perform whatsoever belongs to the defender of the fayth, a kind father-in-law, and one carefull of the preservation of that honor which I must confess, by a kind of misfortune, hath long layne in a kind of suspence. I am afrayd that the Baron Dona is gone hence with little satisfaction; it was not my good fortune to speke with him before his going away, and he may out of that discontentment, give a greater fright then I believe there is cause. This I can onely say, that the body of the whole councell stands well affected, and I make no question but that will prevayle against those particular opinions which are nourished too much with Spanish milk. I can not now write more at large, the King being presently to goe away, but I will ever be

Your lordship's most affectionate
 frend to command, PEMBROKE.

Whitehall this 24th of September [1619].

To the right honourable Sir Dudley Carleton Knight, his Majesty's ambassador to the estates of the United Provinces.³

¹ Evidently a mis-reading. The second word is no doubt "hast" which is how Elizabeth always spelt "haste"; perhaps the phrase should run "in so much hast".

² This letter is certainly written after Morton's death. "Ned Harwood" is probably the Colonel Sir Edward Harwood who was killed at Maestricht in 1632. So far from marrying again, the young widow died herself in the following year, 1626.

Sir Henry Wotton quotes—and no doubt wrote—the lovely couplet upon her death:—

"He first deceased; she for a little tried
 To live without him, liked it not and died."

³ Original in *S. P. Dom.* Jas. I. ex. 81. William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was Lord Chamberlain of the Household, a moderate man, but a very strong Protestant, of Archbishop Abbot's type, and in favour of giving armed assistance to Protestant Germany. In the following year, when a Benevolence was demanded in aid of the Palatinate, he even tried to enforce payments by questionable means. See Gardiner, "Hist. of Eng." iii. 380.

8. ELIZABETH TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.—(See pp. 136, 261.)

My Lord, these are onelie to thanke you both for your letter and your favoring the business for which the Baron of Dona was sent to his Maiesty as he hathe told me.

Yesterday we arrived heire being received with a great show of loue of all sortes of people. The King hath stayed Morton, till he and I be crowned, by him. I will write to you more at large for I am now in hast. I pray continue still the good offices you doe me to his Maiestie, I am ever your most affectionat frend,

ELIZABETH.

Prague this 22 of October [1619].
To the Marquise of Buckingham.¹

9. ELIZABETH TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.—(See p. 185.)

My Lord, the King understanding that the Spaniard hath refused to renew the truce in the Palatinat hath written to his Maiestie to intreat him for his assistance; the countrie else will be all lost. I must desire your help to his Maiestie in this and beseech him for us not to let us loose all. I know the Spanish ambassadour² will make manie complaints against the King concerning the Count Mansfelds proceedings but I hope his Maiestie will not judge till he heare the Kings answere to anie such accusation who may be beleueed as soon as the other. I must intreat you therefore to help us in this. I haue also written to my deare Brother about it, next to whom I haue most confidence in you who shall neuer find me other then

Your most affectionat frend

ELIZABETH.

My Lord I forgott one thing which is that the King is much troubled at this newes more than euer I saw him. I earnestlie intreat you therefore to get his Maiestie to send him some effectuall comfortable answere that may a little ease his melancholie, for I confess it troubles me to see him soe. I pray lett none know this but his Majestie and my Brother, to whom I forgott to write it. The naggs you promised me in your letter by Nethersol shall be verie welcome specially since they come from your wife to whom I pray commend my loue.

From the Hagh this $\frac{29 \text{ of Julie}}{8 \text{ of August}}$ [1621].

To the Marquis of Buckingham.

Endorsed Q. of Bohemia to my L. by M. Schomberg with the answere from Oking, 5, 7ber.

¹ The originals of this and the two following letters are amongst the MSS. of Mr. Stirling-Home-Drummond Moray, calendared in the Tenth Report of the Hist. MSS. Comm., Appendix i. p. 89.

² *I.e.*, Gondomar. Probably in consequence of protests from Brussels, where the widowed Infanta had just heard that Mansfeld was attacking the Roman Catholic States in his neighbourhood. Spinola was at Brussels, and spoke angrily to Trumbull on the subject. "What will the world think of us," he said, "if we make a truce in the Palatinate whilst the throats of our confederates are being cut." Trumbull to Calvert, 21st July, *S. P. Flanders*.

10. ELIZABETH TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.—(See p. 204.)

My Lord I haue receaued both your letter and horse by Kenett which I giue you manie thanks for. Yow could not haue sent a more welcome present. I haue alreadie tried him and I find him as good a horse as euer I ridde. I am exceedingly beholding to you for the care you take in fitting me so well with horses, by which you continue to tie [me] to you as you doe by other manie obligations [for] the which I intreat you to beleuee that I [am] euer

Your most affectionat friend

ELIZABETH.

[Sin]ce by this time you know what the King hath done to obey his Maiesties command that he hath retired himself to Sedan, I pray continue your good offices to him and me.

Hagh this $\frac{1}{2}$ of Julie [1622].

To the Marquise of Buckingham.

Endorsed Q. of Bohem : to my Lord.

11. ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF MARRE.—(See p. 352.)

My Lord, I cannot lett your worthie sonne returne to you without these lines, to continue you the assurance of my affection. He will acquaint you with a business that neerlie concernes him, which is an affection he hath taken to a gentlewoman that serves me; whom he desires with your consent, to make his wife. He hath not made anie acquainted with it, because you shoulde know it first. I came to the knowledge of it by chaunce, for seing him much with her I did suspect it, and asking him the question he confest to me his love, but would not tell anie of it till hee had your consent. For the gentlewoman, Crofts, I can assure you she is an honest discreet woman and doth carie herself verie well. If I had not this good opinion of her, I shoulde not intreate you, as I doe by these, that you will give him your consent to marrie her. I love you and him too well to speak in this subject if I did not find her as I tell you; and I hope you will the rather doe it for my sake, to whom she is a faithful servant. Your sonne hath caried himself so well heere as I dout not but he will come to great preferment in these warres. For me I will ever seek all occasions to doe him good or anie other that belongs to you whom I doe so much esteeme as intreat you to be confident that nothing shall change me from being constantlie

Your most affectionat friend

ELIZABETH.¹

The Hagh, this 10 November.

Endorsed 1625.

¹ The holograph originals of this and the following letter to the Earl of Mar are printed in the Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the MSS. of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, pp. 179, 527. A very similar letter to the Countess of Mar (on the subject of her son's affection for Mistress Crofts) is in Report iv. of the Hist. MSS. Comm., Appendix, p. 527. This young lady was probably the writer of the amusing account of a visit to North Holland in 1626. See p. 245 *n.*

12. ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF MARRE.—(See p. 285.)

My Lord, having latelie received a letter from you I must give you thanks for it and for the continuance of your affection to me which I assure you shall never be forgotten, for I may be confident that you have not a friend wisheth you and yours better than I doe. I am sure you heere how our affaires doe beginne to be in better state than heretofore by the prosperitie of the King of Sweden who is very affectionat to us, so as if the King my deare brother will but now help us we may by the help of God recover our former state. Howsoever I assure you the King is not resolved to stay heere and doe nothing, but will goe alone to the King of Sweden if he may not have other company fitt for him. I am so confident of your affection as I dout not but you will farther our business if it come into your power, so I pray be also assured that I am ever constantlie

Your most affectionat frend

ELIZABETH.

The Hagh this 22 of November.

Endorsed 1631.

13. ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO ELIZABETH.—(See p. 337.)

Maye it please your Majestie

Upon our 6 of April last I received two letters. . . . I give you most humble thanks that you are pleased to wright soe noblye to me about the mistake of mye leters concerninge the Kinges allowance of 12000*l.* a yeare, &c. For certainlye Madame, though I am as subject to errour as anye man, yett in that particular I am most sorie I did not mistake mye commission. And I am abundantlye satisfied with the noblenes of your Majestyes respects to me, and your assurance given me that I stand upright in your opinion, notwithstandinge anye of these shadowes.

Concerninge the givinge of the title of Emperour to the late Kinge of Hungarye, I assure your highnesse his Majestye hath not hitherto done it, nor I beleve will he doe it in hast to the prejudice of your sonne the Prince. Yet thiss I beleve will bee found considerable if (I saye if) France and the Low Countrys give it hime, wheather the Kings denyinge it aloane will be fitt for his Majestye, or behoofull for the Prince Elector.

As for his Highnes beinge vicar in the vacancye, I did accordinge to your Majestyes desyers acquaint the Kinge with it. His Majestye acknowledged you had written to hime about it, and that he would give you his owne answer himselfe. . . .

Concerninge the fishinge, I did wright cleerlye to your Majestye my owne thoughts and but mye owne . . . and thearfore I hartelye thanke your Majestye for not makinge me the author of it; for indeed while I wright freelye & give mye reason for what I wright, I would not have mye name in question.¹

Endorsed May 3, 1637. The cople of mye answeare to the twoo letters which I received from the Q. of Bohemia, April 6.

¹ Copy in Laud's hand, *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I. ccliv. 62.

14. ELIZABETH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—(See p. 337.)

My lord, some few days agoe I received yours of the 3 of this month, and am extremitie glade to finde you so much satisfied with my answeare about the mistake of your letter, and I intreat you againe to continue your confidence of me, which shall never deceive you.

I am sorie that the newes I hard was not true concerning the signing of the French treatie, which I wish were well done, that the King my deare Brother may give a good answeare to the Swedens propositions, for I beleve when all is done they are the men we shall have most reason to trust. I am glade the King will not give the title of Emperour to the King of Hungarie. The French King professeth not to doe it as his Ambassadour heere assures me, and the states have not done it neither; howsoever I am confident of the Kings care and affection to his nephew as he will doe nothing to preiudice them in.

I have not yet received the Kings answeare concerning the title of Vicaire of the Empire.

For the fishing I am glade you are satisfied with what I said. I finde heere that they are reasonable well satisfied with the hopes the[y] have of it.

I give you againe manie thankes for your bookes. I like the trimming and binding of them verie well; heere is little news stirring, onelie the Prince of Orange is preparing to goe speedilie into the feelde and I meane to send my third sonne Maurice with him to learne that profession which I beleve he must live by. It is so extreme hott now as I never saw the like in this countrie and the ouldest heere say they never remember the like, which makes me snifle so much for the heate is always more troublesome to me then colde; I will therefore end, with this assurance that I will never be other then,

Your most affectionat friend

ELIZABETH.¹

The Hagh this $\frac{1}{2}$ of May.

Endorsed by Laud Rece: May 28, 1637. From the Queene of Bohemia. 1. Glad I am satisfied. 2. Confidence upon the Swedes.

15. ELIZABETH TO THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—(See pp. 337, 338.)

My Lord, at my returne from Rhenen I received in a pacquet from S^r Richard Cave a letter from you. I am verie glade that you are so well satisfied with the smale though real acknowledgements I made you by him how much I esteeme myself beholding to you; but you draw by it still more trouble to yourself, for I must now againe acquaint you with what I now write to the King my deare brother, and intreat your best assistance in it.

I dout not but before this you have had the ill newes of the brave Landgrave of Hesses death, which is no smale loss to our affaires, but since it is Gods will we must be content; by his death his armie is

¹ Holograph, *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I. cclvi. 152.

without a head and my sonne desires to take it, for if he lose this oportunitie he will never have a beter to have so good an armie leaved to his hand; All the cheefs are willing to have him, so that he will give them good conditions and shew them how they may subsist; our humble sute to the King is that he woulde be pleased to contribute something to this worke in bestowinge a summe of money either monthlie or otherwise as he shall think fitt, till we see what effects the treatie will produce, for by this meanes, my sonne will be made somewhat considerable to his enemies and not sitt idle in this active worlde; it cannot ingage the King before his owne time, for the King my father sent troupes into the Palatinat and also afterwards hither, which is more then this and yett did not break with Spaine. I have commanded Sr Ri: Cave to tell you all things more particularlie, I intreat you to heere him at full, and to give him your best councell and assistance; he will informe you more particularlie of all our desires, which I will not trouble you with in this letter being most assured of your affection to my sonne and me in this, as I have ever found you, and as Cave tells me how much you continue still to shew it, by your readiness and willingness to heere him at all times, which I give you manie thanks for intreating you to continue it for her sake that is ever

Your most affectionat friend

ELIZABETH.

The Hagh this $\frac{29}{10}$ of October [1637].

This bearer Mr. O'brian doth desire my recommendation of him to you that you woulde favour him with your recommendation to the Lo: Deputie of Irland in a business that concerns him verie much touching his father. I dout not but you know it, or that he will informe you of it; he is so worthie a gentleman as I must earnestlie intreat you to give him all the favour you can in this; his father is a papist, but he is a good protestant, and the more favour his father receaves for his sake will binde him the more to doe his sonne good, which else I feare he will not be so forward in because of his religion; therefore I entreat you to give him your best assistance; he hath a companie heere and is much esteemed by the Prince of Orange and everie bodie else. I give you manie thanks for your favour to Croft for my sake.¹

To the Lord Archbishop of Canterburie.

Endorsed by Laud Rece: Novemb: 29: 1637. From the Q. of Bohem: 1. About the Lansgrave of Hess his Armye. 2. About Mr. Brian.

16. ELIZABETH TO SIR THOMAS ROE.—(See pp. 329, 338.)

Honest Thom, I have received this week yours of the 12 of Oc: as for the Polish Ambassador I ame much bounde to the King the resentment he shows to him for his masters foolish cariage towards me and mine, though you know he never cousened me. I shall long to know at the last what the King will doe, for whether he see him or not he has putt a good sound affront upon him, in making him begg so

¹ Holograph, *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I. ccclxx. 9.

long for it; I cannot imagine what good propositions he can make for us, for sure he that could not have power to marie the Sister ¹ cannot have the power to assist the Brother by way of armes, and by treatie the Lord deliver us from entering againe into that ouglie oulde way.² I ame more afrayd of that then of anie plague.

As for the treatie now to be in hand, I know not what to make of it, for some times they say it is to be heere, then againe they put it to Hambourg; these changes is cause the States know not what to doe; they say if it be at Hambourg they have given commission to an agent of thers there to assist at the treatie, and sure if my Brother send an Ambassadour they will doe the like, and when they were tolde it shoulde be heere, they thought they needed not apoint commissioners till such time, as those that were to treat were heere or were readie to beginn the treatie; this the Prince of Orange said to me, assuring me the States were readie to all that shoulde be required of them according to there power. Camerarius tells me that there is a commission sent to Salvius ³ to Hambourg and that Chancellours sonne is to follow; Camerarius sonne is looked for heere everie day and by him we shall know all, and I will not faile to acquaint with what he brings. I thank you for the letter and good councill you have written to my sonne, I hope he will follow it; he had gone instantlie to the Landgraves armie but Prince [of Orange?] diswaded him, as I think I have written to you ten days agone, and Milanders ⁴ absence hinders all resolutions, besides the armie is gone with him and will not returne these three weekes, having left nothing but the garrisons behind him, and he tolde the gentleman my sonne sent thither plainlie that they coulde not trust to hope but to real efforts; if he can gett some good summe out of England no question he may have those troupes. I have so great a colic as I can write no more, therefore I will end this, and ame ever

Your most constant assured frend

ELIZABETH.

The Hagh this $\frac{1}{3}$ ³ of Nov: [1637].

I pray commend me to your wife. I wish that you went to Hambourg to this treatie or if it be heere that you were heere with your wife to whip your daughter Mabb ⁵ who is verie good and much in my good graces. I have a treason in hand against you to make you walk a little out of England. Ambassadours are allwayes better then agents in treaties. The new French Ambassadour has ben with me and expresses verie much his masters affection to us, as you will see by a

¹ The Princess Elizabeth. See p. 326 *et seq.*, above.

² Cf. her letter to Laud on p. 334, above.

³ John Adler Salvius, Swedish resident at Hamburg, left by Oxenstierna in charge of diplomatic affairs in Germany when he himself returned to Sweden.

⁴ Commander of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel's troops.

⁵ The young Bohemian lady Rupa, Roe's adopted daughter. In another letter written about this time Elizabeth says, "You need not thank me for taking your daughter Mab so much as I have reason to thank you for her good education, for I assure you she pleaseth me verie well, it is as good a little monkie as ever was, and followeth me a horseback as well as her bigger fellows".

paper sent to Dick Cave of a discourse passed this morning betwixt him and Rustorf.¹

Endorsed by Roe From the Q. of Boh: 3 Nov 1637.

17. ELIZABETH TO SIR THOMAS ROE.—(See p. 336.)

Honest Thom, if this reverent bearer shoulde returne without my letter to you, it were not to be pardoned, therefore he will deliver you this, and lookes that you shall receive him as my Ambassadour, which the gravitie of his face and yeires doeth well desearve therefore do not faile to receive him with as much knavish gravitie and sercemonie as you can, and as I know you are good at, and now I must doe him this right, that he has gained both much love and reputation by his cariage heere. I assure you the Prince of Orange doth esteeme him verie much, and for my self I assure you he has not a frend wisheth him better then I doe, thinking my self not a little beholding to him for his affection to my sonne; he can tell you how all things passeth heere, where we have a new french Ambassadour who professeth himself much my frend saying he has commission to doe my sonns affaires all the good he can, though the French grow more incivill to my sonne everie day then other, for they will not lett there Ambassadour give my sonne so much as the title of Highness which Charnasé and all other have done and which everie little Prince of no consideration has, so as my sonne has not so much as seene the Ambassadour; he has written of it into France to have leave to doe it; I think there vanitie is so great since they gave the Prince of Orange that title that none must have it but as a gift from them; by the french Ambassadour and the Prince of Oranges advise my sonne has sent againe to the Landgravine and Milandre to lett them know that he will make leavies and desires to joine with there armie, desiring them to apoint him some good place of rendezvous; this my sonne is resolved upon and I hope the King my deare Brother will assist him in it. Camerarius sonne is come out of Sweden and assures me how willing and readie both the Chancelour and all the States there are to contribute what they can for our assistance. I still wish you were a going to this assemblie at Hambourg or heere, for as yett I can see no certaintie of it. I pray lett me freelie know which way I had best take to have you sent; write it to me and none shall know it comes from you. This is all I will say to you at this time onelie that I ame

Your most constant frend

ELIZABETH.

The Hagh this $\frac{14}{24}$ of November.

I pray tell my Lo: of Canterburie that I will not trouble him at this time with my letters, and lett him know this last resolution of my sonns.

The Polish Ambassadour is heere; yesterday he had his audiance, I have taken no notice of him following my Brothers example, he tolde one the other day he had letters for me, but durst not send to deliver

¹ Holograph, *S. P. Dom.* Chas I. cclxxi. 17.

them, being confident I woulde not receave them, being verie sorie he coulde not see me, protesting much his affection to me and mine. I tolde that gentleman againe, that was also verie sorie it was his ill fortune to have that commission, for though I had not great cause to care for his master yett I had heard so much good of him as I wished him verie well ; his cheef business is to perswade the states to be content with the new toll his master desires to make at Dansie, which I beleve they will not doe.¹

Endorsed by Roe From the Queene of Boh : 14 Nov. 1637.

18. ELIZABETH TO SIR THOMAS ROE.—(See p. 354.)

Honest Thom, I ame verie glade to finde by yours of 17 of Feb. that you have at last bene with the King my brother. I have read all the papers you have sent my sonne, where I finde that the distraction of these unfortunat times doth not hinder your care of his affaires. Hee wyll himself lett you know what hee thinkes of it, and why hee doth not finde that at Francfurt² there will be anie good to be done for him. As for the busines of my cousen Count Waldemar,³ my mother in law is quite against it, you may well judge the reason, if my Uncle be for him. I am sure his sonns are not bad, my Uncle is not immortal, and then you may guess the rest. Since he went, I have heard no more of it, when I doe you shall. The admiral is come back from the Queen, who arrived verie saffie at Burlington. She hath written to mee a verie kinde letter, but complains of the incivilitie of the Parliament ships, who shot into the house where she was lodged and killed a sentinel at her dore. I do not beleve the Parliament will approve of it. I ame glad Maurice is so well beloved, and wish with my heart that both his brother and his courage might have a trial in another place, though I ame glade they please the Kinge my brother so well. I pray God this spring may make a good peace as you wish. I hope the Queen will contribute to it. I wish it, you may be sure and pray for it hartelie. There is a scurvie report heere as if Picolomini had beaten the Swedes, by Saterdag we shall know the truth. I pray believe me ever

Your most constant
affectionat frend
ELIZABETH.

The Hagh this $\frac{9}{19}$ March [1643].

When the Queen went from hence, I remembered her of you, heering there was now places void fitt for you. She assured me you should not bee forgotten.⁴

¹ Holograph, *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I. cccxxi. 97.

² The meeting of the *Deputationstag* at Frankfort had opened in February, 1643.

³ For notice of Count Waldemar's wish to marry Princess Elizabeth, see p. 354, above. The Electress Dowager seems to have had considerable authority in relation to the marriages of her grandchildren; cf. what Avery says concerning the Elector of Brandenburg and the Princess Louise, p. 353 n.

⁴ Holograph, *S. P. Germ. States*, under date.

19. ELIZABETH TO SIR THOMAS ROE.—(See p. 358.)

Honest Thom, I have received yours by the last ordinarie, and I give you manie thanks for the care you have had of my letters. This day sevenight I did write as you have advised me to the speaker¹ of bothe the houses, and by Sir William Boswell I have given the King an account of all. They have not as yett returned my letter. Mr. Strickland has it nott. I cannot remember that I did mention anie thing to Rupert that his brother was ill counselled or he well. I know there bee of my good frends that putt it out that [I] counselled both him and Maurice to go to the King, which is verie false; as for Maurice, you know I wished him somewhere else, but I neither coulde nor woulde hinder them from goinge, seeing the King and Queen desiered them. I confess I did not much approve the fashion of my sonns leaving the King, because I thought his honnour somewhat ingaged in it, for if he had not bene then with the King, I shoulde not have counselled him to goe with him, but being there I thought it not much to his honnour to leave him at that time; but God knows not out of any disaffection to the Parliament, but my tenderness for his honnour, and desier that he might not loose my brother's affection. I feare he getts but little reputation as he lyves now heere in these active times, but he is now of age to governe himselfe, and chose better counsells then mine are, and so I leave him to them, not meaning to medle with them. I sende you an answer to Sir Ri. Caves letter. I pray lett my lords of Essex and Holland especially know I take there civillitie verie well in not perusing of my letters, though ther was no great matter in them. . . . This is a great busines heere of a complaint Mr. Strickland has made against the Prince of Orange, accusing him to the States to have given to [*i.e.* two] Dunkerque ships [leave] to pass out of the haven. I wish for his owne sake he had not done it, for the Prince is resolved to right himself and prove it false. You may then guess the issue.

$\frac{20}{30}$ April [1643].

I am sorie to finde you are still ill of the goute and in your state. I pray God send you better in both and a good place, which is the hartie wish of your most constant affectionat frend

ELIZABETH.²

20. CHARLES I. TO PRINCE MAURICE.—(See p. 378.)

Nepueu Maurice, though Mars be now most in voag yet Hymen may bee some tymes remembred, the matter is this, your Mother & I have beene somewhat engaged concerning a Mariage betwine your Brother Rupert and Madamoisell de Rohan, and now her frends press your Brother to a positive answer w^{ch} I fynde him resolved to give negatively, therefore I have thought fitt to know if you will not by your engagement take your Brother hansomly off. I have not tyme to argue the matter, that to shew my judgement I assure you that if my Sone James were of a fitt age, I would want of my will but he

¹ See p. 359, above.

² Holograph, *S. P. Germ. States.*

should have her; & indeed the totall rejecting of this Allyance may doe us some prejudice; whether ye looke to thease or the German affaires; the performance of w^{ch} is not expected untill the tymes shall be reasonably settled, though I desyre you to give me an answer assoone as you can (having now occasion to send to France) because delays ar, some tymes, as ill taken, as denyalls. So hoping and praying God for good newes from you I rest

Your loving Oncle and faithful frend

Charles R.¹

Oxford, 4 July 1643.

Addressed For my Nepueu Prince Maurice.

21. ELIZABETH TO HER NEPHEW, KING CHARLES II.—(See p. 375.)

Since my last to your Majesty I have received a letter from Curtius that at Francfort all the Princes deputies assembled there did come to him to congratulate your coronation; that one Dr. Seifrid, professor at Tubing[en] in the Duke of Wirtemberg's country having writ a base booke to prove the King's murder lawful the Duke put him into close prison and had the booke burnt by the hangmans hands and condemned the author to the fire, but he was saved by great intercession and banished for ever the country. The Electors of Cleves (*sic*) and Collein show much affection to you also, and all the princes and towns, especially Francfort. Curtius thinks it would do your Majesty much service to give him command and letters to thank them for their congratulating your crowning.

I believe Secretary Nicholas doth write more fully of it to you by Broughton. You will hear of the high business betwixt my son and their pretended ambassadors whom Ned called by their true names. I dare trouble you no further at this time having just reason to ask your pardon for doing it so much now by so many letters. This bearer comes from my dear godson² who is most truly affectionate and obedient to you.

April 8 [-March 29, 1651] The Hague.³

Holograph. Seal with arms and crown.

22. EDWARD PRINCE PALATINE TO PRINCESS PALATINE LOUISA.—
(See p. 393.)

Madam, I received yours of November 29 so late that I can give you but a word in way of return. I am transported with joy concerning that which you write, and doubt not but God will blesse your designe. As for the rest, I shall the next post say more unto you.

The Queen hath already propounded Chaliot, a nunnery of the order of St. Marie, whither the Queen of England doth continually resort, and there you may be instructed in the manner how to live in

¹ Holograph, Harley MS. 6988, f. 149.

² The Duke of York.

³ Original amongst the MSS. of J. M. Heathcote, Esq. Calendered in the Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners on his papers, p. 6.

this condition, without ingaging your self at all ; and if afterwards you be pleased with the way and will take the habit, in expectation of the first vacancie, and being there you may in the mean time have a pension out of some benefice, for that they use not to confer an Abbey upon any untill they be engaged. Besides, there are many persons in convents, to whom pensions are given, and they are respected as queens. Madam of Memorencie hath been about these eight years in the Carmelites at Moulins, and never made any vow, till within this year. Send me word what the States give you, as also what Monsieur the Elector doth allow you for your maintenance. Adieu, the Post is going, I can add no more!

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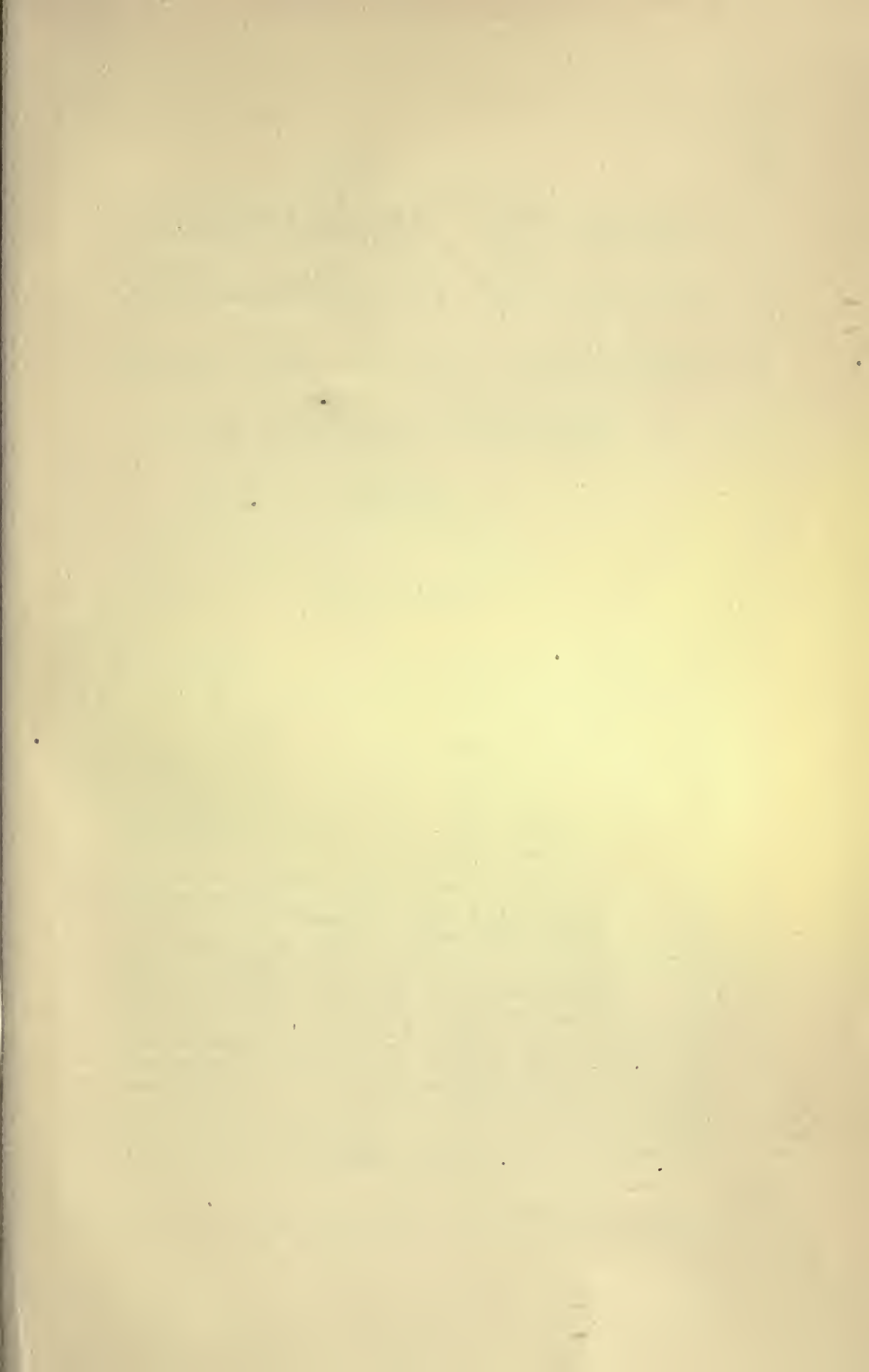
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